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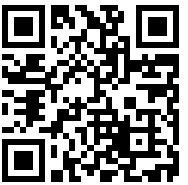

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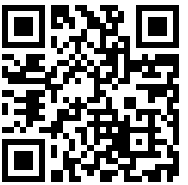

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

OCTOBER, 1924

NOTES AND STUDIES

THE HEAVENLY WISDOM AND THE DIVINE LOGOS IN JEWISH APOCALYPTIC:

A Study of the Vision of the Woman and the Man-Child in Revelation xii 1–5, 13–17

Recent works on the Apocalypse have called attention to the vision of the Woman and the Man-Child as presenting the crucial instance determining the question of the use of 'sources' in the composition of this difficult book. It is generally agreed that the vision is to be regarded as a symbolic representation of the birth of the Messiah. The figure of the Man-Child is interpreted in xix 11–16 as 'The Word of God' who will descend from heaven at the end of the age to put all enemies beneath His feet; for in both visions the words of Ps. ii 9 are applied to Him: 'He shall break[1] (rule) all nations with a rod of iron.'

Further, a growing body of critical opinion holds that the author of the Apocalypse used a Jewish 'source' for this vision of chapter xii; and Dr Charles, upon the evidence of language, thinks it highly probable that this 'source', originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, had been already translated into Greek by a Jew before it came into the hands of the Christian seer.[2] The theory of a Jewish original best fits the peculiarities in the description of the Messiah's birth. No Christian would so have mythologized Mary, the mother of Jesus, as to make her 'a woman clothed with the sun, and with the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars'. This description, taken from some goddess of pagan mythology, would have made Mary a divine being. Neither would a Christian who was familiar with the story of the Incarnate life of Jesus have spoken of His rapture to the throne of God immediately after His birth, and of His concealment in heaven until the end of the age. A Jew might have described the Messiah of expectation in such a way, for in late Judaism there was a widely-spread Messianic faith which in some circles was of a very exalted type.

[1] Charles *Revelation* vol. i pp. 75, 76.

[2] *Op. cit.* pp. lxiii, 308 ff.

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But while there is this general agreement among scholars that the 'source' of the vision was Jewish, and that its author made use of a pagan myth to set forth his beliefs in graphic form, there is considerable diversity of opinion concerning (*a*) the meaning which the visionary figures conveyed to the Christian seer, (*b*) the interpretation put upon the same figures by the Jewish authors of the 'source', and (*c*) the version of the myth used, whether Babylonian (Gunkel and Porter), Persian (Völter), Greek (Dietrich), or 'international' (Gunkel, Cheyne, Clemen, Charles).

With regard to (*a*) and (*b*), commentators have perhaps too readily assumed that the visionary figures conveyed similar ideas to both the Christian seer and his Jewish predecessor, and have therefore interpreted the Jewish 'source' in the light of the meaning that the Christian seer probably gave to it when he incorporated it into the Book of Revelation. For example, Dr Charles finds the Christian interpretation given to the figure of the Woman to have been 'the true Israel or community of believers' which 'embraces Jewish and Gentile Christians', and argues that 'this vision in its Jewish form dealt with the expected birth of the Messiah of the Jewish nation'.[1] Similarly, upon the assumption that there was a common factor in the Christian and Jewish interpretations, Weiss suggests that the Woman represented to both authors 'the heavenly Jerusalem, the mother of us all', i. e. of both Jewish and Christian Messianic circles.

But is it so certain that two apocalyptical writers, the one a Jew and the other a Christian, would have given kindred meanings to the same apocalyptical material? That was not the wont of even Jewish apocalyptists. The common material was capable of more than one interpretation, and there are many instances in Jewish writings of such diversity. For example, Daniel appears to have made his 'one like unto a son of man' significant of 'the people of the saints of the Most High'; but this figure in 1 Enoch and 4 Ezra is most certainly interpreted as the Messiah. To read back the meaning given to a figure in one apocalypse into the same figure in another is not warranted by apocalyptical usage in Jewry itself: accordingly there is no guarantee that similar interpretations would be given to such a figure by Christians and Jews. Our fundamental problem is therefore: What meaning for readers of Jewish faith had the figures of the Woman and the Man-Child in the Jewish apocalyptical 'source'?

We suggest that the Mother of the Man-Child represented the Divine Wisdom, and that her Son symbolized the Logos; and we shall try to prove that these two figures were well known in Jewish apocalyptical and rabbinic circles.

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 315, 317.

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I

In the vision itself (*v.* 17) the words 'the rest of her seed' cause difficulty unless they mean the Messianic community—'the wise' of Daniel xii 3, 'the righteous, holy, and elect' of 1 Enoch—the 'brethren of the Messiah since He and they alike are 'sons' of the same Mother. But the Mother cannot be identical with her 'sons'; she is not the community, whether Jewish or Jewish-Christian! Moreover, she is pictured in the vision as a *divine* mother, goddess-like in her splendour—a feature which commentators have omitted when seeking her equivalent in Jewish faith. 'The heavenly Jerusalem' might be so described; but later in the Apocalypse she becomes 'the bride of the Lamb', and so can hardly be regarded as the Mother of the Logos with whom the Lamb is to be identified. To the Christian seer she could be representative of several mystical ideas, and the interpretations given of her shew this. On the other hand he may have left his readers to draw their own conclusions from the vision, for the Mother disappears on 'the two wings of the great eagle' to be seen no more: she has no further interest for him, and she may therefore have been unassimilated to any part of his Christian faith. But this was not the case for the Jewish author of the 'source', or for his readers. The mythological goddess-mother must have represented a very definite conception, probably traditional, certainly well-known and easily recognizable by readers of apocalyptic.

The author of Revelation is not concerned with events in the life of Jesus. For him the all-conquering Christ is the pledge of the ultimate victory of His Church. He will come soon from heaven to destroy the Church's foes; that is the central theme of the work. That the Logos-Messiah was, and is, Jesus, the author is well aware; but he thinks of the present and future, and not of the past. The story of the Incarnation, ministry, and humiliating passion of his Christ has no place in his book. His ideas are eschatological; and in his expression of them he is so much a Jew, albeit a Christian Jew, that his conception of the role of Jesus in the final drama is that of such a Messiah as is indicated in Isaiah lxiii,[1] and in certain of the Jewish pseudepigraphs,[2] where His function is to be the Warrior-Saviour of Israel from its foes. The Christian seer is so close to the Jewish faith in which he was brought up that he can employ its imagery and its ideas, with but little modification of them, to comfort his readers in their trial. Those readers then must have held opinions of the eschatological Messiah very like his own. He wrote for an apocalyptical circle of Jewish Christians.

[1] Cf. Rev. xix 13, 15.

[2] e. g. the Sibylline Oracles, the Similitudes of Enoch.

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II

To return now to the figures of the Woman and Child, if they represented the Divine Wisdom and the Logos in the Jewish 'source', we ought to be able to trace their genesis in the Jewish 'Wisdom-literature'. The post-prophetic developement of Jewish thought concerning 'Wisdom', as is well known, is the most strikingly un-Jewish of all the nation's religious ideas. Friedlander says: 'This hypostatization (of the Divine Wisdom) is here a downright sacrilege; it betrays the entry of an alien spirit into the domain of Judaism.' Whether this be so or not, for some reason or another the Jewish sages certainly felt the influence of Greek philosophy, and incorporated certain Platonic and Stoic ideas—modified by Jewish religious concepts—into their treatment of the Wisdom theme. But the most remarkable characteristic of this literature is the glory which is ascribed by late Jewish writers to the hypostasis of the Divine Wisdom. Personified as a woman, she sings her own praises in Proverbs viii; in Ecclesiasticus xxiv she compares her graces to the trees of the Holy Land; in the pre-Maccabean parts of the Ethiopic Book of Enoch she is compared to the trees in the Garden of the Lord; and in the Book of Wisdom she is hymned in glowing phrases as the companion of God from the beginning, the architect of the universe, the mother of all good things, the supreme splendour whose radiance surpasses that of sun, moon, and stars. This phraseology is noteworthy: it resembles the imagery used to describe the Woman in Revelation xii. Moreover, Wisdom describes herself as coming forth 'from the mouth of the Most High', His Holy Spirit indeed, an identification between 'Wisdom' and 'the Spirit' which was employed in subsequent Jewish and Christian thought.

The personification of the Divine Word in the Book of Wisdom is likewise remarkable, especially as it is found in such close association with the theme of the personified Divine Wisdom: but whereas Wisdom is equated with the Spirit of the Lord, the Word is equated with the Angel of the Lord—that Angel of the Presence who by his warrior-might had saved Israel out of all their afflictions. In xviii 15, the 'all powerful Word' of God who destroyed the Egyptian firstborn and saved Israel is described in terms of the Angel of the Lord who was seen by David bearing the sword of destruction.[1] The function of the Logos in the Book of Wisdom is therefore that of the Warrior-Logos in Revelation xix: he is the destroyer of Israel's foes!

It is true that no relationship is made between the Divine Wisdom and the Divine Logos in the Book of Wisdom; they are separate

[1] Cf. 1 Chron. xxi 16.

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hypostases of two divine attributes, differing in sex and distinguishable in function; but their collocation in this work is worthy of note. Nor is the Warrior-Logos the Messiah here, though he exercises a Messianic activity, in that as Israel's Saviour from the Egyptians he has this qualification to become the eschatological Warrior-Logos of Revelation xix.

III

Is it possible to trace the stages in this developement of Jewish thought? Perhaps not entirely; but there are indications of such stages in certain Jewish works, especially in the 'Similitudes' of 1 Enoch and the writings of Philo-Judaeus. These we now consider.

A. *The 'Similitudes'* contain fragments of a source which may be called the 'Wisdom-source'; and a study of this third section of the Book of Enoch suggests that this 'Wisdom-source' was an apocalyptical 'Vision of Wisdom'[1] containing an exalted doctrine of the Messiah soon to appear. The author of the 'Similitudes' was himself an ardent Messianist: unquestionably his compilation from Messianic documents proves this. He opens his 'Similitudes' with the announcement 'The Vision of Wisdom which Enoch saw', and yet he gives but three fragments of such a vision; his reasons for discarding the remainder of his 'Wisdom-source' will appear later.

The first fragment is as follows:—

'Wisdom found no place where she might dwell.
Then a dwelling-place was assigned her in the heavens.
Wisdom went forth to make her dwelling among the children of men,
And found no dwelling-place:
Wisdom returned to her place
And took her seat among the angels.'

(xlii 1, 2: Charles's translation.)

Here Wisdom is one of 'the angels', i. e. of the 'emanations' from God which one school of thinkers identified with angels: this belief is seen in the LXX of Ecclesiastes v 6, and in Philo, who calls the angels 'logoi'. It is probable therefore that the author of the 'Wisdom-source' regarded both the Divine Wisdom and the Divine Logos as such emanations—a belief which made no appeal to the author of the 'Similitudes'!

The second allusion to the Divine Wisdom associates her very closely with the Messiah, 'the Son of Man':—

'The wisdom of the Lord of Spirits hath revealed Him to the holy and righteous' (xlviii 7);

[1] This suggested apocalyptical 'Vision of Wisdom', as also the vision in Rev. xii of Wisdom and the Logos, opens the question anew concerning the nature and extent of the apocalyptical Messianic circles.

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and the third reference to Wisdom again connects her with the Messiah:—

> 'Wisdom is poured out like water, and glory faileth not before Him for evermore' (xlix 1),

for this passage precedes a description of the Messiah which is based upon Isaiah xi 1, 2.

Now the Messiah in the 'Similitudes' is quite definitely a heavenly being, 'the Son of Man', 'the Elect One', 'the Righteous One', 'the Anointed', all these titles finding authorization from preceding Jewish works, the last three from the prophetical books of the Old Testament. He is not an abstraction, or emanation: He has definite personality, and functions to perform at the end of the age. It was impossible therefore for the author of the 'Similitudes' to make the Divine Wisdom the mother of this Messiah without reducing Him to the personification of an attribute. Neither could He receive the title 'Logos', even if the 'Wisdom-source' suggested this title, without running the same risk. This may be one reason for the author's slight use of his 'Wisdom-source'.

Yet the 'Similitudes' connect the revelation of the Messiah with the Divine Wisdom. Did the 'source' teach that Wisdom was the mother of the Logos? And if so, did the author of the 'Similitudes' reject this title for his Messiah because he found no earlier authority for employing it as a Messianic title?

There is a curious passage concerning 'the hidden name of the Son of Man' in lxix 26 which has a close connexion with a former passage where Michael is said to be the guardian of this 'hidden name and the oath' by which the universe was created and established (*vv.* 14–21). The whole reference is however fragmentary, and something has been omitted, either by the author of the 'Similitudes' from the 'sources' which he was using, or by a subsequent copyist of his MS. Michael does not tell 'the hidden name' in the creative 'oath' which he enunciates—and yet the 'Similitudes' declare that 'the hidden name' has been revealed! Some title therefore, some designation of the Messiah, has gone from the passage; and because 'the hidden name' belongs to the creative 'oath', we suggest that this title, this designation, was 'the Logos', the Creative Word of God! If this were so, it was omitted by the author of the 'Similitudes' for the reasons already suggested, and not by the copyist.

Confirmatory evidence for the theory that 'the hidden name' was 'the Logos' is found in the Book of Revelation xix 12. There the same two features are found: the Messiah 'hath a name which no man knoweth', and yet 'His name is called, The Word of God'! It is a remarkable collocation, and various suggestions have been made by

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commentators to remove the difficulty. Even if we regard the first clause as the insertion of an interpolator (Charles *Revelation, in loc.*), yet this interpolator must have had some reason for inserting it in this particular place; and we suggest that, in this very Jewish vision of the Logos-Messiah besprinkled with the blood of the foes He has slain, the clause concerning 'the hidden name' was inserted because it was found in a similar context in the 'Wisdom-source' of the 'Similitudes' of 1 Enoch. And if this be so, the doctrine of the Creative Logos, as found in the Fourth Gospel, had been already developed and given a Messianic significance in Judaism of the 1st century B.C.—which accounts for its Messianic use by the Evangelist.

B. *Wisdom and the Logos in Philo.* Philo of Alexandria was influenced by Greek philosophy in formulating his Logos-doctrine; yet the content of that doctrine is essentially Jewish and Rabbinic. Whether he held any Messianic doctrine or not—the question is greatly disputed—it is noteworthy that he interpreted the Messianic title 'the Branch' by referring it to the Logos; though in making the angels 'logoi' he probably emptied the doctrine of the Messiah of its 'personal' content.

But the point of importance in Philo's thought is the relationship which he declares to exist between the Divine Wisdom and the Logos. He says of Wisdom that God is her 'Husband', and that she is 'the mother of the Logos'![1] This is exactly the relationship which we have suggested for the two figures in the Jewish 'source' underlying Revelation xii, and (possibly) in the Jewish 'Wisdom-source' underlying the 'Similitudes' of 1 Enoch. Philo is sufficient evidence that in the 1st century A.D., the time of composition of the 'source' of Revelation, the idea of this relationship between the Divine Wisdom and the Logos was current in Judaism; and as Philo acknowledges his indebtedness to earlier Jewish thinkers, it may have been formulated in earlier times.

IV

We now pass on to consider the pagan myth in which the Jewish writer of the Révelation 'source' clothed his Messianic faith, bearing in mind that the figure of the Woman represented to him the Divine Wisdom, the mother of the Messianic Child, whatever version, or complex of versions, he employed.

In Babylonian mythology Damkina, the wife of Ea, was the mother of Marduk, conqueror of the chaos-monster Tiamat. Ea's home was 'the deep', the abode of wisdom, and both Ea and Damkina were wisdom-deities. Damkina was known as 'the lady of the heavenly

[1] *De Profugiis* xx, xxi.

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crown', while another of her titles was 'the lady of the earth'.[1] These features—her crown of stars and her rule of the earth—find their counterparts in the description of the Woman in Revelation xii, for there she has 'a crown of twelve stars' and the earth aids her flight by swallowing the flood cast after her by the dragon; but the determinant factor which enabled her to become representative of the Divine Wisdom was that she had been the goddess of wisdom, and the mother of the conqueror of the dragon, in the ancient myth.

Now the figure of the dragon-conqueror had already suggested the imagery of at least one well-known apocalyptical vision of the last times, viz. that in Daniel vii of 'one like unto a son of man'. It is true that this figure is interpreted by Daniel as 'the people of the Saints of the Most High', i. e. 'the wise' in Israel who should form the final kingdom; yet a definitely Messianic meaning was given to the Danielic figure by the writer of the 'Similitudes' of 1 Enoch who named his Messiah 'the Son of Man'. This Messianic interpretation had therefore become current before the writing of the Apocalypse. Fragments of the same Marduk myth were likewise used by 4 Ezra (2 Esdras) with the same Messianic significance. The mythological figure was therefore part of the apocalyptical conventional imagery when the author of the Jewish 'source' of Revelation xii employed it to typify and picture his vision of the Messiah, the Logos of God, the Son of the Heavenly Wisdom.

It is nothing to the point that up to the present no Babylonian story of the birth of Marduk has been discovered, and that Gunkel has therefore abandoned his earlier reconstruction of the myth; this does not prove that the story was not traditional among the Jews. But even if the writer of the Jewish 'source' borrowed elements of his story from many versions of the legend, which by his day had become 'international', he yet went back to the Damkina-tradition in which she was the goddess of wisdom, the lady of the heavenly crown, the lady of earth, and the mother of the dragon-slayer who, as his meed of victory, received universal lordship from the gods. To this story Daniel, or tradition,[2] added details perhaps, such as the escort of 'the clouds of heaven' which brought the 'one like unto a son of man' before the Ancient of Days; though even this may have been a feature in the ancient myth since the suggestion of 'cherubim' in the word *anânâh*

[1] Jastrow *Rel. of Bab. and As.* pp. 143, 231 (ed. 1898). It may be added that though the seer sees the 'great wonder' in the heavenly sphere, the place of the birth of the Child is on the earth because that is Damkina's domain. Hence she flees 'into the wilderness'. The dragon when expelled from heaven finds her on earth.

[2] It may have been Hebrew and Jewish tradition: that is at least as probable as selection of details from many versions!

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(clouds) recalls the Babylonian *anunnaki*, which were the cloud-spirits created by Marduk, who is styled their 'lord'.

V

But the mythology used by Daniel and Revelation finds no place in the 'Similitudes' of 1 Enoch. We cannot suppose that it was absent from the 'Son of Man source' or the 'Wisdom-source' of this work, because the former was based on this very mythological passage in Daniel, and the latter would almost certainly have used Damkina if it made the Heavenly Wisdom the mother of the Logos, as we have suggested. Both these 'sources' were undoubtedly apocalypses. The fragmentary quotations from the two 'sources' by the author of the 'Similitudes' suggest that he could not make great use of them; and possibly one reason for this was that he disapproved of their mythology. He was a firmly convinced Jewish Messianist, and his Messiah was intensely and wholly of Jewish expectation, not the Marduk of a myth, the son of a mythological Mother. But the author of the 'source' of Revelation xii had no such scruples concerning the employment of mythological imagery; neither had the Christian seer. Each used it to set forth in symbolic form his Messianic faith, probably because the apocalyptical circles had come to regard it as a part of the conventional apocalyptical language.

VI

The Jewish interpretation of the mythological figures as Wisdom and the Logos may have some bearing upon (*a*) two earlier Hebrew Messianic prophecies, and (*b*) certain later Christian developements in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

(*a*) *Hebrew prophecy.* Two predictions, and two only, of the coming of a mysterious son of a mysterious mother are found in the prophetical books of the Old Testament, viz. the 'Immanuel' prophecy of Isaiah vii, which makes the 'son' the child of 'the damsel' (*halmah*); and the prophecy of the Peace-bringer in Micah v, which makes him the son of an indefinite 'she which travaileth'. It is noteworthy that both prophecies are very closely connected with the Assyrian invasion of Judah; and it was at this time that the cult of the Babylonian Damkina and Marduk appears prominently in Assyrian life. Interest in Assyrian affairs would be quite naturally taken by Judah at this time, and especially by the prophets. It is not unlikely therefore that some Assyrian version of the Babylonian Marduk stories may have found its way into Judah to stimulate the popular hope of a Divine Deliverer from the threatening calamity, if any such hope already existed

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(cf. Num. xxiv 17). The Davidic family of whom much had been expected was a disappointment, and the prophets were beginning to look elsewhere. We would call attention to the theory of Gressmann[1] and his school that there was a popular expectation current among the Jews of Isaiah's day concerning the advent of a great Deliverer to save the nation from its foes. There is no evidence, outside the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah, for this theory; but there is no apparent reason why the Babylonian stories of Damkina and Marduk should not have been known to the Hebrews of a far earlier time than the late Jewish apocalypses. If they were—and it is generally agreed among scholars that the apocalyptists used ancient traditional material—then Isaiah and Micah gave the stamp of the prophetical authority to the rightness of this popular expectation; but being prophets of Yahweh, they modified the idea to make it accord with the religion which they taught. They rejected the pagan mythological imagery whencesoever it had come, whether from Babylon in early days or from Assyria more recently; they left the Mother undesignated and undefined because there was no figure in Hebrew religion to correspond with the Babylonian Damkina[2]; they changed Marduk into 'Immanuel' and 'the Peace-bringer', whoever He might be, and in so doing allowed later prophecy to designate Him as 'the Angel of Great Counsel'[3] and 'the Angel of the Covenant',[4] and apocalypse to describe Him as 'the one like unto a son of man', 'the Son of Man', and 'the Logos of God'. But it was not until the Ḥakamim had hypostatized the Divine Wisdom that the apocalyptists could indicate her as 'the Halmah' of Isaiah, the 'she which travaileth' of Micah, and in such wise bring her again into the Messianic theme—the Mother of the Messianic 'Word of God'.

It would appear therefore that, even in this detail, apocalyptic was true to that mission which it believed God had given it, of being the interpreter of former prophecy to the people of its own day. This belief dominated all writers of the apocalyptical schools to such an extent that even the author of Revelation will recognize no break between prophecy and apocalypse: for him 'the testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of prophecy', and he calls his book 'this prophecy'. There is much to be said therefore for Gressmann's theory.

B. *Christian Developements.* The birth of Jesus of the Virgin Mary naturally displaced for Christians the Jewish doctrine of the birth of the

[1] Buchanan Gray *Isaiah i-xxvi* (I.C.C.) gives a long account of the interpretations put upon the 'Immanuel' prophecy, but dismisses Gressmann in rather summary fashion.

[2] We cannot accept that interpretation of 'the damsel' which makes her equivalent to 'young mothers (collectively) in Israel'. The definite article both in Hebrew and Greek seems to imply an individual, well known and often spoken of.

[3] Isa. ix 6 (Septuagint). [4] Mal. iii 1, 2.

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Logos from the Divine Wisdom. St Paul, for example, calls Christ 'the Wisdom of God', allowing no separate hypostasis to Wisdom, but absorbing her personification and functions in Christ.

There was, however, another developement given to the 'Wisdom theme' in Christianity which has to-day an antiquarian interest, but may also have some bearing upon the question why the canonicity of Revelation was so long in dispute in some parts of the Eastern Church.

Dr Burkitt, in his lectures upon *Early Christianity outside the Roman Empire*, has called attention to the Jewish-Christian church which flourished in Edessa, and held a form of Christian doctrine which in many respects was very primitive. Tradition said that Christianity was brought to Edessa by Addai, one of the Seventy; but whether this was so or not, the church produced scholars and martyrs from the second to the fifth century, and among its most learned and pious bishops was Aphraates who lived during the fourth century.

Aphraates taught the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in a form which is very strange to western minds: it approximated very closely to the Jewish doctrine of the Heavenly Wisdom, recalling that description of her in the Book of Wisdom which made her 'the mother of all good things' and equated her with the Holy Spirit. For Aphraates taught the doctrine of the Motherhood of the Holy Spirit as complementary to the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God.

In his treatise *Of Virginity against the Jews*[1] he discusses Matt. xix 5, and says: 'when a man hath not yet taken a wife, he loveth and honoureth God his Father, and *the Holy Spirit his Mother*'. But though Aphraates did not make the Holy Spirit the Mother of Jesus—his Christianity was too orthodox for that—'in the ancient *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, as quoted by Origen and S. Jerome, our Lord Himself speaks of His Mother the Holy Spirit'. Both are reflexions of the Jewish Wisdom theme, Aphraates going a stage farther back than the 'Gospel' which takes over the Jewish Wisdom-Logos idea in its entirety, applying it to Jesus. It is not merely that 'there is very early Christian authority' for Aphraates's doctrine, as Dr Burkitt says; but the doctrine was essentially Jewish, and was a survival in the Christianity of the Mesopotamian valley, though it was modified to accord with historical facts in the life of Christ.

Again, this church apparently was the first opponent of the Manichaean heresy[2] which taught as one of its doctrines that Christ was God manifested in the *form* of man, but was not born of the Virgin Mary. It is a doctrine that goes back to the Jewish doctrine of 'emanations', which may have originated from the contact of the Persian religion with

[1] Burkitt *op. cit.* pp. 38, 39.

[2] See Ante-Nicene Fathers *Syriac Documents* pp. 280, 389 and note.

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Judaism. The Apocalypse, by its omission of all reference to the Incarnation, and by its use of the Jewish Wisdom-Logos theme, may have been regarded by the orthodox as lending support to this heresy. It is not to be wondered at, that this part of the Church questioned and rejected for so long this Book.

But time passed, and with it the peculiarly Jewish elements which remained in the doctrines of the Christian Church. We have learnt to read the Apocalypse anew in the light of the rest of the New Testament teaching. The Jewish elements in it have been sublimated as to their original meaning; but they remain to indicate the essential unity in the revelation that God, who spake in times past by the prophets through His Spirit concerning His Son, gave at last in that Son, His Word Incarnate. The seer read that revelation aright when he declared, 'The testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of prophecy'.

G. H. Dix.

MARCAN USAGE: NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL, ON THE SECOND GOSPEL

(continued)

II.

Φέρειν in St Mark

Φέρειν is one of the words specially characteristic of the Second Gospel, and Sir John Hawkins rightly includes it in his list *Horae Synopticae*[2] p. 13. If we make abstraction of the technical usage of φέρειν 'to bear fruit', the figures for the four Gospels are Mark 14, Matthew 4, Luke 4, John 8. Sir John Hawkins leaves the matter there: but examination of the passages concerned reveals the secret of the disproportionate occurrence of the word in Mark. The other three Evangelists, in fact, limit the meaning of φέρειν, speaking generally, to the sense of 'carry': Mark, on the other hand, uses it also, and more frequently, in the sense of 'bring'. The difference is therefore a lexical one. It is well illustrated in the treatment of Mark **2** (ii 3) by Luke, and of Mark **7** (xi 2, 7) by both Matthew and Luke.

1. Mark i 32 ἔφερον πρὸς αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας. Here ἔφερον, as in the parallel cases **2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9,** means certainly 'brought', not 'carried': and therefore Matthew substitutes προσήνεγκαν and Luke ἤγαγον.

2. ii 3 καὶ ἔρχονται φέροντες πρὸς αὐτὸν παραλυτικὸν αἰρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων. So far is Mark from implying the sense of 'carry' in φέροντες that he finds it necessary to add αἰρόμενον to convey the further

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idea: 'they bring to him a paralytic, carried by four men'. Matthew again substitutes *προσφέρειν*: Luke transfers *φέροντες* to take the place of *αἰρόμενον* 'men (come) carrying on a bed a man who was paralysed'.

3 *a*. vi 27 *καὶ εὐθὺς ἀποστείλας ὁ βασιλεὺς σπεκουλάτορα ἐπέταξεν ἐνέγκαι τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.*

b. vi 28 *καὶ ἤνεγκεν τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πίνακι.*

Here the natural rendering in verse 27 would be 'bring', but in verse 28 we could no doubt say either 'he brought his head on a dish' or 'he bore his head on a dish'. The episode is absent from Luke: Matthew's abbreviated narrative dispenses with the *ἐνέγκαι* of verse 27, but retains the *ἤνεγκεν* of verse 28 in the passive form *ἠνέχθη* 'his head was borne on a dish'.

4. vii 32 *καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ κωφὸν καὶ μογιλάλον.* Obviously they 'bring' the man, not 'carry' him. So Matthew (Luke again has no parallel) paraphrases with *προσῆλθον . . . ἔχοντες μεθ' ἑαυτῶν*, once more refusing Mark's usage of *φέρειν*.

5. viii 22 *καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Βηθσαιδάν. καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ τυφλόν.* Neither Matthew nor Luke retains the episode: if they had retained it, we may presume that they would have done as they regularly do elsewhere and have avoided the word *φέρειν*.

6 *a*. ix 17 *διδάσκαλε, ἤνεγκα τὸν υἱόν μου πρὸς σέ.*

b. 19 *φέρετε αὐτὸν πρός με.*

c. 20 *καὶ ἤνεγκαν αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτόν.*

Luke reduces the triple use of the word to a single occasion, and there substitutes *προσάγαγε*. Matthew inserts *προσήνεγκα* at one point, drops the *ἤνεγκα, ἤνεγκαν*, of verses 17 and 20, but retains the *φέρετε* of verse 19. Here (Matt. xvii 17) we have the solitary instance in which Mark's *φέρειν* = 'bring' retains its place in either of the other Synoptists. Probably the use was felt to be more tolerable in the imperative[1]: possibly it is eased by Matthew's addition of *ὧδε*. So Matt. xiv 18 of the loaves and fishes *φέρετέ μοι ὧδε αὐτούς*.

7 *a*. xi 2 *εὑρήσετε πῶλον δεδεμένον . . . λύσατε αὐτὸν καὶ φέρετε.*

b. 7 *καὶ φέρουσιν τὸν πῶλον πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν.*

Both Matthew and Luke substitute *ἀγάγετε* in *a*, *ἤγαγον* in *b*. Luke therewith makes his regular alteration: Matthew for once deserts *προσφέρω* for *ἄγω*, presumably because 'leading' is a natural word to employ of an animal.

8 *a*. xii 15 *φέρετέ μοι δηνάριον να ἴδω.*

b. 16 *οἱ δὲ ἤνεγκαν.*

Matthew *ἐπιδείξατέ μοι . . . οἱ δὲ προσήνεγκαν*. Luke *δείξατε*, omitting the addition that a *δηνάριον* was then brought. Neither would talk of

[1] See for the imperative also Luke xv 23 (quoted in the next note), and Jo. xx 27 *φέρε τὸν δάκτυλον.*

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φέρειν in connexion with a coin: but Luke's normal substitution of ἄγειν was inappropriate here, and he had to find another word. That he and Matthew should have found the same substitute for φέρετε in δείξατε (ἐπιδείξατε) naturally challenges our attention. But coincidences will happen: they have no significance unless they bear an undue proportion to the total number of cases in which they could happen. And if the chances were—as presumably they were—that one or other of the group of Pharisees and Herodians had a *denarius* on his person, then 'shew me one' was an even more natural phrase than 'bring me one'.

9. xv 22 (ἀγγαρεύουσιν . . . Σίμωνα . . . ἵνα ἄρῃ τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ) καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Γολγοθὰν τόπον . . . (καὶ σταυροῦσιν αὐτόν).

Mark uses αἴρω, as in ii 3, for 'carrying' the cross: Luke, as there, substitutes φέρειν. Mark's φέρειν for 'bring' him to Golgotha is of course rejected by both Matthew and Luke, who agree in simplifying the sentence into the form 'on their arrival (ἐλθόντες, ὅτε ἀπῆλθον) at Golgotha . . . they crucified him'. Again a coincidence, but surely a very obvious one, once it is postulated that the word φέρειν had somehow to be got rid of, and that the four verbs connected by καί in Mark xv 22–24 offered an irresistible temptation to revision.

In the result, out of fourteen instances of φέρειν in Mark, the word is never retained by Luke,[1] once only by Matthew; though Luke twice (v 18, xxiii 26) transfers it to the immediate context, displacing Mark's αἴρειν to make room for it. For φέρειν Luke's favourite alternative is ἄγειν (three times) or προσάγειν (once). Mark only once has ἄγειν in the ordinary transitive use: Matthew, save in the episode of the 'bringing' of the colt to Jesus, shares Mark's avoidance of ἄγειν, and replaces φέρειν by προσφέρειν (four times), a word which he employs nearly twice as often as the other three Evangelists put together.

III.

εἰς and ἐν in St Mark

[On εἰς (εἰς and ἐν) in the New Testament see Winer-Moulton *Grammar of New Testament Greek*[9] pp. 514, 516–518, who give the older view that there is no, or next to no, real confusion between the two prepositions: on the other side J. H. Moulton *Prolegomena to a Grammar of New Testament Greek* (1906) pp. 62–63, and especially 234; Fr. Blass *Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (1896) § 39. 3 (4, 5) pp. 119–121; L. Radermacher *Neutestamentliche Grammatik: Das Griechisch des Neuen Testaments im Zusammenhang mit der Volkssprache*

[1] Yet compare Luke xv 23 φέρετε τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτόν (again however in the imperative, as Matt. xiv 18, xvii 17, see above under 6 *b*), Acts v 16 φέροντες ἀσθενεῖς.

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(1911) pp. 16, 10: and for εἰς in modern Greek A. Thumb *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache* (1895) § 202, p. 120.]

The following list of passages is intended to justify the conclusion that in Mark's usage εἰς is frequently used in the place of ἐν, ἐν perhaps occasionally where we should rather expect εἰς (see **2, 10**): that the other two Synoptists, and Matthew more consistently than Luke, dislike the confusion of the two prepositions and generally alter Mark's phraseology: and that the volume of evidence for εἰς = ἐν as a favourite usage of Mark is sufficient to turn the scale where the witnesses happen to be divided, some giving an εἰς = ἐν reading and others either having ἐν in place of εἰς (**6, 15**) or more often introducing into the text a verb of motion (**3, 4, 14**).

1. i 9 ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην. It is quite impossible, in my judgement, to suppose that by this phrase Mark means anything at all different from i 5 ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ: the phrases were to him synonymous. Matthew retains ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ of the multitudes, and for the baptism of Jesus alters the construction to παραγίνεται . . . ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην . . . τοῦ βαπτισθῆναι. Luke omits both ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ and εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην.

[2. i 16 ἀμφιβάλλοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. Matthew more correctly βάλλοντας ἀμφίβληστρον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν: Luke has no parallel. Most MSS of Mark insert a noun (some ἀμφίβληστρον from Matthew, others, possibly rightly, τὰ δίκτυα) to give ἀμφιβάλλοντας an object: but the insertion only makes the use of ἐν odder still.]

3. i 21 ἐδίδασκεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν. So ℵ C L Δ 28 33 Ferrar group syr^{sin} Origen: εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ἐδίδασκεν A B D W Θ latt. The latter group is in itself the stronger, and I cannot regard ℵ Origen as more than a single witness. But Westcott-Hort give the shorter reading a place in their margin, and the close parallels of **4** and **14** suggest that the scholar who produced the B text, whenever he found εἰς without any idea of motion expressed, systematically put matters right from a grammatical point of view by the insertion of the verb ἔρχομαι (εἰσέρχομαι). Still in view of the Latin evidence, and of the Greek support for the same reading, the decision is perhaps less easy than in any other instance of reading on our list. Neither of the other Synoptists has a parallel text here.

4, 5. i 39 καὶ ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν εἰς ὅλην τὴν Γαλιλαίαν. So A C D W Δ latt syr^{sin}: ἦλθεν ℵ B L Θ. With regard to the prepositions, Matthew changes εἰς both times into ἐν, ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ διδάσκων ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν: Luke retains εἰς on the first occasion, but by combining the two phrases into εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς τῆς Γαλιλαίας [Ἰουδαίας] avoids the second. With regard to the verb, Matthew changes to περιῆγεν 'went about', Luke has ἦν. It is much

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more likely that Luke repeated ἦν κηρύσσων εἰς from Mark than that he altered ἦλθεν εἰς into ἦν εἰς. It is further much more likely that scribes or editors of Mark should have substituted ἦλθεν εἰς for ἦν εἰς than *vice versa*. I cannot doubt that ℵ B represent here an intentional correction of a non-literary usage of St Mark.

6. ii 1 ἠκούσθη ὅτι εἰς οἶκόν ἐστιν. So A C Δ and the margin of Westcott-Hort: ἐν οἴκῳ ἐστίν ℵ B D W Θ 33. Versions hardly count; but authority, it is clear, is preponderant for ἐν οἴκῳ: it is only the consideration that the temptation to alter εἰς οἶκον to ἐν οἴκῳ was infinitely greater than the converse which makes it likely that the inferior witnesses are right. There is no parallel in either Matthew or Luke.

7 *a*. iv 7 ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας.

b. 18 οἱ εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας σπειρόμενοι.

Both Matthew and Luke alter Mark on the first occasion, the former to ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας, the latter to ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἀκανθῶν: both, on the other hand, retain Mark's εἰς on the second occasion. There is indeed some authority for ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκάνθας both times in Mark, C D 33 in verse 7, ℵ C Δ in verse 18: the former is doubtless borrowed from the parallel in Matthew. And the parallel in Jeremiah iv 3 must not be overlooked, νεώσατε ἑαυτοῖς νεώματα, καὶ μὴ σπείρητε ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις.

8. iv 8 ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλήν.

cf. verse 20 οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν σπαρέντες.

Here Matthew changes εἰς to ἐπί in verse 8,[1] thus giving ἐπί in both places. Luke, more tolerant than Matthew of the Marcan use of εἰς, retains it[2] in Mark's verse 8, while he changes ἐπὶ τήν to ἐν τῇ in Mark's verse 20.

9. iv 8 εις τριάκοντα καὶ εις ἑξήκοντα καὶ εις ἑκατόν (with variant εν).

cf. verse 20 εν τριάκοντα καὶ εν ἑξήκοντα καὶ εν ἑκατόν.

By a curious freak of the Greek language εις εν can mean, according as breathing and accent differ, either the two correlated prepositions εἰς ἐν, or the masculine and neuter of the cardinal number one, εἷς ἕν. And since breathings and accents were not part of the usage of MSS at the time when our Gospels were written, we are thrown back on internal evidence to decide between possible interpretations. Matthew on each occasion substitutes ὃ μὲν . . . ὃ δὲ . . . ὃ δέ: he would therefore seem to

[1] εἰς tends to take the place of ἐπί (πρός) as well as of ἐν in Mark. i 10 καταβαίνων εἰς αὐτόν is changed by both Matthew and Luke to ἐπί: xiii 3 καθημένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν, Matthew writes ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους (see no. 19 below): and the very odd καθῆσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ of iv 1, where Matthew omits ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ (Luke again gives no parallel), would at least be less odd if Mark had written ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. But εἰς τὸ πέραν (iv 35, v 1, 21, vi 45, viii 13) and εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν (vi 41, vii 34) are freely reproduced by Matthew and Luke, and have precedent in classical usage.

[2] If D here, Luke viii 8, has ἐπί, *a c d* 'super', the variant is probably due to a simple assimilation to Matthew.

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have read ἕν, and certainly to have understood Mark to mean 'one . . . another . . . another'. Luke, with the dislike of an educated Greek for the Jewish use of symbolic numbers, omits the details on both occasions.

εἷς in verse 8 would be ungrammatical after ἄλλα, and if we translate with Matthew 'one . . . another . . . another' we must read the neuter ἕν throughout, against the testimony of ℵ B C* L Δ. The Latins followed Matthew's interpretation, and rendered *unum*: and so among moderns Blass *op. cit.* § 46. 2 p. 142. But in view of the Semitic idiom, which uses the preposition 'in' to mean 'at the rate of', I suspect that Mark had in his mind here the preposition and not the numeral. Further, if the mass of evidence adduced in these notes convinces us that the evangelist used the two prepositions ἐν and εἰς almost interchangeably, it becomes simple enough to suppose that he had the same idiom in his mind whether he expressed it by ἐν, as certainly in verse 20, or by εἰς, as perhaps in verse 8. Nay, it becomes even possible that cod. B is right in interchanging the two in a single verse: in verse 8 if B's εἰς τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν is the true text, we can the better understand why ℵ should have εἰς . . . εἰς . . . εἰς and A D ἐν . . . ἐν . . . ἐν.

[10. iv 36 παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἦν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ. As in [2] above, this is an instance not of εἰς where we expect ἐν, but of ἐν where we expect εἰς. Luke omits the detail: Matthew restores the more correct use, ἐμβάντι αὐτῷ εἰς πλοῖον.[1]]

11. v 14 ἀπήγγειλαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀγρούς. An instance on the border-line, where εἰς might just be rendered 'announced it to the city', though it is hardly doubtful that the real meaning is 'in the city and in the country'. So, while Luke retains the Marcan phrase unaltered, Matthew, with his more rigid canon of exactness in respect of this preposition, inserts ἀπελθόντες before εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήγγειλαν.

12. v 34 ὕπαγε εἰς εἰρήνην. Once more Matthew omits the phrase, and Luke, with the change of ὕπαγε into πορεύου, retains it. While μετ' εἰρήνης and ἐν εἰρήνῃ are common in the LXX, εἰς εἰρήνην is the characteristic use, following the Semitic idiom, with πορεύου and βάδιζε. Mark's phrase is therefore not destitute of precedent, though it is more likely that Luke consciously sheltered himself under this than that Mark did.

13. vi 8 ἵνα μηδὲν αἴρωσιν εἰς ὁδὸν . . . μὴ πήραν, μὴ εἰς τὴν ζώνην χαλκόν. Here the usual conditions are reversed, and it is Luke who omits, Matthew who retains, εἰς τὴν ζώνην. It is of course just possible

[1] It was suggested at our Seminar that ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ might be taken not with παραλαμβάνουσιν but with ὡς ἦν, 'just as he was, i. e. in the boat'. But Matthew obviously took the phrase with παραλαμβάνουσιν.

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to say 'take no money for your purse', though the more natural phrase is undoubtedly 'in your purse'.

14. viii 26 *μηδε[νὶ] εἰς τὴν κώμην εἴπῃς.* There are no parallels from the other Synoptists: but the instance is a most significant one, and the case for the reading adopted above is in my judgement unanswerable. Westcott and Hort *Introduction* § 140 cite this verse with good cause as a typical 'conflate' reading of the received text: it is demonstrable that behind the form *μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθῃς μηδὲ εἴπῃς τινὶ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ* lie two earlier readings, (1) *μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθῃς*, and (2) *μηδὲ εἴπῃς τινὶ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ*, which the Antiochene text has combined. Westcott-Hort treat the two briefer readings as rivals, and decide for the former, which is given by ℵ B L W 1 syr^{sin}. But what if we repeat the process of analysis, and ask whether both (1) and (2) cannot be explained as developements of a reading that lay further back than either of them? If we bear in mind (α) the accumulation of evidence in favour of the Marcan use of *εἰς* for *ἐν*: (β) the tendency of codex B to get rid of this unclassical idiom, on the more startling occasions of its employment, by the introduction of *ἔρχομαι* or *εἰσέρχομαι*—see 3, 4 above: (γ) the actual presence of the phrase *μηδενὶ εἴπῃς εἰς τὴν κώμην* as part of the reading in D, and of 'ne cui diceret in castellum' as the whole reading in the Old Latin MS *c*: (δ) the ease with which the other early readings can be explained if we postulate *μηδε[νὶ] εἰς τὴν κώμην εἴπῃς* as the original source of the different developements: then I do not think it too much to say that the problem has solved itself.[1]

15. x 10 *καὶ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν πάλιν οἱ μαθηταὶ περὶ τούτου ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν.* Luke is no longer parallel to Mark: Matthew drops the whole phrase. But the reading is that of ℵ B D L Δ Ψ, and it must not be assumed that because the Latins give the ablative they found *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ* in their Greek exemplars. It cannot be too often repeated that a large element in our critical apparatus is vitiated because it is forgotten that the earliest translators translated by the sense and not by the letter, and followed the idiom of their own language. It is only the late pedantry of the Greek O. T. of Aquila, or the Harclean Syriac, or the English Revised Version of N.T., which so translates as to enable one to reconstruct the exact phraseology and order of their original.[2] So we are free to follow the reading of our best Greek MSS without reference on this occasion to the versions. The temptation to scribes to substitute *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ* in so palpable a case of *εἰς* = *ἐν* was obvious: it is rather

[1] When I first published my Inaugural Lecture, *The Study of the New Testament: 1883 and 1920* (1920), I had not grasped the evidence for St Mark's usage of *εἰς* = *ἐν*, and thought that the original text must have run *μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην*, without any verb: but my friend the Rev. H. N. Bate had already divined the true reading, as I have there recorded (p. 59 *ad fin.*).

[2] The Vulgate was saved from this pitfall of revision because Jerome was not only a good Greek scholar, but a great Latin stylist.

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matter for wonder that the few MSS escaped it than that the many fell victims to it.

16. xi 8 *πολλοὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν ἔστρωσαν εἰς τὴν ὁδόν.* The verb 'to strew' might be conceived of as implying motion, 'strewed their garments on to the road': and if Mark never used *εἰς* for *ἐν*, some such explanation would be feasible. But in view of the evidence here accumulated, it is by far the simpler view that he meant 'on the road'. So certainly Matthew and Luke understood it, since both substitute *ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ*. This is the first occasion on which we find them agreeing on *ἐν* for *εἰς*; but see also below, no. **20**.

[**17.** xiii 3 *καθημένου αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν*, 'as he was sitting on the Mount of Olives'. In English we can only render by 'on'. But that does not mean that the proper Greek word was necessarily *ἐν*: Matthew's *ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους* (Luke omits the whole detail) is doubtless more idiomatic. It remains, however, that it is a real example of the encroachments in vulgar use of *εἰς* upon other prepositions.]

18. xiii 9 *παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων σταθήσεσθε.* How is the sentence to be punctuated? Luke, omitting *δαρήσεσθε* entirely, is able to construct a simple sentence with two pairs of parallel nouns, *παραδιδόντες εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς καὶ φυλακάς, ἀπαγομένους ἐπὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ ἡγεμόνας.* Matthew (x 17) sacrificed the connexion of *συνέδρια* and *συναγωγάς*, constructing the former with the verb that precedes it and the latter with the verb that follows it, *παραδώσουσιν γὰρ ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια, καὶ ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν μαστιγώσουσιν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνας δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖς ἀχθήσεσθε.* I cannot doubt that Matthew is so far right that *εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε* was intended by Mark to be taken together, and that therefore *εἰς συναγωγάς* means nothing more nor less than 'in synagogues'. But I am also inclined to believe that Luke interprets correctly when he joins *συναγωγὰς καὶ φυλακάς*—i. e. *συνέδρια* and *συναγωγάς*—in one construction: for it seems as odd to think that Mark meant to contrast the usage to be experienced in sanhedrins and in synagogues respectively,[1] as that he should have contrasted governors and kings. If I am right, Mark's thought implies a comma after *ὑμᾶς*, and another after *δαρήσεσθε*: 'they shall give you in charge, in sanhedrins and synagogues shall you be beaten, and before governors and kings shall you be made to stand'. The absolute use of *παραδιδόναι* is found in i 14 *μετὰ τὸ παραδοθῆναι τὸν Ἰωάννην*, and in frequent references to Judas and the Betrayal of Christ.

[1] The suggestion was made in our Seminar that *συνέδρια* are the courts which pronounce the sentence, and *συναγωγαί* the scene of its execution. That appears to me a rather artificial contrast: but in any case if *εἰς* is to be taken in two different senses, 'to' and 'in', in the same line, the process of the suppression of *ἐν* in favour of *εἰς* must have gone already a long way.

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Anyhow a clear case is established of εἰς = ἐν: Mark, we may be quite sure, had no thought of 'the simplest rendering "Ye shall be scourged into the synagogues"', even though it 'presents no archaeological difficulty' (Winer-Moulton[9] p. 518).

19. xiii 10 καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. 'Preached to all nations' would be a possible rendering: but when Matthew xxiv 14 wrote κηρυχθήσεται . . . ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ (Luke has no parallel), he must have taken Mark to be once more using εἰς for ἐν.

20. xiii 15, 16 ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος μὴ καταβάτω [εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν] μηδὲ εἰσελθάτω τι ἆραι ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν μὴ ἐπιστρεψάτω εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἆραι τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ. Both the other Synoptists recognize the clear implication of ὁ εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν 'the man in the field'; Matthew writes ὁ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ, Luke οἱ ἐν ταῖς χώραις. For the second time (see **16** above) they agree in the very obvious substitution of ἐν for εἰς.

21. xiv 20 ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸ [ἓν] τρύβλιον. As in **16**, it is possible to argue that ἐμβάπτεσθαι implies motion, so that 'dips into the dish' could stand. But Matthew at any rate (Luke omits the whole phrase) interpreted Mark's εἰς as equivalent to ἐν, ὁ ἐμβάψας μετ' ἐμοῦ τὴν χεῖρα ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ. I think it not unlikely that the ἕν of B in Mark does not really mean 'the one dish' (there seems no trace in Marcan usage of τὸ ἕν = 'the same') but is the descendant of a marginal gloss suggesting the substitution of ἐν for εἰς.

These instances, taken together—even after allowance is made for the two, **2** and **10**, where ἐν appears instead of εἰς, and another **17**, where εἰς has ousted ἐπί rather than ἐν—do seem to establish a definite tendency in Marcan usage for εἰς to encroach on ἐν. That encroachment is not peculiar to Mark, though among New Testament writings there is none where the encroachment is so marked as in his Gospel. The process which was commencing in the common speech of our Lord's time has ended in the complete supersession of ἐν in modern Greek. But it was still resented by scribes and scholars, or at any rate by some of them, in the first and second centuries A.D. If Matthew regularly, and Luke frequently, are found to desert Mark's use in this respect, it is reasonable to expect that the same tendency will have influenced scribes, and not least the more skilled among them. The evidence of undoubted cases like **1, 15, 18, 20,** may fairly be used to turn the scale where the evidence is divided, and justifies the conclusion that the scribe of codex B or its ancestor, admirable as is his general fidelity, did not rise superior to the temptation of altering an incorrect idiom into accordance with the traditions of literary Greek.

(*To be continued*)

C. H. TURNER.

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THE MARTYRS OF MADAURA, A.D. 180.

THE Numidian town Madaura, famous for giving birth to Apuleius and schooling to St Augustine, has for long been accorded the further honour of being considered one of the two places where African Christians first suffered martyrdom. For the other place, Scillium, the claim rests securely on verifiable fact; Madaura's claim, however, rests on a foundation which is very questionable and insecure. A partisan and contemptuous statement by one Maximus of Madaura, a pagan otherwise unknown,[1] has been made the basis for a more or less confident assertion, by innumerable historians of the early Church and in particular of the Church in Africa, that Christian martyrs actually did suffer in Madaura and that their martyrdom must have taken place about the same time as that of the Scillitans, or rather somewhat earlier; in any case, in A.D. 180.

The passage on which these statements are grounded is this:—

'quis enim ferat Ioui fulmina uibranti praeferri Migginem; Iunoni, Mineruae, Veneri Vestaeque Sanamem, et cunctis—pro nefas!—diis inmortalibus archimartyrem Namphamonem? inter quos Lucitas etiam haud minore cultu suspicitur atque alii interminato numero, diis hominibusque odiosa nomina, qui, conscientia nefandorum facinorum specie gloriosae mortis, scelera sua sceleribus cumulantes, dignum moribus factisque suis exitum maculati reppererunt. horum busta, si memoratu dignum est, relictis templis, neglectis maiorum suorum manibus, stulti frequentant, ita ut praesagium uatis illius indigne ferentis emineat: *Inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras.*' Maximus, apud Aug. *Ep.* 16. 2.

This section I have quoted in full, because, to the neglect of the context, attention has been concentrated only on the first four lines or so, and in these the words *archimartyrem Namphamonem* have been the centre of interest. Accepting *archimartyr* as equivalent to *protomartyr*, and

[1] Unless we accept the identification of him with the 'professor of repute' whose epitaph has been unearthed in Madaura (Gsell *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* i 2209); the cognomen of this grammarian's daughter is Maxima, a fact favouring the identification. The only evidence that Maximus was a grammarian comes from the incipits and explicits of the codices of Aug. *Epp.* 16 and 17. This is probably correct; Maximus's contemptuous reference to dialectic in *Ep.* 16. 3 (*quae neruorum suorum luctamine nihil certi cuiquam relinquere nititur*) is a hit at Augustine, ex-professor of rhetoric, and shows precisely that jealousy which, we learn elsewhere (e.g. Quint. ii 1. 1), existed between grammarian and rhetor. By a slip, Leclercq (*Afrique chrét.* ii p. 78) calls him 'un ancien camarade d'université' of Augustine's, though Maximus must at this time have been at least seventy (see *infra*), and Augustine was only thirty-six. I suggest that he had taught *grammatica* to Augustine when Augustine was a young student at Madaura.

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therefore Namphamo as the earliest African martyr, historians have been faced with the difficulty of explaining Tertullian's description of Saturninus, the proconsul (*circa* 180) under whom the Scillitan martyrdom took place, as *qui primus hic gladium in nos egit.*[1] In 1890 (to go no farther back[2]), K. J. Neumann put forward what has been followed as a reasonable explanation[3]: Saturninus was governor only of Proconsular Africa, not of Numidia, which had its own *legatus Augusti pro praetore.* Madaura, being in Numidia, came under the jurisdiction of this legate, and its martyrs would naturally suffer under him and not under Saturninus. There is then in Tertullian's words nothing to contradict Namphamo's title *archimartyr* (i.e. *protomartyr*); *hic* is Carthage, or at most Proconsular; Saturninus therefore rightly retains his dubious honour of being the first to persecute, in Proconsular Africa though not in Numidia; Namphamo retains his title as the first to suffer for the faith, in Numidia, though not in Africa as a whole. Neumann now goes on to argue that the first martyr of Numidia, being called *archimartyr* (i. e. *protomartyr*), must have been earlier than the first martyrs of Proconsular Africa; he sets Namphamo before the Scillitans, and declares his conviction that 'das Jahr 180 wird von dem Todesjahre des Namphamo schwerlich weit abliegen'. This argument is at bottom fallacious; we are dealing with two distinct provinces, and are not entitled to make any inferences about the dates of martyrs in one from unrelated evidence for the other. But in spite of this, Neumann's explanation has been accepted. Delehaye[4] repeats his reasoning and accepts 180, refining a little by adding 'le titre d'*archimartyr* ne signifie pas nécessairement le premier martyr d'Afrique, mais peut-être le premier martyr de Madaure'. Monceaux[5] thinks the title *archimartyr* is probably explained by the fact that Namphamo 'passait pour être le plus ancien martyr de Numidie'; elsewhere[6] he speaks of 'le martyre de Madaure de l'année 180'. Schwarze[7] quotes Neumann, then proceeds 'es spricht aber manches dafür, dass er [*scil.* Namphamo] überhaupt der erste afrikanische Märtyrer gewesen ist'; but he will wisely make no assertion about date: 'Namphamo erlitt das Martyrium an einem

[1] *Scap.* 3.

[2] Baronius was, I think, the first to assign Namphamo to 180; cf. Morcelli *Africa Christiana* ii p. 48 fol.

[3] *Der röm. Staat u. die allgem. Kirche* i pp. 286–287, cf. p. 77.

[4] *Origines du culte des Martyrs* p. 429.

[5] *Hist. litt. de l'Afr. chrét.* i p. 43, n. 7. On this page Monceaux asserts, in company with Leclercq (*Afr. chrét.* i p. 121, n. 4), that Namphamo was a slave. This is 'conjecture'; we know nothing about him save what I infer in the sequel.

[6] 'Enquête sur l'Épigraphie chrét. d'Afrique' in *Mém. présentés à l'Acad. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* xii (1907), p. 98.

[7] *Entwickelung der afr. Kirche* (1892), p. 102.

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fünften, und Miggen an einem zehnten Dezember, in welchem Jahre wissen wir nicht'; at most, 'perhaps' in 180. Leclercq shews clearly the unsettledness and inconsistency in which the martyrdom of Namphamo is involved; in one place [1] he says, 'l'Église d'Afrique entre dans l'histoire en l'année 180 avec deux groupes de martyrs, l'un à Scilli, l'autre à Madaure'; elsewhere [2] he is sceptical: 'on a parlé' of various dates in December, 180, but 'tout cela est conjecture. Rien n'indique que le Namphamo du *non. Decembr.* au *Martyrol. Hieron.* (1894), p. 150, soit celui dont nous parlons'. Mesnage [3] follows pretty closely the reasoning of Neumann, and his inconsistencies: 'on peut même le supposer [the martyrdom of Namphamo and his companions] plus ancien que les Scillitains, sans se mettre en contradiction avec Tertullien, car le *qui primus hic gladium in nos egit* ne s'entend que de l'Afrique Proconsulaire, tandis que Namphamo a pu être martyrisé en Numidie, par le légat, à une époque antérieure'; but he further makes the suggestion that *archimartyr* may mean 'seulement qu'il fut le martyr principal du *numerus interminatus* qui confessa alors la foi'. The inclusion of the others mentioned by Maximus is a step in the right direction; the suggestion about the meaning of *archimartyr* had been already made, in a slightly different form, by Lightfoot. His words are [4]: 'Since this correspondence is our sole authority for these martyrdoms, there is no solid ground for supposing the others to have been martyred on the same day as Namphamo. The language of Maximus would be satisfied if they suffered separately and in different reigns. It should be added that the inferences drawn as to the date depend entirely on the interpretation of *archimartyr* as equivalent to *protomartyr*. This seems highly probable, but it is not certain.' Lightfoot's caution has impressed Kidd,[5] who, while repeating the usual statements about the Madauran martyrs ('perhaps' before the Scillitans), and drawing the conclusion that by 180 Christianity had reached the Punic-speaking population, still points out that the equivalence of *archimartyr* and *protomartyr* is uncertain.

It is unnecessary to give further quotations.[6] Namphamo [7] is generally

[1] *Afr. chrét.* i p. 31; cf. *Afrique* in the *Dict. d'Archéol. et de Liturgie chr.*, sub init.

[2] *Afr. chrét.* i p. 121, n. 4.

[3] *Le Christianisme en Afrique* (Paris-Alger, 1914) p. 83 n. 2.

[4] *Apost. Fathers* II, vol. i p. 253.

[5] *History of the Church to 461* (Oxford, 1922) vol. i p. 251; cf. p. 111.

[6] I have not been able to see the article in the *Revue Historique* for 1879, p. 246: 'L'Église d'Afrique et ses premières épreuves'. Further mentions in Allard *Hist. des Persécutions* i 436; de Rossi *Bull. di archeol. chr.* iv (1873), p. 68 ('il celeberrimo protomartire della Chiesa africana'); Gwatkin *Early Church History to 313* i p. 168 (an interesting page); etc.

[7] Goldbacher's edition is the first to read the name thus, correctly; older editors gave either *Nam Phanionem* or *Namphanionem*, though the Benedictines had

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accepted as protomartyr of Africa or of Numidia, and on much the same grounds. It will be noticed that little use has been made of any part of Maximus's statement save the word *archimartyr*: on it all the reasoning has been hung. Any examination of this question must therefore begin with a scrutiny of it; then it must be considered what inferences may be drawn from the rest of the section.

I.

Is *archimartyr*, then, equivalent to *protomartyr*? I had taken note to examine this *soi-disant* equivalence some considerable time before coming upon Lightfoot's caveat, and while glad to have his support in throwing doubt on the generally accepted synonimity, I should at once remove the question from the region of doubt and assert that the equivalence is imaginary.

There is no justification for equating *archi-* with *proto-*. *Archiepiscopus* is not 'the first, earliest bishop', but the 'chief-, head-bishop'; *archidiaconus* is 'chief-deacon', not 'earliest deacon'; *archangelus* is 'chief-angel' not 'earliest angel'. Take any other of the compounds: *archiater*, *archibuculus*, *archiereus*, *archierosyna*, *archigallus*, *archigeron*, *archigubernus*, *archimagirus*, *archimimus*, *archipirata*, *archipresbyter*, *archisacerdos*, *archisynagogus*, *architriclinus*, or others from the *Thesaurus*; there is no reference in any of these to time or chronological order; what is stated in each is rank, dignity, position in a hierarchical scale. To express it graphically, *archi-* represents not the starting-point on a horizontal line, but the topmost point of a vertical line. *Archi-* and *proto-* differ exactly as *Haupt-* and *Ur-*; *archimartyr* could no more be equivalent to *protomartyr* than, say, *Hauptsprache* could to *Ursprache*. Translate, then, Namphamo's epithet as 'martyr-in-chief'; he still retains his rank, but all chronological implications disappear. There is no more need for the date 180 A. D.[1]

Why does Maximus go out of his way to use this word? It is a nonce-word; only from this passage does the *Thesaurus* quote it,

registered the other reading (Ed. Bened. 1679 ii 20 note C = Ed. Amst. 1701 ii 15 note C: *nonnulli* (sc. *codd.*) *etiam* Namphamonem *pro* Namphanionem). The first to suggest the right reading *Namphamonem* would seem to have been Samuel Petit in his *Miscellaneorum Libri Novem* (Paris 1630), Lib. ii cap. 3, p. 86; Petit rightly says that Namphamo is Punic or Hebrew for 'pulcher est pes eius'. See, too, Sam. Bochert *Geogr. sacra* (Paris 1681), ii p. 849. For discussions of the name and Augustine's interpretation *boni pedis hominem* see de Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. chr.* iv (1873) p. 68; P. Guérin *Les Petits Bollandistes* viii (1873) *sub* 4 juillet, p. 12; cf. Bern. Stade 'Erneute Prüfung des zw. dem Phön. u. Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades' in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1875, pp. 167 ff.

[1] It seems probable that the error has arisen from the facile assumption that this *archi-* in *archimartyr* is the same as the prefix in *archetypus*.

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while for the period after 600 Du Cange quotes again only Maximus *apud* Augustine. Nor should we expect it to occur elsewhere; there was not a hierarchy of martyrs in the Church, and, on the other hand, *protomartyr* had a definite meaning. Had Maximus wished to say that Namphamo was the earliest of Madauran or Numidian or African martyrs, he would almost certainly have employed a word with which the cult of St Stephen, widespread in Africa,[1] would have made him familiar. Moreover, due regard must be paid to Maximus's mood at the time of writing, a consideration which has unfortunately been forgotten by the supporters of Namphamo's canonization. Maximus is far from writing history in impartiality and candour; it is impossible to accept his letter as an accurate and reliable document without seeing to what extent his statements require purging from prejudice and temper. He is a contemptuous pagan, finding material for mockery in the absurdities, as it seemed to him, of the Christian cult; on my reading of his words, he is deliberately sneering. I suggest that he picked out the least reputable, or the most patently disreputable, of those popularly honoured as martyrs, throwing their names together in a consciously, contemptuously haphazard list. This fact, very human and very common, would dispose of the argument that the martyrs mentioned together with Namphamo suffered in the same place and at the same date; but I shall return to this point later. In this mood of sneering superiority, Maximus disdainfully coined the word *archimartyr*: 'this is your head-martyr, your martyr-in-chief, your prince of martyrs'. No more can be inferred from the statement than that the cult of Namphamo was the most conspicuous and most general of which Maximus knew. Of date there is not the slightest hint; all we can say is that among those honoured with a popular cult, Namphamo stood highest—highest, that is, in popular esteem, not earliest in order.[2]

In support of this conclusion we may adduce some subsidiary considerations. Had this martyrdom been genuinely of the year 180, it is hard to understand why there is no mention of it elsewhere than in the letter of a pagan who wrote two hundred and ten years after the event; it ought to have been known to Tertullian, it ought to have been mentioned by Augustine. Of course, arguments *ex silentio* are dangerous; the African inscriptions have preserved a goodly number of martyrs'

[1] Cf. Toulotte 'Le Culte de s. Étienne en Afrique' . . . in *Nuovo Bull. di Archeol. crist.* viii (1902), pp. 211 ff.

[2] Burns's lines come pretty near the meaning: *He's rank'd among the chief O'lang syne saunts* (*Answer Ep. of Tailor*); Maximus's nonce-word would be useful in translating this: *Inter sanctos primitivos archimartyr ille erat.* The English use of *arch-* with its implication of 'execration and odium' (*N. E. D.*, s. v.), suggests that in Maximus's mind there is something of the same contempt in his use of *archi-*.

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names not known from literature.[1] Then, too, sufficient place has not been accorded to the words *alii interminato numero*; the 'Madauran martyrs' have usually been reckoned four, Miggo or Miggin, Saname, Namphamo, and Lucitas. But here is mention of 'a countless host' and that, too, from a pagan who has no reason for exaggeration. While Tertullian's language would imply that *circa* 200 Christianity had penetrated all classes in Africa,[2] there are only four towns, besides Carthage, in which he suggests the presence of Christian communities, Hadrumetum,[3] Thysdrus in Byzacium,[4] Uthina in Zeugitana,[5] and Lambaesis in Numidia.[6] That is, for Numidia he knows of only one definite locality where Christianity had found witnesses. But at Lambaesis it is an army importation; the victims are not native but soldiers. There seems little ground for the supposition that as early as 180 Madaura, or its neighbourhood, had Christians to the extent which would justify Maximus's describing its martyrs as *interminato numero*.

For, generally speaking, the earliest martyrdoms in a newly evangelized territory are geographically reasonable: they take place at no great distance from the frontier or coast facing the influencing centre. Lambaesis, with its soldier-martyr, is an easily understood exception. St Perpetua and her companions are now held to have been Carthaginians, not Thuburbitans[7]; but while Carthage supports this rule of the locality of martyrdoms, Thuburbo, which is quite near Carthage, supports it no less. The site of Scillium seems to be unknown, but here, too, there is every reason for placing it near or on the coast.[8] It is, therefore, strange to find Christianity so early in Madaura. Madaura certainly had an important position, situated on the great road from Theveste to Thagaste (where it joined the main route between Cirta and Carthage), and on to Hippo Regius.[9] The town itself was a noted centre of Roman life and culture, though never of great size. Had Christianity reached it by this date, there ought to have been traces of similar evangelization along the roads by which it had come.

[1] Leclercq *Afr. chr.* i p. 361.
[2] *Apol.* 38, *Scap.* 2. 5.
[3] *Scap.* 3.
[4] *Scap.* 4.
[5] *Monogam.* 12.
[6] *Scap.* 4; cf. Leclercq *l. c.* i p. 47, n. 6. In absence of other literature, I take these facts from Kidd *l. c.* p. 111.
[7] Armitage Robinson *The Passion of St Perpetua* p. 26.
[8] Leclercq *l. c.* i p. 120, n. 3: 'leur lieu d'origine n'est pas définitivement identifié'.
[9] Toussaint 'Étude du réseau routier . . . de la région de Khamissa, Mdaourouch' . . . in *Mem. arch. du Comité des Trav. hist.* 1897, p. 262; *C. I. L.* viii p. 859 *Viae publicae prov. Afr.*, Mesnage *Romanisation de l'Afrique* p. 58. For Madaura generally see Gsell *Recherches archéol. en Algérie* pp. 355 ff.; Toulotte *Géogr. de l'Afr. chr., Numidie*, pp. 201 ff. The notes of Gibb and Montgomery in the *Confessions*, and of Butler and Owen in Apul. *Apologia*, are too slight.

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Again, even much later than 390, when this exchange of letters took place between Augustine and Maximus, Madaura was conspicuous for its tenacious adherence to paganism: in *Ep.* 232. 1 Augustine speaks of the Madaurans as those *quorum mihi superstitiosus cultus idolorum . . . cum magno est dolore notissimus.* The inscriptions there found reveal an unusually large number of pagan priests, temples, and deities.[1] The vitality of African paganism is, of course, well known, yet (probably towards the end of his life) Augustine could claim of Hippo: *in hac ciuitate multas inueniri domus in quibus non sit uel unus paganus; nullam domum inueniri ubi non sint Christiani. Et si discutiatur diligenter, nulla domus inuenitur ubi non plures Christiani sint quam pagani. Verum est, consentitis* (*Serm.* 302. 19). If this be true for Hippo, where it must to a large extent have resulted from the work of Augustine alone, we may rightly, I think, infer that the strength of paganism in Madaura is some evidence that Christianity was not of very long standing, at least not as long as from 180.

It may be objected that, since Madaura was a colony for veterans,[2] the Christian faith may have been brought there as early as 180 by soldiers. While this is plausible, there is strong objection to it. The persecution at the great military station, Lambaesis, seems to be mentioned by Tertullian just because of its uniqueness, and there is no evidence apart from his words that Christianity was strong there. The best counter-argument will simply be the demonstration of other inferences which render it untenable.

II.

These subsidiary arguments may not, in themselves, be very valuable, but taken with the proof that *archimartyr* does not mean 'earliest martyr', they result in the ejection of Namphamo from his position as a protomartyr. Are we then reduced to complete ignorance concerning him and his companions? By no means; there still remains the rest of the sentence, from which we may extract evidence hitherto overlooked.

Even allowing for the exaggeration and deliberate depreciation natural in a pagan attacking Christianity, we must admit that his language in the latter half of the paragraph quoted is exceedingly vigorous. It is a very heavy charge that he makes against these martyrs. Of course he

[1] Gsell *Inscr. lat. de l'Algerie* i provides evidence of the widespread cult of Pluto, Aesculapius, Mercury, Mars, Venus Erycina, Ceres, Fortuna, Dea Virtus, etc. See his introductory note on Madaura. The Christian *Basilica* unearthed at Madaura is not large (28·50 metres by 12·95), and can have sheltered only a comparatively small company. See Gsell *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie* ii 227.

[2] Apul. *Apol.* 24, Ptolemy 4. 3, 7, and inscriptions.

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was intelligent enough to weigh the scales against Christianity by choosing the least deserving and defensible among those honoured with a popular cult, but this does not quite explain the vivacity and bitterness of his indictment. They are guilty *nefandorum facinorum*; they added crime to crime, *scelera sua sceleribus cumulantes*; they met a well-merited end, *dignum . . . exitum*; they were *maculati*; their *nomina* were *diis hominibusque odiosa*. The Christians generally reckoned that the endurance of the martyrs provoked the curiosity and admiration of the pagans,[1] but such martyrs as these cannot, even with allowance made, have satisfied even their fellow-Christians. Moreover, it is quite impossible that these people of whom Maximus shews such intimate knowledge, and towards whom he is so bitter, should have lived two hundred and ten years before the date of his letter. In his argument against the Donatists Augustine often insists upon the difficulty of judging those who had lived at most a hundred years before.[2] There can be no other conclusion than this, that Miggin, Namphamo, and the others were personally known to Maximus; that on personal knowledge he judged them rascals, and that personal experience of their rascality is at the root of his contempt and bitterness towards them.

Let this conclusion be accepted; it is, I think, one which a careful and impartial reading of his words will shew to be strictly justified. Now when Maximus wrote to Augustine in the year 390, he must have been at least seventy[3]; he calls himself *senex inualidus*, so this is hardly putting his age too high. If he was personally acquainted with this martyr-group they must have suffered when he was of age to take an intelligent interest in public affairs, say when he was at least twenty. We must allow, too, a certain number of years to elapse before the cult became at all widespread; not many, for the cult of martyrs was greatly favoured in Africa, but let us say ten years. We shall not be far wrong then in placing the deaths of Namphamo and company somewhere between 340 and 380, more or less.

What class of Christians during these forty odd years merits the description given by Maximus? Any one at all familiar with the anti-Donatist works of Optatus and Augustine will at once be struck by the remarkable resemblance between Maximus's language here and their accounts of the riotous Donatist champions, the Circumcellions. Let

[1] Tert. *Scap.* 5 *quisque enim tantam tolerantiam spectans, ut aliquo scrupulo percussus, et inquirere accenditur quid sit in causa, et ubi cognouerit veritatem, et ipse statim accenditur*; cf. *Apol.* 50, and others.

[2] See e. g. *Ep.* 87. 5.

[3] The probability is that he was older. *Senex inualidus* is a strong expression, and it has to be remembered that 'la plupart des professeurs latins dont nous connaissons l'âge ont dépassé les bornes ordinaires de la vie humaine' (Jullien *Les Professeurs de littérature dans l'ancienne Rome* [Paris, 1885] p. 195).

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me illustrate this by confronting the more important parts of Maximus's denunciation with anti-Donatist denunciation.

Note that this whole section of Maximus's letter is based on the utter ridiculousness of the comparison between these 'martyrs' and the Olympians.

cunctis ... diis inmortalibus] The success of Christianity anywhere meant, of course, the displacement of the pagan deities. These people were, then, Christians, of some kind. But it was certainly not usual to exalt even martyrs, at this early date, avowedly to be rivals of the old gods; the words, however, fit the Donatists, of whom Optatus tells us that they did precisely this, Opt. 2. 21 *personas uestras iam pro Deo habere noscuntur*, cf. 16. 22, 23.

pro nefas '!'] This exclamation of horror implies again the complete absurdity of the comparison, and also implies that Namphamo was the least qualified for competition with the immortals.

alii interminato numero] This, again, exactly suits the Donatist bands during the period defined above. Optat. 3. 4 (of the circumcellions slain by Taurinus) *in loco Octauiensi occisi sunt plurimi, detruncati sunt multi; quorum corpora usque in hodiernum per dealbatas aras aut mensas potuerunt numerari*, 'counted', probably, 'by dozens', they were so thickly scattered. Aug. *C. Gaud.* 1. 29. 33 (of Donatist suicides) *isto modo tot milia moriuntur.*

diis hominibusque odiosa nomina] Again a strong expression of contempt. I shall return to this point *infra.*

conscientia nefandorum facinorum] Cf. what Opt. says of Felix, a noted Donatist, 2. 19 *inter crimina sua et facinora nefanda.* Aug. characterizes the Donatists' deeds as *horrenda facinora* (*Ep.* 134. 2; *c. Cresc.* 1. 28), *apertissima facinora et scelera* (*c. Part. Don. p. Gest.* 17. 22), *tam magna scelera* (*c. Cresc.* 3. 43. 47), *nefanda scelera* (*c. Gaud.* 1. 36. 46), *manifesta flagitia et facinora* (*Unic. Bapt.* 8. 14), *sceleratissima latrocinia* (*Unit. Eccl.* 54), *scelera quibus uiolenter saeuiunt nefarieque uiuunt* (*Brev. Coll.* 3. 8. 13), etc.

specie gloriosae mortis] The collocation of this with the last, a boast of martyr-glory for utterly abandoned lives, is found over and over again in the charges against the Donatists. Speaking of the death of the circumcellions Aug. has an exact parallel: *Ep.* 88. 8 these deaths *nobis uolunt esse inuidiosas, uobis* [*sc. Donatistis*] *gloriosas . . . Viuunt ut latrones, moriuntur ut circumcelliones, honorantur ut martyres.* Similarly *Ep.* 105. 5 *latronum facta facitis, et cum iure punimini, gloriam martyrum requiritis*; *c. Litt. Petil.* 2. 184 *cum uiuatis ut latrones, mori uos iactatis ut martyres*; *c. Gaud.* 1. 26. 29 *ista circumcellionum est insania, non martyrum gloria*; *ibid.* 1. 27. 31 *faciunt opera latronum et daemonum, et gloriam sibi uindicant martyrum*; *c. Cresc.* 3. 42. 46 *uobis uidemini similes martyrum; cum quotidie uestrorum incredibilia patiamur facta clericorum et circumcellionum multo peiora quam quorumlibet latronum atque praedonum*, etc.

scelera sua sceleribus cumulantes] Probably a reminiscence of

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Cicero's *alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti* (*Cat.* i 6. 14); Maximus does not confine himself to the singular—another evidence of his vigorous denunciation and hatred.

dignum moribus factisque suis exitum . . . reppererunt] A violent end of some kind, but whether by suicide, in the favourite custom of the circumcellions, or by the hand of the civil authorities, is not clear; probably, however, the latter. Cf. Aug. *Brev. Coll.* 3. 8. 13 *in inuidiam catholicorum exaggerantes siue mortes quas eorum circumcelliones sibimet-ipsis inferunt, siue omnia quae non pro communione Donati, sed pro sceleribus quibus uiolenter saeuiunt nefarieque uiuunt, per leges publicas patiuntur, sicut etiam de oppido Bagaitano commemorasse ausi sunt, ubi manifestum est quanta mala commiserint et quam minora perpessi sunt; Ep.* 89. 2 *si ea quae patiuntur comparentur eis factis, quis non uideat qui magis persecutores uocandi sunt?*; Dulcitius in Aug. *Ep.* 204, 3 the Donatists *debitae neci dandos.* Aug. himself often intervenes or pleads that their merited punishment should be tempered with mercy, which accounts for the *quam minora perpessi sunt*; they were certainly worthy of severe punishment, but here, as often under Augustine, it was not *dignum moribus factisque*, but tempered with mercy.

maculati] It is probably only an accident that this word should be one of frequent recurrence in the Donatist controversy; there it has a special implication of guilt incurred by communion and contact with sinners. Here it is only a term of opprobrium; cf. Augustine's *tam multi scelerati apud eos emerserunt et tolerauerunt illos per tot annos* (*Ep.* 52. 3); *Ep.* 185. 15 *perditorum hominum dementissimi greges*; *c. Cresc.* 3. 48. 52 they are compared *latronibus, piratis, truculento alicui generi barbarorum*; *Unic. Bapt.* 8. 14 *tam multis malis et sceleratis, qui in eorum parte sunt manifestis flagitiis et facinoribus perditi ei inquinati.* Cf. many of the passages cited above.

busta] This practice is well known for both catholic and Donatist martyrs alike; the *busta* are more generally termed *arae* or *mensae*, as in Opt. quoted above (s.v. *interminato numero*). There were excesses in the celebrations of the orthodox, but those held by the Donatists seem to have been more riotous: Aug. *Unit. Eccl.* 50 *tot spontaneas et furiosas mortes, ut colantur ab hominibus, appetant, et ad eorum sepulchra ebriosi greges uagorum et uagarum permixta nequitia die noctuque se uino sepeliant flagitiisque corrumpant.*

neglectis maiorum suorum manibus] Naturally a grievance with the pagans. It will be enough here to quote Goyau *Revue Critique* i (1892) p. 68: 'pour le peuple le culte des martyrs était une autre forme du culte des *manes*'.

stulti] Those whom Aug. calls *imperiti*; it is one of his constant charges against the Donatists that they *nebulas obtendunt imperitis* (*Ep.* 97. 2; 118. 32; 134. 4; 185. 2. 6; *In Io. Ev.* 4. 16; *c. Cresc.* 3. 68, 78, etc.).

uatis illius] Lucan vii 459. If we may press the point of the quotation and give it its full application and aptness, we may compare

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Opt. 3. 6 *quos inter uos martyres ponitis; per quos tamquam per unicam religionem uestrae communionis homines iurant*; cf. *ibid.* 2. 21 *per uos iurant*, also 22, 23.

The remarkably close parallelism throughout all this section makes the conclusion inevitable. We have taken away the sole prop on which the date A.D. 180 rested; we have seen reason to assign Namphamo and his companions to the period between 340 and 380, or somewhere in the middle of the fourth century. The close similarity between Maximus's language and that of Optatus and Augustine leaves it almost indisputable that Miggin, Saname, Namphamo, and Lucitas were circumcellions. There need be no surprise that they have found their way into the martyrologies; a similar fate has been meted out to Donatus of Bagai and Marculus,[1] Donatists who perished during the *tempora Macariana*, and this, too, in spite of the fact that Marculus enjoyed a cult among the Donatist party which, in every particular, recalls that of Namphamo; to the tomb of Marculus at Nova Petra, one of the most famous sanctuaries of Donatist martyrs,[2] Maximus's words are equally applicable: it was a *bustum*, which, *relictis templis, neglectis maiorum suorum manibus, stulti frequentant.* Namphamo is of less importance in the history of Donatism than either this Donatus or Marculus, but it seems incontrovertible that, like them, he and his companions were Donatists, canonized under a misapprehension.

III.

If this conclusion be accepted, it becomes easy to understand the bitter contempt with which Maximus writes. Circumcellionism was a religious movement on the surface only; in reality it was a social revolt, supported by the Punic population largely because it opposed the State and the State religion.[3] The native people adhered to Donatism for the simple reason that their masters were Catholic, just as, later, the triumph of Islam in North Africa provoked them to a corresponding heterodoxy. Donatist or circumcellion animosity was therefore not displayed against Catholics alone; against Paganism, too, it shewed a ferocity which accounts for the strong feeling shewn by Maximus. He had perhaps had personal experience of the attacks made by the circumcellions upon the pagans[4]; he had certainly seen

[1] Roman Martyrol. ad vi. Kal. Dec.; cf. Aug. *c. Cresc.* 3. 49. 54, *c. Litt. Petil.* 2. 14. 20; Leclercq *op. cit.* i p. 347 and note; Monceaux *Hist. Litt.* iv p. 151.

[2] Leclercq *ibid.* p. 366 and note.

[3] Cf. Id. *ibid.* p. 346; Mesnage *Christianisme en Afrique* i 139.

[4] Aug. *c. Gaud.* 1. 28. 32; *Ep.* 185. 12 *qui sciunt et ante ipsas leges quid facere soleant, non eorum mirantur mortes, sed recordantur mores* (exactly what Maximus did), *maxime quando adhuc cultus fuerat idolorum, ad paganorum celeberrimas*

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their frenzied attacks on law and order.[1] His indignation at the apotheosis of the rascal members of these hooligan-bands is no greater than that of Augustine himself. In the *Contra Gaudentium*, written in 420, Augustine says that every one was familiar with the excesses committed by the circumcellions[2]; surely Maximus, who had lived through several outbursts of their passion, must have had experience enough of its lamentable consequences to justify his bitter and unmeasured denunciation of its ringleaders. Again, we know that even Donatists themselves abhorred the riotousness and wickedness of their champions[3]; how much more would one completely out of sympathy with their religion, one who had probably good cause to remember their violence?

It is in the light of this indignation that we must interpret the phrase left over till now: *diis hominibusque odiosa nomina.* These people are *odiosa* to the gods not merely because of their wicked lives, but because they had attacked and ill-treated the worshippers of these gods, namely the pagans; they are *odiosa* to men because of all that society had to endure from them. So far, this is clear; but why the word *nomina*? Was Maximus incensed against this group of martyrs simply because of their native names; that is (as most writers on this letter have said[4]), was his objection purely aesthetic? Certainly Augustine's reply criticizes Maximus for attacking the Punic names of these dead people, so that he too seems to see an aesthetic objection in the word. Yet it is hardly just, either on Augustine's part or on ours, to suppose Maximus's opposition to have been so frivolous; we have had reason to conclude that it is from moral indignation, deeply rooted and vehement, that Maximus speaks as he does. *Nomina* need mean no more than 'persons'[5]; in the English expression 'Don't mention their names to me', the point is (exactly what I take Maximus's to be) that the

sollemnitates ingentia turbarum agmina ueniebant . . . ut interficerentur a cultoribus idolorum. . . . nam singuli quique ualentissimi iuuenes cultores idolorum, quot quis occiderit ipsis idolis uouere consueuerant.

[1] See the account in Optat. 3. 4 *nulli licuit securum esse in possessionibus suis; debitorum chirographa amiserant uires; nullus creditor illo tempore exigendi habuit libertatem*, etc.

[2] *C. Gaud.* 1. 28. 32 *aetatis nostrae hominibus res notissimas loquor. quis enim nescit hoc genus hominum, in horrendis facinoribus inquietum, ab utilibus operibus otiosum, crudelissimum in mortibus alienis, uilissimum in suis . . .?*

[3] *Ep.* 185. 16 *horrebant ista plurimi in ipsa superstitione haeretica constituti*; *Ep.* 204. 5 *de quibus* [*mortibus*] *solent detestabiles et abominabiles esse multis etiam suis.*

[4] E. g. Leclercq *Afr. chrét.* ii pp. 79, 81.

[5] It is improbable that *nomina* is here used in the Christian sense of 'a list of saints', or 'a list of martyrs' relics'. For this signification see G. Rabeau *Le culte des saints dans l'Afr. chrét.* (Paris 1903 p. 201), Lejay in the *Revue d'Hist. et de Litt. relig.* (Series I) viii p. 598, also the *Bulletin de l'Acad. des Inscr. et B. L.* April 1919, pp 142, 144.

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names are not *odiosa* in themselves, but *odiosa* as symbols of persons hated. It is probable that Maximus, as a *grammaticus*, would naturally have greater sympathy with what was Roman than with what was Punic, but the whole drift of the paragraph shews that it is the scandalous character of these 'martyrs' that arouses his disgust; to criticize their names after that plainly-spoken contempt for their characters is to descend to puerilities. It is significant that the pronoun accompanying *nomina* is masculine: *nomina qui*; Maximus is thinking more of the people than of their names. His use of the word *nomina* is designed only to shew his contempt for their persons; Augustine rather captiously seizes the point to emphasize the ridiculous names of the pagan deities, Stercutius, Pallor, and the like, and it would almost seem as if he had wilfully distorted Maximus's meaning in order to score over him.[1] In any case, there is but the one word from which the implication of 'aesthetic disapproval' can be drawn; the rest of the paragraph shews that Maximus did not confine himself to anything so mild.

IV.

If it be admitted that these 'martyrs' are circumcellions, how are we to explain Maximus's confusion of Donatist with Catholic? And why did not Augustine rebut a charge which arose from a misapprehension, and which he could at once have shewn to be inapplicable? For the first, the confusion may have been either deliberate or unconscious; if the former, the implication is that Christianity is responsible for all its adherents, whether they be orthodox or heterodox; if unconscious, it is not surprising that a pagan should be ignorant of the history and the divisions of the African Church. This ignorance may have resulted from mere uninquisitiveness, or, as in so many of the pagans of this same century, it may have been a wilful closing of the eyes to the nature, the developement, and the very presence of the religion which was surely driving out their own. For the second point, why Augustine does not formally challenge the imputation, the reply is that he did not think it worth while. His reply contains the words (*Ep.* 17. 2) (about these Punic people you spoke of) *nescio utrum refellere debeam an silentio praeterire.* In the end he does pass it over in silence, and for obvious reasons: if Maximus is so complacent in his own paganism, the essential is not to explain the rise and the differences of Christian sects, but to shake that complacency, and to this end Augustine's letter is chiefly directed. The only hint that Augustine gives of his unwilling-

[1] Farrar *Paganism and Christianity* p. 10 describes Augustine's reply as 'ill-tempered'; I must reluctantly agree with him. The attack on paganism is justified, but the rather brusque and offensive tone is not.

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ness to be charged with the shortcomings of Namphamo and the others, is found in the phrase at the end of his letter, *Christiani catholici* (*Ep.* 17. 5).[1] *Catholic* Christians do not worship any dead men; Donatists may do so, but Catholics do not. The word 'Catholic' is emphatic, and surely for no other reason than thus to draw a distinction which his correspondent had either overlooked or wilfully neglected.

There are several minor arguments which may be here summarized in support of the contention that it was at Donatism that Maximus was aiming, and not at Catholicism. These are:—

1. Madaura, in the heart of Numidia, was in the very region where the circumcellion fury broke out (Aug. *Ep.* 58. 1 *eo terrarum unde donatistarum furor exortus est, id est in media Numidia*).

2. Maximus was in a district in which Punic was still spoken; or, more accurately, he had been born in such.[2] It was to this Punic-speaking population that circumcellionism most appealed; Augustine tells us that they understood only Punic.[3] The probabilities are, then, that it would be Donatism rather than Catholicism which would attract the attention and the criticisms of Maximus.

3. There is known to have been a Donatist church in Madaura: the insistence on Catholicism in many of the Christian inscriptions found in Madaura shews the necessity of distinguishing the adherents of the two parties.[4]

4. During the period in which the present theory would place these martyrs, Donatism was numerically much stronger than Catholicism. Possidius tells us that at the time of Augustine's ordination the Catholic Church was in a state of inferiority and subjection[5]; by the year 411,

[1] The sentence is apposite: *ne te hoc lateat et in sacrilega conuicia inprudentem trahat, scias a Christianis catholicis, quorum in uestro oppido etiam ecclesia constituta est, nullum coli mortuorum.*

[2] Aug. *Ep.* 17. 2 *te certe ibi natum, ubi huius linguae cunabula recalent.* There is, of course, no implication in the first member of this sentence that Maximus was living in his birthplace, but I think the point of the latter portion and the present tense in *recalent* demands that Maximus should be still in the town where he was born. Then, too, the phrase *ubi . . . recalent* is quite suitable to Madaura, in spite of its being a centre of Roman culture and education: among the 305 names found on its inscriptions, thirty-two are Punic (Mesnage *Romanisation de l'Afrique* [Paris 1913] p. 117).

[3] Aug. *passim*, e.g. *Ep.* 108. 14 *per Punicum interpretem.*

[4] E.g. the famous epitaph of Placentinus, the bishop of Madaura contemporary with Augustine, who *urbem in catolica florenter rexit* (Gsell *Inscr. lat.* 2757; see for the emphasis on *catolica* Monceaux *Comptes-rendus Acad. Inscr.* for 1915 p. 32); cf. Gsell 2762 *Peregrinus Presviter Religionis Katolice.*

[5] Possid. *Vit.* 7 after Augustine's ordination *leuare in Africa ecclesia catholica exorsa est caput, quae multo tempore illis conualescentibus haereticis praecipueque rebaptizante Donati parte, maiore multitudine Afrorum, seducta et pressa et oppressa iacebat*; cf. Aug. *c. Litt. Petil.* 2. 184 Catholics in Hippo (about the time of Julian) refused bread, because *Catholicorum ibi paucitas erat.*

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if not before, Augustine could say that the superiority had now passed over to his own party, although consular Numidia still shewed a preponderance of Donatists.[1] It adds to the interest and the probability of our contention that, about the same time, the Council of Carthage of 348 gives evidence of the growth of such cults as that which Maximus deplores, by forbidding suicide-martyrs to be held in veneration.

5. The presence of a woman, Saname or Sanae, among these circumcellions is explained and justified by the fact that their hooligan-bands were composed of both women and men.[2] We know from inscriptions at least one other female martyr among the Donatists, Robba, sister of Honoratus, Donatist bishop of Aquae Sirenses, killed in 434 by the 'traditores', and object of a cult at Ala Milaria (Benian).[3]

V

In order to complete the argument and anticipate further objections, it is now necessary briefly to consider those inscriptions which contain mention of any of the four names Miggo or Miggin, Saname, Namphamo, or Lucitas. The epigraphical evidence is not all equally satisfactory, but on the whole it favours our interpretation, and besides adds a further conclusion.

Miggo. This name is found in several inscriptions: Gsell 2965, found at Hr. el Hamacha[4]; *C. I. L.* viii 18656 at Ain Beida; another found at Tixter, between Setif and Algiers.[5] In Gsell 2965, Miggin is found in company with Mettun, Donatus, Baric, Felix, Iader, and Stiddin; in *C. I. L.* 18656, in company with Donatus and Baric. With the exception of Donatus and Felix, which were names well known in Donatist history, these names are Punic[6]; the likelihood is that they belong to Donatists. Certainly Gsell 2965 ends *NOMINA M|PTIRV PERF*, which Gsell and Monceaux follow de Rossi in emending *martyrum perfectorum*, i. e. *martyres probati, uindicati*, martyrs officially recognized and canonized by the Church. But there is nothing to shew that the phrase *martyres perfecti* or *probati* is exclusively Catholic; if the Catholics gave recognition to their martyrs, among whom were some

[1] *Ep.* 129. 6 there are places *ubi nostrorum . . . clericorum et laicorum longe maior est numerus et maxime in proconsulari prouincia, quamquam excepta Numidia consulari etiam in ceteris prouinciis Africanis nostrorum numero facillime superentur. . . .*

[2] See e. g. *Unit. Eccl.* 50 *ebriosi greges uagorum et uagarum.*

[3] See Leclercq *op. cit.* i p. 351; Monceaux *Hist. litt.* iv pp. 472, 480.

[4] This inscription is *C. I. L.* viii 10686 + 16741; on it see the discussion in Monceaux *Mém. Acad. Inscr.* xii 1 p. 210 (no 254).

[5] This is most accessible in Leclerq *Afr. chrét.* i pp. 289–290, where will be found some further references to Miggin.

[6] See Toutain *Les cités romaines de la Tunisie* pp. 169 ff. for this and the other names discussed.

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who had been slain by the Donatists, the practice is likely to have been equally prevalent on the other side. Leclercq reminds us that the distinction between heretics and orthodox is extremely hard to draw[1]; here there seems no reason for holding that this company of martyrs with its significant Punic names is other than Donatist. This inscription dates from the year 359, and therefore gives an additional support to the theory I have advanced of the period when Namphamo and his companions suffered.

The name Miggo or Miggin is very common in North Africa; there have been inscriptions bearing this name found at Theveste, El Hamacha, Aioun Berrich, Ain-el-Ksar, and Kerbert-Oum-el-Ahdam[2]; it may be the same name which is found in the form Miggenius or Megenius.[3] While this prevalence renders the identification of our Miggo with the Miggo of these inscriptions very problematical, the inscriptions shew at least that the cult of one Miggin or Miggo was very widespread. It may safely be asserted, then, that Miggo cannot be called a product of Madaura; all we can safely assert is that his cult was practised in Madaura, as well as in many other places.

Saname. This spelling is supported by the evidence of Goldbacher's manuscripts, but whether the correct form is this or *Sanae* I cannot be certain. Various names attested in the inscriptions may be the same as it: *Sanae* in Gsell 918, from Thagaste; *Sanam* (*ib.* 919, 1006), *Sanamt* (2315), *Sacnam* (1535), *Sahnamt*, *Sahnaim* (1901), *Sanais* (125), and *Sene* (1575). If these names be identical and refer to the one person, then again the cult is widespread and not properly peculiar to Madaura.

Namphamo. This was a very common name; it is found in Gsell, numbers 595, 668, 1069, 1616, 1813, 1984, 2018, 2226, 2635(?), 2709; the unaspirated form *Nampamo* is given by numbers 806, 1562, while similar names are found, such as *Nampame*, *Namphama*, *Namphamina*.[4] Here, again, there is doubt whether the inscriptions bearing *Namphamo* or *Nampamo* refer to the same martyr, but once more there is evidence, if they do, that the cult is widespread, and not local.

[1] Leclercq *op. cit.* i p. 361 : 'la distinction entre hérétiques et orthodoxes devient extrêmement délicate'.

[2] Monceaux *Enquête sur l'Épigraphie* . . . p. 210.

[3] *Megenius* at Theveste, *C. I. L.* viii 16660; *Miggines*, a *fossor*, is mentioned in the Vienna *C. S. E. L.* vol. lii p. 440, 8. Miggin is further known as the name of several bishops: *Migginem episcopum Elephantiarensem* (Aug. *In Ps.* 36, S. 2, 20; *c. Gaud.* 2. 7. 7), *Miggin Edistianensis* (present at the Conference of 411), *Miggin Nobensis* (*Notit. Mauret. Caesar.* 93), *Miggin Vagalitanus* (also present at the Conference of 411); Miggin is found in the *Martyrol. Hieron.* on April 17, 18, and 27, and December 2, 4, and 10.

[4] See examples quoted in Toutain *op. cit.* p. 176.

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Lucitas. There seems to be no other occurrence of this name, for which Monceaux gives the nominative *Lucita*.[1] In Gsell *Musée de Tebessa* p. 12 (= *C. I. L.* viii 17653; Monceaux *Enquête sur l'épigr. chr. de l'Afr. chrét.* p. 72) there is an inscription [*hic memoria sanctorum*] *Silvani, Primi, Donati, Tunnini, Felicis, Luccatis, et Iahinis*; it was found at Ain Zoui, south-east of Khenchela, and, from the names, is probably Donatist. Our Lucitas may be the same as this Luccas,[2] but it is doubtful.

At any rate, this epigraphical evidence, if at all valid, would seem to suggest that this group of martyrs has no right to be called exclusively 'Madauran'. Miggin and Namphamo, at least, appear to have been venerated over a fairly extensive area, and this would render improbable their suffering together, either in place or in time. If this conclusion be accepted—and I think the probabilities are in favour of its acceptance—then the three statements made in the phrase 'the martyrs of Madaura of the year 180' must be rejected as false: these four persons were not, strictly speaking, 'martyrs', but circumcellions, and *martyres non facit poena, sed causa*; the cult given them by the Donatists seems, on the whole, too general to allow of their being described as only 'Madauran'; and, finally, the date 180 must be set aside for one somewhere about the middle of the fourth century.[3]

J. H. BAXTER.

OPTATUS.

ONE of the most important sources for the religious history of the fourth century is the work of Optatus bishop of Milevis *Against the Donatists*. The author purports, as is well known, to base his account of the early stages of the Donatist controversy upon official documents, and the value of his work as a whole obviously depends upon our view of the character of those official documents cited by him: are they forgeries or not? Seeck, in an early study of the history of Optatus, concluded that many of these documents were indeed forgeries,[4] and on the basis of Seeck's article, Batiffol, in his recent book, *La Paix Constantinienne et le Catholicisme* (Lecoffre, Paris, 1914), still refuses to

[1] *Hist. litt. de l'Afr. chrét.* iii p. 543.

[2] Or *Luccatis*? I find this suggestion has already been made by Alfaric, *L'Évolution intell. de s. Aug.* i p. 16, note 3.

[3] They may have suffered death under Count Taurinus, about 340, or in the *tempora Macariana* (347–348), but without further evidence it is impossible to give a more precise date than that above.

[4] Otto Seeck *Quellen und Urkunden über die Anfänge des Donatismus*. *Z.K.G.* x (1889) pp. 506–568.

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admit the genuineness of many of these 'sources'. Unfortunately, however, he has not subjected these documents to any careful reconsideration. Duchesne in his elaborate study *Le Dossier du Donatisme*[1] contended that all the documents cited by Optatus are genuine, and the conclusions of Duchesne have been in large measure accepted by Seeck in a later monograph to which Batiffol does not refer,[2] but Seeck still insists (i) that the original petition of the Donatists to Constantine is a forgery (Optatus i 22, ed. Ziwsa in *C. S. E. L.* p. 25), (ii) that the letter of Constantine to Aelafius is a forgery (Ziwsa pp. 204 sqq.), (iii) that the mission of the bishops Eunomius and Olimpius (i 26, Ziwsa p. 28) is an invention and that their *sententia* is a forgery.

As regards (i) this document has been accepted as genuine by Monceaux (*Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne* etc. v p. 14, Paris 1920), and discussed by Dom John Chapman (*Donatus the Great and Donatus of Casae Nigrae, Revue Bénédictine*, January 1909). There can hardly remain any question of its authenticity. It is unnecessary to consider it further here. But admittedly there are serious difficulties in the case of (ii) and of (iii). The relevant facts may be briefly recalled: on the appeal of the Donatists, forwarded by the Proconsul Anulinus in a letter dated April 15, 313, Constantine resolutely refused to act as judge in a purely ecclesiastical matter: he therefore referred the question of Caecilian's guilt to a council in Rome which was presided over by the pope Miltiades or Melchiades. The decision of Miltiades (October 2, 313, cf. Augustine *ad Donatistas post collationem* 56) is given by Optatus as follows (I. *c.* 24):

'Cum constiterit Caecilianum ab his qui cum Donato venerunt iuxta professionem suam non accusari nec a Donato convictum esse in aliqua parte constiterit, suae communioni ecclesiasticae integro statu retinendum merito esse censeo.'

The authenticity of this declaration has not, it would seem, been questioned, although, as Ziwsa remarks, 'unde haec sumpserit Optatus non constat.'

With the decision of this council the Donatists were not content: they appealed once more to Constantine, who summoned a new council in Gaul, at Arles, which confirmed the decision of the Pope. It is into this framework that the challenged documents must be fitted.

In the first place it is necessary to consider whence came the bishops who were summoned to the Roman council. Optatus (*c.* 23) writes:—

'Et tamen dati sunt iudices Maternus ex Agrippina civitate (Cologne),

[1] *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire publiés par l'École française de Rome* x (1890) pp. 589–650.

[2] Otto Seeck *Urkundenfälschungen des 4. Jahrhunderts. I. Das Urkundenbuch des Optatus. Z.K.G.* xxx (1909) pp. 181–227.

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Reticius ab Augustoduno civitate (Autun), Marinus Arelatensis (Arles). Ad urbem Romam ventum est ab his tribus Gallis et ab aliis quindecim Italis . . .' The complete list follows: 'Miltiades episcopus urbis Romae, et Reticius et Maternus et Marinus episcopi Gallicani, et Merocles a Mediolano, Florianus a Sinna, Zoticus a Quintiano, Stennius ab Arimino, Felix a Florentia Tuscorum, Gaudentius a Pisis, Constantius a Faventia, Proterius a Capua, Theophilus a Benevento, Sabinus a Terracina, Secundus a Praeneste, Felix a Tribus Tabernis, Maximus ab Ostia, Euandrus ab Ursino, Donatianus a Foro Claudii.' (*c.* 24) 'His decem et novem considerantibus episcopis causa Donati et Caeciliani in medium missa est.'

This list presents many difficulties: apart from the three Gallic sees, Milan, Rimini, Florence, Pisa, Faenza,[1] in the north of Italy can be identified with certainty; so in the south can Capua, Beneventum, Terracina, Praeneste, Ostia, and Forum Claudii (= Oriolo). On Tres Tabernae Harnack remarks (*Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* vol. ii 3rd edn., Leipzig 1915, p. 261 n. 7) 'Der Bischof steht zwischen dem von Praeneste und dem von Ostia; also ist Tres Tabernae an der Via Appia gemeint, und nicht einer der anderen Plätze dieses Namens'. *Ursinum* is quite unknown: 'Man sucht es', writes Harnack, 'in der Umgegend Roms, aber ich kenne keinen Ort dieses Namens. Eine Verschreibung (*Urbinum*) ist nicht anzunehmen' (*loc. cit.* p. 262 n. 4). *Quintianum* is also unknown: 'Wohl = Quintiana an der Küste nördlich von Centumcellae', suggests Harnack (p. 261 n. 8). On 'Sinna' Harnack queries 'Cesena? Siena? Segni?' (p. 261); Lanzoni writes[2] 'Il Baldoino nell'edizione di Parigi del 1569 (p. 136) interpretò Cinna o Sinna per Caesena, ed ebbe l'approvazione del Baronio (*Annales* ad an. 313 nn. 24–25), degli scrittori cesenati, e anche di estranei, perfino toscani (cf. Lami *Monumenta Eccl. Florentinae* ii 697; Ughelli *Italia Sacra* iii^2 527 in *nota*), e dello Ziwsa. Ma il primo editore del 1549 spiegò Sinna per Saena, e questa spiegazione che non dispiacque all'Ughelli (ii^2 702) e al Lami è ritenuta certa e sicura dal canonico Vittorio Lusini (*I confini storici del vescovado di Siena* in *Bullett. senese di storia patria* an. 1898, p. 337), dal padre Placido Lugano (*San Miniato a Firenze* in *Studi religiosi* an. 1902, p. 491, *nota* 2), dal conte Pietro Piccolomini (*Notizie di scavi nel territorio senese* in *Bullett. senese di storia patria* an. 1901, p. 135 *nota*), e da monsignor Duchesne (*Hist. anc. de l'Église* ii p. 111, n. 2). Certo l'opinione del Baronio è insostenibile, perchè nell'antichità Cesena fu denominata *Caesena*, *Cesena*, *Cesina* ecc., mai *Sena* o *Sina*. La sen-

[1] Cf. Lanzoni *I Primordi della chiesa Faëntina*. Faenza, 1906.

[2] Francesco Lanzoni *Le Origini delle Diocesi antiche d'Italia* (= *Studi e Testi* 35), Roma, 1923, pp. 355–356.

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tenza del primo editore di Ottato Milevitano è certamente la più probabile. Si noti che nel sinodo del 313 furono pure presenti i vescovi di Firenze e di Pisa, due città, come Siena, della Tuscia Annonaria.'[1]

It thus seems probable that the list consists of (i) the three Gallic sees, (ii) seven northern sees, (iii) those in the neighbourhood of Rome or in south Italy: the bishop of the capital acted as president of the council.

We can now turn to the letter of Constantine to Aelafius. It has often been contended that the name Aelafius is corrupt; if the document is genuine, Duchesne has shewn that the letter must be addressed to a vicarius of Africa.[2] The succession of the vicarii of Africa at this time has been discussed *inter alios* by Voelter,[3] Duchesne,[4] Pallu de Lessert,[5] and Seeck.[6] With that discussion we are only indirectly concerned. The occurrence of the name of Aelafius in this letter is adduced by Seeck as evidence that the document is a forgery, but it is important to note two points. (i) We know that Patricius was vicar early in 313 (Pallu de Lessert ii p. 158), and that Aelius Paulinus ⟨Verus ?⟩ (cf. Augustine *ep.* 88, and on this Pallu de Lessert ii pp. 164–165) was vicar at any rate late in 314: it is thus not impossible that *early in 314* there did intervene a vicar with the name of Aelafius.[7] (ii) The name itself 'n'a rien de plus extraordinaire que ceux de Eumalius, de Philomatius, de Musuphilus etc. . . . C'était la mode, on le sait, au IVe siècle de s'affubler de cognomina plus ou moins prétentieux à forme grecque.'[8] At least, Duchesne's proposal to alter the name Aelafius to Aelius Paulinus, would appear very hazardous. From these two points the conclusion may, I think, be drawn that in itself the

[1] 'Nessuno degli eruditi, che io sappia, ha pensato a Sena gallica (oggi Senigallia), forse perchè l'antico vescovo di questa città veniva detto e sottoscrivevasi Senogalliensis.' Lanzoni p. 355.

[2] In his article published in the *Mélanges de l'École de Rome*, 1890; and see Pallu de Lessert *La compétence respective du proconsul et du vicaire d'Afrique dans les démêlées donatistes. Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* lx p. 17 and *Fastes des Provinces Africaines* ii p. 160.

[3] *Der Ursprung des Donatismus*, Freiburg i. Br., 1883, p. 175.

[4] In *Mélanges de l'École de Rome*, 1890.

[5] *Fastes des Provinces Africaines* tome ii partie I, Paris, 1901.

[6] In *Z. K. G.* xxx (1909). For Seeck's list of vicarii cf. pp. 201–202.

[7] But if, as would seem probable, the *agens vices praefectorum praetorio*—a temporary substitute for the praefect—was an appointment distinct from that of the permanent and independent *vicarius* of a diocese, then Aelafius may have held the former office, and there would be no necessity to include his name in the list of *vicarii*. For the *agentes vices praefectorum praetorio* of the period of Constantine see E. Cuq *Les Vice-Préfets du Prétoire* in *Nouvelle Revue historique de droit français et étranger* xxiii (1899) pp. 393–400.

[8] Pallu de Lessert ii p. 160, n. 5.

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occurrence of the name Aelafius in this letter is not of necessity any evidence of forgery.

The document begins as follows: 'Iam quidem antehac cum *perlatum fuisset* ad scientiam meam apud Africam nostram plures vesano furore vanis criminationibus contra se invicem *super observantiam sanctissimae legis catholicae* discedere coepisse, dirimendae dissensionis huiuscemodi causa placuerat mihi ut ad urbem Romam tam Caecilianus Carthaginiensis episcopus contra quem vel maxime universi *saepe me convenerunt*' etc.[1] 'Clearly forgery,' says Seeck; 'it was not *rumour*, but a former petition from the Donatists which had raised the dispute'; but surely that petition had been *forwarded* to the emperor together with a covering letter by the Proconsul Anulinus? It was no point, urges Seeck, *sanctissimae legis catholicae*: it was but a disputed episcopal election that was in question; but Constantine's refusal to judge the matter and the calling of the Roman council shew the emperor's own view. '*Saepe?*, only twice up to this time', says Seeck: but how do we know that the Donatists did not petition Constantine many times during their presence in the capital for the Roman council? It is frankly not with arguments such as these that a forgery can be proved.

Of the passage which follows, however, I am not aware that any one as yet has even attempted an explanation. Slightly abbreviated it runs thus: 'Nam etiam ad supradictam urbem Romam nostram quosdam episcopos ex Galliis ire praeceperam ut tam hi ... sed et *septem* eiusdem communionis quam etiam urbis Romae *episcopi* atque illi, qui cum hisdem cognoscerent, possent rei quae videtur esse commota finem debitum adhibere' etc. On *septem* von Soden, in his edition of the text,[2] remarks 'Die Zahl muss auf Verderbnis beruhen'; on *episcopi* O. R. Vassall-Phillips (*The Work of St Optatus bishop of Milevis against the Donatists*, Longmans, 1917, p. 384) comments 'The MS reads *episcopi*; of course this is a mistake', and emends the text, reading *episcopus*. I would suggest that the text is correct as it stands. I am not trained in the study of the constitutional history of the Church, but it is common knowledge that at the Council of Nicaea there was granted by the sixth canon to the bishop of Alexandria authority over the bishops in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, according to τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν. How far the bishop of Rome possessed rights over bishops in Italian provinces is uncertain: the question is fully discussed by K. Lübeck in his valuable work *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients bis zum Ausgang des 4ten*

[1] I have italicized certain words on which Seeck has based his criticism of the letter.

[2] *Urkunden zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Donatismus* (= Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, etc., No. 122), Bonn, 1913, p. 16, n. 3.

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Jahrhunderts (= *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien herausgegeben von Knöpfler, Schörs und Sdralek* Band v Heft iv Münster 1901) pp. 114–158, especially pp. 129 sqq. It would take us far from our subject to reconsider the whole question here, but I would suggest that the phrase *urbis Romae episcopi* = those bishops who received their consecration from Rome. The words *atque illi qui cum hisdem cognoscerent* = the bishops of South Italy. If this view is possible—and it must be left to specialists in the constitutional history of the Church to decide the question—our document distinguishes three groups of bishops who were present at the Roman Council of 313: (i) the three Gallic bishops, (ii) the group of *seven* north Italian bishops which we have previously discussed, (iii) the bishops consecrated from Rome and the south Italian bishops. If this is the true view the authenticity of the document can surely hardly be doubted.

Minor objections of Seeck may be passed over, but two on which he lays great stress remain. The document reports the acquittal of Caecilian by the bishops, and proceeds 'eosque potius causae obnoxios esse dicentes (*sc.* the bishops of the Roman council) qui contra Caecilianum quaedam putaverunt commovere adeo ut istud post iudicium habitum Africam ipsos remeasse *prohiberent*'. Seeck objects that the bishops had no such power, and von Soden, who remarks (p. 17) that such a prohibition is not mentioned elsewhere in our authorities, proposes to read *prohiberem*. But in these early days of Constantine's rule it would not seem improbable that a *suggestion* made to the emperor by the bishops should be represented by him as a *decision* on their part: he would not interfere in ecclesiastical matters, but support with his authority the bishops' view. This consideration leads us to Seeck's cardinal objection to the letter: he regards it as impossible that Constantine should have directed the representatives of both parties summoned to the council at Arles to travel through the African provinces, then to cross the straits to Spain and journey by land to Gaul: no one, he says, would think of choosing the land route in the heat of summer, when a sea voyage was the natural course. But if the vicarius had begun by collecting the hostile representatives from the western provinces, they would all have ultimately met in Carthage; if the council at Rome thought it dangerous to allow the Donatist advocates to return to Africa at all, Constantine may well have been anxious to avoid a gathering of the rival forces in the African capital. He thus directed that the vicarius should start collecting his bishops in Byzacena and work westwards to the remote province of Mauretania. Constantine's diplomatic arrangement could hardly be avowed: the emperor pleads the advantage of the 'short sea passage' secured by the adoption of this route.

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This view of the Roman council—that the Donatist representatives should not be allowed to return to Africa—may also serve to explain (iii) the mission of the bishops Eunomius and Olimpius which Seeck regards as an invention. At Arles the judgement of the Roman council was confirmed, and Donatus was thereafter still forbidden to return to Africa.[1] In a defective passage of Optatus (i 26) we read 'Donatus petiit ut ei reverti licuisset . . . ad Carthaginem accederet'. This passage was quoted from Optatus by the Donatists in the conference of 411 and, it appears, was there read 'ut ei reverti licuisset et ad Carthaginem accederet (cf. Augustine *Breviculus Collationis cum Donatistis* xx 38). The Benedictine edition of Augustine's works, however, prefers to read here 'et *nec* ad Carthaginem accederet', and this reading Vassall-Phillips adopts into the text of Optatus and translates 'At the same time Donatus also asked that he might be allowed to return, and promised that he would not go to Carthage'. Ziwsa apparently considers that at this time Donatus *was given leave* to return to Africa provided that he did not go to Carthage: he would thus read after 'licuisset' ⟨*ad ea mandatum ne*⟩ *ad Carthaginem accederet*. So far as I can see the passage in Augustine gives no support to the view that the request of Donatus to return—whether to Carthage or to Africa is for this purpose immaterial—was granted by the emperor: the course of events shews, I think, that Ziwsa's conjectural emendation of the text of Optatus cannot be accepted. The next move of Donatus points to the conclusion either that his request had been refused, or at least that Donatus was well aware that it would not be granted. But if *he* were not allowed to return to Africa, neither should his rival: Donatus therefore instigated one of his supporters, Filuminus,[2] to suggest that in the interest of peace Caecilian should also be detained in Italy. Constantine accepted the proposal and Caecilian was kept at Brixia. With both bishops under his control Constantine thought that a new bishop of Carthage might be consecrated: this is the purpose of the mission of Eunomius and Olimpius. For forty days the scandalous violence of party passion prevented any action on the part of the imperial envoys: they regarded their task as hopeless; they solemnly declared 'illam esse catholicam quae esset in toto orbe terrarum diffusa et sententiam decem et novem episcoporum iamdudum datam dissolvi non posse' (c. 26), and then took ship for Italy.

To the form of the bishop's declaration objection has been raised:

[1] Cf. letter of Constantine to the bishops after Arles: 'ceterum direxi meos homines qui eosdem infandos deceptores religionis protinus ad comitatum meum perducant ut ibi degant'.

[2] On Philumenos cf. *Bulletin de la Societé nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1914 pp. 209–211 (Batiffol) pp. 217–220 (Martroye).

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if their mission really falls *after* the Council of Arles, it has been urged, they must have referred to the decision of that Council and not to the judgement of the Roman synod. But the objection is surely of no weight: the episcopal envoys were probably themselves Italians, for whom, as indeed probably for African Christians, the authority of a council presided over by the bishop of Rome was greater than that of a Gallic council, and in any event the bishops at Arles had only confirmed the judgement of Rome and had left to the bishop of Rome the publication of their decision.[1] Optatus, at the close of his account of the bishops' mission, writes: 'De his rebus habemus volumen actorum, quod si quis voluerit in novissimis partibus legat.' That appendix is lost, but I see no reason for doubting that Optatus had good authority for his statements.

I believe that we are justified in concluding that all the documents reproduced or cited by Optatus in his history are indeed authentic: the present attempt to interpret them may be misconceived, but I am convinced that it is through interpretation, and not through rejection, of the documents that the literary problem must be solved.[2]

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

[1] 'Rome est un centre de communion. Elle est aussi un centre de communications. Elle reçoit les renseignements et elle les transmet; c'est par son intermédiaire que les informations passent d'une église à l'autre.' Turmel *Histoire du Dogme de la Papauté* Paris 1908 p. 130, and on the letter of the bishops of Arles, *ibid.* pp. 197–198. For the date of the mission of Eunomius and Olimpius cf. F. Martroye *La Répression du Donatisme et la Politique religieuse de Constantin et de ses Successeurs en Afrique* in *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 8me Série tome iii 1913 pp. 23–140 at pp. 24–25; but I cannot accept Martroye's view as to the *sententia* of the bishops, *ibid.* p. 25, n. 1.

[2] If the interpretation here proposed should be accepted, it might tend, as against Turmel *Histoire du Dogme de la Papauté* (Paris, 1908) pp. 186–188, 478–479, to shew that the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome did not at this time embrace the whole of Italy, and to support the view of Professor Turner (i) that the words *ut in suburbicaria loca sollicitudinem gerat* do belong to the original text of the version of Caecilian (C. H. Turner *Ecclesiae occidentalis monumenta antiquissima* i fasc. 1 pars ii 1904 p. 120; for the opposite view cf. Turmel *op. cit.* p. 479, n. 1), and (ii) that Rufinus (C. H. Turner *ibid.* p. 197) does depend upon Caecilian. Further, it might be of some assistance in determining in this connexion the meaning of the phrase *suburbicaria loca* (Caecilian) or *suburbicariae ecclesiae* (Rufinus). It would appear to me, in any event, an uncritical proceeding to attempt to define the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome in the ante-Nicene period by reference to the late and confused Syriac notice printed and translated by Schwartz *Athanasiana* VI in *Nachrichten von der kön. Gesellschaft der Wiss. zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 1905 p. 279, as does Ella Heckrodt *Die Kanones von Sardika aus der Kirchengeschichte erläutert* (= *Jenaer historische Arbeiten* Heft viii) Bonn 1917 p. 71.

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LA PRIMA CATHEDRA EPISCOPATUS DU CONCILE D'ELVIRE: RÉPONSE A M. JÜLICHER.

DANS la *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, t. XLII, 1923, p. 44–49, M. Adolf Jülicher discute l'interprétation que j'ai proposée (*J. T. S.* xxiii 263 ff) du canon 58 du concile d'Elvire, et je ne puis que le remercier de sa courtoisie d'abord, de ses objections ensuite. Les difficultés qu'il m'oppose, et que je vais examiner, me permettront de vérifier et, j'espère, de confirmer mon interprétation.

Je rappelle tout de suite le texte litigieux:—

Placuit ubique et maxime in eo loco, in quo prima cathedra constituta est episcopatus, ut interrogentur hi qui communicatorias litteras tradunt, an omnia recte habeant suo testimonio comprobata.[1]

L'interprétation classique entend que les fidèles étrangers qui se présentent avec les lettres de communion doivent être interrogés sur leur foi, afin que l'on s'assure que cette foi est bien celle que garantit leur lettre de communion; ils doivent être interrogés partout, surtout dans le lieu où a été établi le premier siège de l'épiscopat, ce premier siège de l'épiscopat étant le siège de l'évêque dans le diocèse, sinon le siège du primat dans la province. Quelque obscurité qu'il y ait dans cette expression, *in eo loco in quo prima cathedra constituta est episcopatus*, il n'est pas contestable pour l'interprétation classique que *ubique* se rattache à *interrogentur*.

J'ai proposé, au contraire, de rattacher *ubique* à *placuit*, et donc d'entendre qu'il a été décidé partout, et surtout dans le lieu où a été établi le premier siège de l'épiscopat, que les fidèles porteurs de lettres de communion doivent être interrogés, etc. M. Jülicher a très exactement compris ma pensée. Nous n'avons pas dans le canon 58 une résolution nouvelle et propre au concile d'Elvire, mais l'adoption par le concile d'Elvire d'une mesure introduite déjà partout dans la catholicité et en particulier à Rome. Plus précisément, le concile adopte une décision prise partout et prise spécialement à Rome, Rome étant dans ma pensée le point de convergence de ce que Optat appellera le *commercium formatarum*. M. Jülicher n'a pas de réserve de principe à faire sur mon argumentation: seule ma conclusion, concernant la fonction de Rome dans le *commercium formatarum*, lui semble empreinte de quelque 'Tendenz'.

M. Jülicher me permettra de me défendre contre cette critique. Que l'Église de Rome fut autour de l'an 300 le point de ralliement de

[1] F. Lauchert *Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchl. Conc.* (1896) p. 22.

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toute la *Catholica* latine, je crois qu'on peut l'affirmer sans manquer à la stricte objectivité. Le concile d'Arles, en 314, est un bon témoin du fait. Les évêques réunis à Arles, en effet, et qui sont d'Italie, de Gaule, de Bretagne, d'Espagne, d'Afrique, prennent pour première décision d'écrire au pape Silvestre, pour quoi ? pour que les décisions par eux prises soient notifiées à tous les évêques par lui de préférence.

Placuit etiam antea[1] *scribi ad te, qui maiores dioeceses tenes, per te potissimum omnibus insinuari.*[2]

Notez *potissimum*, qui répond bien au *maxime* d'Elvire.

En tête des canons du concile d'Arles, on a une déclaration qui s'adresse au pape Silvestre, et qui revient à la précédente :

Quid decreverimus communi consilio caritati tuae significamus, ut omnes sciant quid in futurum observare debeant.[3]

Le concile notifie ses canons à l'évêque de Rome pour que tous les évêques sachent ce qu'ils doivent à l'avenir observer. Car l'évêque de Rome est en relations avec tous les évêques, au moins ceux dont les représentants sont à Arles, témoin l'usage qui veut qu'il leur notifie à tous chaque année la date de la prochaine fête de Pâques : '*Iuxta consuetudinem litteras ad omnes tu dirigas*'.[4] Donc, de Rome une fois par an au moins sont adressées des lettres qui doivent toucher tous les évêques d'Occident, et assurer le conformisme pascal.

Secondement, le sens que j'ai donné à l'expression *locus in quo prima cathedra constituta est episcopatus* n'a rien d'un anachronisme, M. Jülicher me l'accorde de bonne grâce. 'Je ne conteste pas', écrit-il, 'que cette phrase, si nous la trouvions dans une lettre de Cyprien ou chez un antidonatiste, pourrait avoir le sens que propose B.' Mais dans le canon d'Elvire M. Jülicher nie qu'elle ait ce sens.

En effet, dit-il, *episcopatus* n'est ici qu'un génitif d'apposition, un génitif explicatif : le même concile dira *finis mortis* (37, 47, 64), *fides credulitatis* (42), *honor clericatus* (33)[5] : quand il dit *cathedra episcopatus*, il veut dire chaire épiscopale, rien de plus. On peut l'accorder à M. Jülicher. — *Prima cathedra*, poursuit-il, est une expression qui désigne l'office de l'évêque, *prima* étant là pour marquer le rang de l'évêque. Le canon veut donc dire : le lieu dans lequel se trouve la (entendez : une) *prima cathedra*, c'est-à-dire un évêché.

Ainsi, M. Jülicher renonce à voir dans la *prima cathedra* (*episcopatus*) le siège du primat de la province, et il me donne raison sur ce point ;

[1] *Antea* est difficile. On peut conjecturer *ante omnia* (comparez le *maxime* d'Elvire), ou *omnia* simplement.

[2] Optat. ed. Ziwsa, p. 207. Voyez ma *Paix constantinienne*, p. 288, et R. Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, t. I, p. 362.

[3] Lauchert, p. 26.

[4] Can. 1 (p. 26).

[5] Rapprochez *ruina mortis* du canon 32.

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il reprend à son compte l'explication de Dom Gams, que j'avais rejetée ; mais il ne résout pas les difficultés qu'elle implique.

Car, 1° on ne peut produire aucun exemple de *prima cathedra* employé, tel que, au sens de l'allemand *Bistum*. On ne peut produire davantage d'exemple, en latin,[1] de *cathedra* désignant le siège des prêtres. 2°. Qui dit *primus*, dit *primus inter pares* : or évêques et prêtres ne sont point *pares*, l'évêque n'est pas le *primus presbyterorum*. Donc *prima cathedra* (*episcopatus*) ne peut s'entendre qu'en opposition à des *cathedrae* (*episcopatus*) qui ne sont pas la première, et c'est ainsi que *prima sedes* en Afrique désignera le siège du primat de la province. Mais en Espagne, à pareille époque, on ne trouve pas trace de primats provinciaux.[2]

M. Jülicher poursuit son argumentation. Les canons d'Elvire, pour dire que le concile a décidé, disent : *Placuit* (ou, trois fois, *placet*). Le canon 53 dit seul : *Placuit cunctis*. M. Jülicher ne voit pas de différence entre la formule *placuit* et la formule *placuit cunctis*. Il y en a une cependant. Le canon 53, en effet, a trait aux évêques qui reçoivent à leur communion des gens excommuniés par un autre évêque, et ce sans l'assentiment du dit évêque : le concile interdit cette pratique : *Placuit cunctis*, tous les évêques sont d'accord pour interdire une pratique qui les concerne tous.

Parce qu'il n'a pas noté cette nuance, M. Jülicher s'étonne que, dans le canon 58, et dans ce canon seulement, le concile mentionne que la décision qu'il prend ait été prise partout : *Placuit ubique*. Ainsi, dit-il, dans les canons d'Elvire *placuit* veut toujours dire : Nous décidons, sauf dans le canon 58, où il voudra dire : On a décidé ! Mais c'est que justement cette décision intéresse tous les évêques, puisqu'elle règle la réception des fidèles qui circulent avec des lettres de communion. Il importe que cette décision ait été prise par tous les évêques : *Placuit cunctis* nous prépare au sens de *Placuit ubique*.

Non, insiste M. Jülicher, le concile pose en règle que ces fidèles qui circulent avec des lettres de communion doivent être interrogés partout, et surtout dans la ville où est l'évêque. Ainsi, insisterons-nous à notre

[1] Il en est autrement en grec. J'ai signalé l'expression de *οἱ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου θρόνου* dans une lettre de Constantin traduite en grec par Eusèbe, la lettre à Chrestus de Syracuse. Le canon 1 du concile d'Ancyre, en 314, parlant des prêtres qui, après être faillis pendant la persécution, se sont ensuite réhabilités, décident qu'ils ne pourront plus ni offrir (le saint sacrifice), ni prêcher, ni remplir aucun ministère sacerdotal. On leur accorde seulement *τῆς τιμῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν καθέδραν μετέχειν*. Les actes grecs du martyre de saint Pamphile disent de lui que *τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καθέδραν πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐδόξαζε*. Eusèbe dit seulement qu'il était *τῇ τοῦ κατὰ Καισάρειαν πρεσβείου τιμῇ κεκοσμημένος*, Euseb. *Martyr. Pal.* ii 2 (ed. Schwartz, p. 934).

[2] Dans les canons d'Elvire, *provincia* désigne ce que nous appelons le diocèse d'un évêque. Voyez can. 19 et 24.

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tour, il n'y aura pas de paroisse, si rurale soit-elle, où cet interrogatoire ne doive être institué ! On pourrait croire qu'il suffit que l'évêque du diocèse ait reçu cet étranger à la communion, après l'avoir examiné : point du tout, l'étranger sera examiné à l'intérieur du diocèse partout, et aussi bien, et surtout, dans la cité épiscopale ! Ce sens donné à *ubique* devient parfaitement absurde, du moment qu'il attribue à la moindre paroisse, n'eût-elle à sa tête qu'un diacre, la même compétence qu'a l'évêque siégeant dans sa *cathedra* ! — M. Jülicher l'a bien vu ! 'Das *ubique* enthält für verlassene Bergdörfer mit einigen Christenfamilien eine erstaunliche Zumutung' (p. 48). Mais, explique-t-il, les territoires étaient grands et les évêchés rares ; on devait prendre une décision rapide, on ne pouvait attendre le jugement de l'évêque ; on avait donc ainsi le droit de juger sur place de l'admission de l'étranger à la communion . . . Qui voudra croire que, autour de l'an 300, il y eut tant d'Églises sans évêques et des paroisses rurales si isolées de l'évêque ? C'est bien le cas de rappeler que le catholicisme était une religion de cités et que, quand il s'établissait dans une cité, cette cité avait sans retard son évêque : les paroisses rurales étaient des *villae*, des *fundi*, toujours à portée de l'évêque.[1]

M. Jülicher fait valoir une dernière raison, contre l'interprétation que j'ai proposée du canon 58. Le concile aurait donc allégué une décision prise dans toute la catholicité et à Rome : pourquoi ne prononce-t-il pas le nom de Rome ? pourquoi se servir de la périphrase '*in eo loco in quo prima cathedra constituta est episcopatus*' ? Les Espagnols pouvaient-ils savoir quel lieu était désigné par cette périphrase ? — Je pensais avoir prévenu cette objection quand j'avais expliqué que *ubique*, dans la langue de saint Cyprien et depuis, désigne toute la catholicité. On ne pouvait donc comprendre : Il a été décidé dans toute la catholicité et surtout dans le lieu où est l'évêque du lieu. Il fallait que *et maxime* annonçât un lieu qui fût en fonction de toute la catholicité, et de lieu pareil il n'y avait que Rome. — Mais pourquoi ne pas dire tout simplement : Rome ? Je réponds : Il faut croire que la périphrase employée était suffisamment claire pour les évêques espagnols. J'ajoute que le concile d'Elvire entendait mettre quelque solennité dans son langage sur le point précis, et que sa périphrase était surtout une emphase, qui n'a rien d'une singularité.[2]

[1] Il suffira de renvoyer, pour cette vue, à Harnack *Mission und Ausbreitung* (1906) t. I, p. 373-397.

[2] Le concile d'Arles écrit au pape Silvestre qu'il a regretté son absence à Arles, mais il sait que Silvestre n'a pu s'absenter de Rome. Voici en quels termes emphatiques cette chose est dite : 'Sed quoniam recedere a partibus illis minime potuisti, in quibus et apostoli cotidie sedent et cruor ipsorum sine intermissione Dei gloriam testatur . . .' Append. Optat. 4 (ed. Ziwsa, p. 207). La vénération qu'on avait pour Rome n'empêchait pas Arles ni Elvire de critiquer des usages reçus à

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On nous permettra, en terminant, de compléter notre exposé par une observation nouvelle.

Prima cathedra est pour nous la *cathedra* la première en date de toutes les *cathedrae* épiscopales existantes. Il n'est pas question dans cette vue d'une primauté actuelle qui ferait de cette *prima cathedra* la *prima inter pares*, mais d'une primauté rétrospective qui donne à cette *prima cathedra* une aînesse qui n'est qu'à elle. Cette *prima cathedra* a inauguré l'épiscopat.[1]

On rapprochera cette acception de celle que le concile d'Elvire donne au terme *prima fides*. Le canon 42 mentionne '*eos qui ad primam fidem credulitatis accedunt*'. Le canon 58 parle de la *prima cathedra episcopatus*. Les deux expressions s'éclairent, pensons-nous, l'une l'autre. La profession de foi baptismale inaugure la vie chrétienne en chacun des baptisés; la collation de l'épiscopat à saint Pierre a inauguré l'épiscopat dans l'Église.[2] La chaire de saint Pierre peut donc être qualifiée de *prima cathedra* (*episcopatus*).

Nous trouvons comme un écho de ce langage du concile d'Elvire dans un écrivain espagnol, qui naîtra à Saragosse en 348, Prudence. A Rome, écrit-il, règnent les deux princes des apôtres:

Hic nempe iam regnant duo
apostolorum principes.
Alter vocator gentium,
alter cathedram possidens
primam, recludit creditas
aeternitatis ianuas.[3]

Saint Pierre possède la *cathedra prima*, avec le pouvoir des clés que lui a confiées le Christ.

PIERRE BATIFFOL.

Rome. Le canon 36 d'Elvire, interdisant de peindre sur les murs 'quod colitur et adoratur', vise ou du moins atteint un usage romain, comme l'a montré L. von Sybel, 'Zur Synode von Elvira', *Zeitschrift für Kircheng.* 1923 p. 243–247.

[1] *Constituta est*, pour M. Jülicher, 'bedeutet nichts weiter als *sich befinden*' et doit être rapproché de 'si in fine mortis fuerint constituti' du canon 37. Mais on peut penser aussi au canon 7 qui donne à *constituere* le sens d'une décision de l'autorité: 'Si quis ... post tempora constituta acta paenitentia denuo fuerit fornicatus ...' Voyez encore Optat. III 2 (p. 71): 'Ecclesia in qua a Deo patre rex constitutus est Christus'.

[2] Je renvoie à mon article 'Petrus initium episcopatus', *Revue des sciences religieuses* 1924 pp. 440–493.

[3] Prudent. *Peristeph.* ii 459–464 (*P. L.* t. LX, p. 324).

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GEORGIAN THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE field of Georgian philology is one in which the workers, if we except scholars of native origin, are few and far between. The language has had the misfortune to be classed along with Basque and Etruscan, as being purely *sui generis*, and accordingly has been relegated to the philologist's oddments-box, to be extracted from thence only when some Gordian knot is to be assailed which defies all ordinary instruments. Such literature as exists on the subject, otherwise than in Georgian itself, has been for the most part composed in Russian, and—especially in ecclesiastical circles—*Rossica sunt, non leguntur.*

But Georgia possesses a theological literature to which accrues the double advantage (from the investigator's point of view) of being both rich and also a virgin field. Much is preserved here, above all in *hagiographica*, which is otherwise lost. Not only do the MSS contain some highly interesting documents of an original character, but the literature of translation is nearly as extensive and almost as valuable as is, e.g., the Armenian. Certain external circumstances may be urged which partially excuse the attitude of indifference which scholars have adopted towards Georgian affairs, such as the lack of a grammar, the unsatisfactoriness of the existing lexicons, etc.; but none the less the neglect of the subject is a patent and highly regrettable fact.

If we except some highly laudable investigations of certain literary texts and special problems,[1] we have hitherto possessed only one general account of Georgian literature, viz. the sketch by A. S. Khakhanov.[2] This has a strong claim to be the worst book ever written on the history of any literature. Every sin against the literary decalogue from plagiarism to bald misunderstanding of the documents is conspicuous in it. The ignorance of the subject on the part of scholars[3] in general has perhaps had this indirect advantage, that it has left the field a *tabula rasa* upon which more accurate and unbiassed conceptions may be set down. The field was open for a good book on the subject, and this book has just appeared.

The purpose of this article is to sketch the contents of vol. i of

[1] These I shall touch on below.

[2] *Očerki po istorii gruzinskoï slovesnosti* Moscow 1895 ff.

[3] Well exemplified in F. N. Finck's sketch 'Die georgische Literatur' in *Kultur der Gegenwart* i 7 (1906) pp. 299–310.

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Prof. K. Kekelidze's *History of Georgian Literature*,[1] which has just been published at Tiflis. First, a few words about the author will not be out of place. Kornéli (formerly archpriest) Kekelidze is a name well known to liturgists and to hagiographers. A pupil, during his student days at the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy, of the eminent Russian liturgist A. A. Dmitrievsky, his attention was turned by his teacher to the liturgical documents of his native literature, and his *magister*-dissertation evoked considerable attention both in Russia and abroad.[2] Through observations made at the same time on various hagiographical documents he was able to settle the vexed problem of the date of Symeon the Metaphrast, and the extent of his work, by data from Georgian sources.[3] Further investigations were rewarded by the discovery of a wholly unknown continuation of Symeon's work by the hand of Joannes Xiphilinos.[4] Kekelidze's next contribution—while a professor in the Ecclesiastical Seminary at Tiflis—was also liturgical, viz. the publication of a highly important *κανονάριον* (of the Jerusalem redaction) from two very ancient MSS in Swanetia,[5] and also the text of the Liturgy of St James—this latter largely at the suggestion of the late F. C. Conybeare.[6] During the war he was appointed rector of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Seminary, and shortly after the foundation of the Georgian State University, he became Professor of Georgian Literature. In 1918 he published the first volume of his *Monumenta Hagiographica Georgica*, a collection of texts of fundamental importance for hagiographers; while in 1920 appeared his edition of the Commentary of Metrophanes of Smyrna on Ecclesiastes.[7] Equipped with a sound theological and classical training, he was pre-eminently fitted to attempt and to achieve the task of writing the history of his native literature. Only those who like myself lived and worked in Tiflis *tempore belli*, can realize the difficulties, especially as regards library facilities, which dogged

[1] პროფ. კორნელი კეკელიძე. ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორია, 1 ტომი: ძველი მწერლობა: ტფილისის სახელმწ. უნივერსიტეტის გამოცემა. ტფილისი 1923.

[2] *Liturgičeskiye gruzinskie pamyatniki v otečestvennykh knigokhranilishchakh* Tiflis 1908.

[3] 'Simeon Metaphrast po gruzinskim istočnikam' in *Trudy Kievskoï Dukhovnoï Akademii*, February 1910. Cf. *Anal. Boll.* xxxix 357–359.

[4] 'Ioann Ksiphilin, prodolžatel' Simeona Metaphrasta' in *Khristianskii Vostok* i (1912) 325–357.

[5] K. Kekelidze *Ierusalimskiï Kanonar' vii-go vieka*, Tiflis 1912.

[6] K. Kekelidze *Drevne-gruzinskiï Arkhieratikon*, Tiflis 1913, p. 1 ff. English translation by J. O. Wardrop and F. C. Conybeare in *Rev. de l'Orient chrétien* N.S. viii 4 (Oct. 1912).

[7] K. Kekelidze *Targmanebay Eklesiastisay Mitropane Zmirnel Mitropolitisa*, Tiflis 1920.

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the scholar there at every turn; and the eminently satisfactory result which Kekelidze has achieved is all the more creditable in consequence.

The volume covers the history of Georgian Theological literature from the earliest times to 1801, when the country was united to the Russian empire. This is the natural stopping-place, as, after that date, the influence of Russian, and through it of European, literature became predominant. It forms a stout 4° volume of 695 pages. After a brief introductory note in German, he details the plan he intends to adopt. The book is divided into three parts: an introduction (pp. 3–116); authors and translators, arranged in chronological order (pp. 118–440); and the categories of Georgian literature (pp. 442–664). The scheme is open to criticism,[1] since it involves a certain amount of repetition and scattering; but in dealing with a literature, primarily translational in character, it is difficult to see what better plan could have been followed.

After passing in review the authors who have dealt with the subject (par. 1) from Fr Alter (1798) to the present day, he discusses (par. 2) the Georgian literary language and the first beginnings of the literature, passes (par. 3) to the periods in the developement of the literature, and ends with a discussion of the literary foci within the boundaries of ancient Georgia and abroad. Of this section of the book I will now give a connected outline in my own words.

Prof. Kekelidze marks out four stages in the developement of the theological literature. On the basis of the Armenian tradition about SS. Sahak and Mesrop, he judges the Georgian alphabet to have been evolved 429–437 A. D.[2] The oldest literary document which we possess dates from the end of the fifth century. It is possibly risky to trust the tradition to such an extent, but the indubitable fact that a considerable body of literature existed in the sixth century involves perforce our placing its *incipit* in the fifth. More dubious, perhaps, is the direct developement of the alphabet under the personal auspices of Mesrop.

The first period of the literature reaches from the fifth to the middle of the eighth century. This was the time when Georgia was predominantly under oriental influence; when translations of Christian documents were made primarily via Armenia; and though the split between the churches (607 A. D.) brought about a cooling of brotherly feelings, yet the common disaster of the Moslem invasions stilled the strife for the time being. Greek influence, without being entirely absent, was certainly intermittent, and naturally weaker than was, for example, that of the Syrian church.

The second period reaches from 750 to 1000 (roughly speaking).

[1] Kekelidze is conscious of this.

[2] pp. 28–30.

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This may be called the national or Georgian period κατ' ἐξοχήν. Externally it is marked by a distinct *rapprochement* with the Byzantine cultural world, and a corresponding weakening of the oriental influence, which had been all-powerful in the first period. A distinct Armenophobe tendency makes its appearance, especially towards the end of the era, but literary connexions between Armenians and Georgians are not broken off. The Armenians, with whom the Georgians came into contact, were primarily the Chalcedonians of the western districts. These ultimately became Georgianized and lost their national character. Georgia now came to be not merely a geographical and political, but also a cultural entity; it is the area in which the liturgy is celebrated in Georgian. From both the stylistic and the literary point of view the texts produced during this period are the best of which the language can boast: foreign influence was weak enough merely to stimulate and not to overpower native talent and inspiration, and the amount of translation accomplished seems to have been very large. From the geographical point of view we observe that the centre of literary activity shifts from eastern Georgia (K'art'li) to the west. In this period also translations from the Arabic, made in Palestinian centres, begin to bulk largely.

The third period extends from *c.* 975 to 1150. This marks the acme of Greek or Byzantine influence, and is called by Kekelidze the Greek age. It is characterized chiefly by the fact that Oriental influence falls completely into the background. The new centres of Greek influence are situated for the most part outside of Georgia proper, on Athos, on the Black Mountain near Antioch, on Olympus in Bithynia, and the like. This age is marked by a Graecophile tendency which, while often carried to laughable extremes, developed among the translators a careful technique and thorough finish; the chief masters, moreover, exhibit a breadth of knowledge and a catholicity of taste, which compares favourably, to say the least, with their models. At this time also we find a powerful leaven at work, derived from the philosophical revival in Byzantium in the eleventh century, which left deep traces, not merely on the ecclesiastical, but also on the secular literature of the country.

The fourth period (1150–1600) is one of decline. The weakening of Byzantine influence in Georgia proper was, it is true, followed by the rise of a secular literature, which was deeply indebted to Persia; but theological production lapsed into stupor. This was largely due to the series of catastrophes, of which the Mongol invasion was but the cyclonic prelude, that burst over Western Asia in general and Georgia in particular. The serried lists of writers in the earlier time thin out into nothing during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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The fifth period (1600–1801) is an age of revival. This was due partly to external stimuli in the shape of Western European influences, which penetrate at first through the Latin missionaries, and later (and much more intensively) from Russia, and partly to a revival of learning within Georgia itself, where the driving impulse largely came from members of the royal family. This stage is marked by a recrudescence of translation from the Armenian, to which are joined in gradually increasing numbers productions, original or translated from Russian sources. The introduction of printing into Georgia (1708/9) gave a distinct fillip to literary production, and the forced departure of King Wakhtang and his followers to the Muscovite realm merely gave rise to new literary centres of activity in Moscow and St Petersburg. In the Caucasus itself education developed and spread largely through the self-sacrificing efforts of King Heraclius II of Kakhetia and the Kat'alikozi (Patriarch) Antoni I, the son of King Jesse, Wakhtang VI's brother, though this developement was retarded by the disasters which overtook the monarch at the end of his reign. The annexation of Georgia by Russia in 1801 marks the end of the period, and original theological works ceased for at least two generations.

The following section of Kekelidze's book deals with those writers whose names are known to us, who were active either in the field of original composition or in that of translation. The list is a long one: from Jacob the Priest (Iakob Khucesi) in the fifth century to Iona Khelashvili († 1837), no less than seventy-seven writers[1] are known to us, of whose works something at least is preserved in the MSS. Many of these were not prolific writers: one or two works exhaust the list of the majority; but a considerable number were prolific and persons of an importance which sometimes transcends the boundaries of literature.

It will perhaps not be out of place to sketch the careers of four of the chief figures—namely, the four great protagonists of the Graecophil school: the Philhellene Euthymius the Athonite; his successor, the hellenizer of Liturgy and Scripture, George the Athonite; the scholastic Ephrém Mciré; and the philosopher Ioané Petriçi.

Euthymius the Athonite († 1028)[2] was the son of John the Athonite, a noble of high rank at the court of David Curopalates, the prince of Tao. His family name was probably Khursidze. While still in middle life, John abandoned his family and retired to a monastery. He after-

[1] A number of others are mentioned, but either their works are not preserved, or else the sources of our information are unreliable.

[2] Our chief source of information about Euthymius is his life, written by George the Athonite, and accessible to scholars in the excellent translation of P. Peeters *Histoires Monastiques Géorgiennes*, Bruxelles 1923, pp. 13ff.

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wards went to the great ascetic centre of Mt Olympus in Bithynia. While he was here, his youngest son Euthymius (Ep'ť'yme) was brought to Constantinople as a hostage, and John, through the intercession of his father-in-law, who was *persona grata* at the Byzantine court, was able to obtain his child. The boy received a careful education at his father's hands. His first language was really Greek, and according to his *Vita*, it took the intercession of the B. Virgin to make him equally proficient in Georgian. John early set his son to work at translating from the Greek. Euthymius's activities in this line, Kekelidze points out, began rather earlier than has hitherto been supposed, namely about 975–977, during the time that he and his father were on Mt. Olympus. This naturally involves antedating Euthymius's birth, and John's departure from the Caucasus, which must have taken place *c.* 955. John can hardly have gone to Athos as early as 965, however, and 970 will probably be nearer the date. In any case, the chief period of Euthymius's activities in hermeneutics lies between the commencement of his residence on Athos and his father's death (998). Later he was elected higumen of the lavra of Iviron, which his father had founded with the aid of his relative, the great general Tornikios (Ċorčaneli). Euthymius's official duties robbed him of most of his leisure for his studies, and accordingly he resigned his office in 1012. The latter period of his career was not so fruitful as the earlier, but a number of works were then translated. Euthymius was killed in an accident at Constantinople in 1028.

Euthymius's fame as a translator was enormous among his contemporaries; but it is not altogether clear exactly on what grounds it rested. Kekelidze points out that from the point of view of technique he belongs to the older school, rather than to the later one. His translations are not of the literal, word-for-word type, such as Ephrém Mciré later practised, but are rather excerpts and abbreviations, or in some cases expansions, of the originals. In other words, he was an adapter as much as, or even more than, a translator. Probably, as Marr thinks, the old traditions were too strong. His language is good and pure, but somewhat filtered; it lacks the zest and flavour of the earlier work.

It seems to me that certain external factors, which Kekelidze neglects, account for Euthymius's reputation—at least to some extent. First of all is his own high rank. A near relative of the most famous Georgian warrior of his day, whose name was one to conjure with both in Georgia and at Byzantium, son of a noble of high rank, κτήτωρ and higumen of one of the most splendid and wealthy monasteries of the new ascetic ὄμφαλος on Athos, intimate friend and trusted counsellor of the Greek emperor, it was fitting he should write, and that people

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should read his productions with interest. In the second place, it is clear that his knowledge of Greek was of a highly superior quality, and far more thorough than had been the case with previous translators. Thirdly, there cannot be any doubt that he translated a large number of writers and works which had previously been unknown to the Georgians. He provided his fellow countrymen with collected editions of the works of Basil and of Gregory Nazianzen, which, although not complete, at least very largely increased the material existing in his native tongue. In view of the fact that only two of his productions[1] have been published, of one of which we do not possess a complete edition of the Greek original, it is difficult to say anything definite as to specific innovations in translation; but it seems that he at least made a beginning in assimilating Georgian sentence-structure to the Greek rhetorical period.

All the above points, it seems to me, largely explain the fame of Euthymius among his contemporaries; let us now see what the productions were upon which it rested. The list of translated works contained in his *Vita* is now accessible in the Latin translation of P. Peeters, but, as Kekelidze points out, the evidence of the MSS shews that the list is far from being complete. Kekelidze has arranged the material in categories, and his scheme is a convenient one to follow here:—

1. *The Bible.* Euthymius revised the Gospels, but his version was rapidly displaced by that of his successor George. He also translated the Apocalypse and Andreas of Caesarea's commentary on it.

2. *Apocrypha.* (*a*) The correspondence of Abgar with our Lord; (*b*) the life of the Virgin attributed to Maximus Confessor; (*c*) *Acta Iohannis Apostoli a Prochoro scripta*; (*d*) the Clementines; (*e*) the life of St Pancratius (Bagrat, Pancras) of Tauromenium; (*f*) *Vita Andreae Apostoli.*

3. *Exegetics.* (*a*) The Commentary of John Chrysostom on Matthew; (*b*) the same author on John; (*c*) Basil on the Psalms; (*d*) a commentary ἐκλογαδήν on the Apostolic writings.

4. *Dogmatics and Polemics.* Twenty-four Orations of Gregory Nazianzen and some works of Maximus Confessor and John of Damascus.

5. *Ascetics.* The *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great; Isaac Syrus; the Κλῖμαξ of Johannes Sinaita; Cassian; the Ἠθικά of Basil the Great.

6. *Hagiographica.* Sixteen lives of saints.

Euthymius also paid some attention to liturgical matters, translating a short synaxary and composing a number of hymns. His work in this field, however, was quite overshadowed by that of his successor George.

[1] These are the *Acta Iohannis Apostoli a Prochoro scripta* (*At'onis krebuk*, Tiflis 1898, pp. 111 ff.) and the *Life of St Bagrat* (ed. A. A. Khakhanov, Moscow 1904).

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He likewise compiled a short canonical collection, made up of the penitential canons of John the Faster and of Basil the Great, together with the canons of the sixth oecumenical council.

George the Athonite,[1] the successor of Euthymius in the literary arena, and the fourth higumen of Iviron, followed out and completed the work of his predecessor. He was born in the district of Trialet'i in about 1009. His father had been in the service of King George III, but was not a man of high rank. The boy was devoted by his parents from his birth to the monastic life. Part of his youth was passed at Constantinople, where he gained a thorough knowledge of Greek. After passing the early part of his novitiate in various monasteries of Southern Georgia, he went to the Black Mountain near Antioch. Here his teacher, George, directed his pupil's attention to translating. About 1040 George went to Athos, where he was warmly received by the brethren at Iviron; and, after some years, he became higumen (*c.* 1046), and so continued for about ten years. After resigning this office, he travelled in the east in company with Queen Mariam, the wife of King Bagrat IV of Georgia. He returned to Georgia for some years, and then left it for Athos; but he died in Constantinople on the way (1066).

George's work, as his biographer points out, may be considered as a continuation and to some extent a rectification, of that of Euthymius. He translated some things which had not previously existed in Georgian, revised some others, and improved the translations of Euthymius.

The centre of gravity in George's literary work, in contradistinction to that of his predecessor, lies in his liturgical activities. This even holds good of his work on the Bible. He revised the Gospels, the Apostolic Writings, and the Psalter—i. e. those sections which were used in the liturgy, and his versions displaced all others in common use. His homiletical works comprise the *Hexaemeron* of Basil and the *Orations* of Gregory of Nyssa (supplementary to Euthymius), and Theodore of Studion's homilies for Easter. He also translated the Epistles of Ignatius and some minor tractates. All these are insignificant, however, in comparison with his works in pure liturgics. These comprise (1) the Synaxary for the year, based on that of St Sophia; (2) Gospels for the year; (3) Aprakos (Praxapostolos); (4) the *Menaia* of the year; (5) *Sticharion*; (6) *Heirmologion*; (7) *Oktoēchos*; (8) *Triodion*; (9) *Pentekostarion*; (10) *Paraklētikē*; (11) the 'great' *Euchologion*. Thus practically all the books of any importance for eastern liturgical practice were translated or revised by George. His

[1] We have a long and interesting account of him in the life by his pupil George, now translated by P. Peeters, l. c. pp. 74 ff. None of his works have been published save the *Vita Euthymii* mentioned above (p. 54 n. 1).

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other works, with the exception of the excellent original life of St Euthymius, are of minor importance.

George himself is not so original as Euthymius, nor so many-sided. He wrote his name large on Georgian liturgics, and completed various things which his predecessor had left unfinished. While keeping closer to the Greek than Euthymius had done, his works do not yet represent a scholarly and accurate translation of the original.

This innovation was the contribution of his younger contemporary Ephrém Kariçisdze, surnamed Mciré (the little).[1] Kekelidze suggests that he was the son of Vačé Kariçisdze, a noble of Tao-Klardjet'ia, who went to live in Constantinople in 1027. This is possible, but we have no proof of it. In any case Ephrém received a thorough Hellenic education, presumably at Constantinople, and early entered the monastic life in one of the monasteries of the Black Mountain. Here he seems to have spent his whole life, probably becoming abbot of Kastanae *c.* 1090. The Acts of the Council of Ruisi (1103) mention him as among the departed, so that he must have died about the year 1100. His relatively peaceful life was favourable to the developement of a prodigious literary activity. Ephrém's translational technique is fundamental for later Georgian literature. He it was who introduced the literal rendering into Georgian, and made *scholia* and *lexica* familiar to Georgian readers.

Ephrém's works comprise the following:—

(1) A Translation of the Apostolic writings with brief *scholia*.

(2) *Commentaries*: (*a*) on the Psalms: this work is frequently found in the MSS, but the introduction is not preserved complete. It gives a very clear idea how Ephrém worked. He used the commentaries of Athanasius and Cyril, and two catenas, and had read Theodoret, but made no use of his work. (*b*) On the Apostle: this has John Chrysostom as its base, but with other elements added. It is only preserved complete at Jerusalem.

(3) *Dogmatics*. The Ἔκδοσις ἀκριβὴς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως of John of Damascus, with an important introduction. Dionysius Arcopagita with scholia. The *Dialectics* of John of Damascus.

(4) *Ascetica*. (1) The Ἠθικά of Basil, (2) *Askētikon* of Ephrem Syrus in two volumes, (3) Palladius Λαυσιακόν (short redaction of Meursius), (4) Cassian *Historia Aegyptiaca* and *ad Leontium*, (5) Theodoret Θεοφιλὴς Ἱστορία.

He also translated twelve lives of saints and wrote two original works

[1] There is no special monograph on Ephrém, and, apart from some colophons, only two of his works have been published: (1) The introduction to his commentary on the Psalms (*Dzveli Sak'art'velo*, iii (1914) pt. I, pp. 243–269) and (2) his version of the *Life of St John of Damascus* by Kekelidze (*Khristianskii Vostok* iii 142–174).

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—a Memoir on Symeon the Logothete, and a treatise on the reasons for the conversion of Georgia. Lastly, he retranslated twenty-six homilies and letters of Gregory Nazianzen (one group of the MSS has elaborate *scholia*), and also a large series of homilies by other authors.

Ephrém had serious opposition to contend with. The more conservative party felt that his retranslation of Gregory Nazianzen was an implied criticism of Euthymius, and suspected his philosophical leanings. It was the reflex, in the Georgian *milieu*, of the strife which raged among the Greeks at this period. Ephrém, though externally humble, did not retreat one inch, and his dogmatic and philosophical works laid the foundations for Arseni of Iqal'to and John Petriçi.

The last of the four writers upon whom I will touch is John (Ioané) Petriçi.[1] From the literary point of view he is equal in importance to Ephrém Mciré. We know even less of his life than we do of Ephrém's. What is more or less certain is that he studied under Michael Psellos, lived for many years at the Monastery of Petritzionitissa (at Bačkovo in Bulgaria), and returned to Georgia some time after 1100. The latter part of his life was spent at the newly-founded monastery of Gelati near Kutaïs. If Ephrém had sipped at the beguiling beaker of the philosophical movement, John drained it to the dregs. He is far more a philosopher than a theologian; and, if tradition is to be trusted, he was the founder of the philosophical school at Gelasi, which profoundly influenced Georgian culture. He probably died about 1125, thus being about a generation younger than Ephrém.

John Petriçi carried Ephrém's principles of literal translation to their logical conclusion: if Ephrém had aimed at getting all the content of the original in its approximate order into his version, John set about to represent the Greek, not only *ad sensum*, but also *ad verbum et ad syntaxin*. He did not push this quite to the extreme that some of his followers did, but his productions are hard enough to read as it is, and are sometimes almost incomprehensible without the Greek. Fortunately for Georgian style this manner was dropped after the thirteenth century: Antoni Kat'alikozi's attempt to revive it during the eighteenth century met with a vigorous and successful popular opposition.

John Petriçi translated first of all a series of philosophical works: (1) the Στοιχεῖα of Proclus, (2) the Περὶ φύσεως ἀνθρώπου of Nemesius of Emesa, (3) the Τοπικά, and (4) the Περὶ ἑρμηνείας of Aristotle. The two latter works have not survived; and only no. 2 has been edited. Of his historical works, we have a translation of Josephus's *Jewish*

[1] On this writer we have a splendid monograph by N. Marr, 'Ioann Petritskiĭ, gruzinskiĭ neoplatonik xi-xii vieka' in *Zapiski vostočnago otdielieniya imp. Rossiïskago Arkheologiteskago Obshchestva*, 19. 55–113. The text of Nemesius's tractate has been published by S. Gorgadze, Tiflis 1913.

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Antiquities i–xv: the last five books have either been lost or else were never translated. Some minor poetical, hagiographical, and astrological works have also survived.

The continued influence of the philosophical movement in Georgia is an interesting phenomenon when we compare it with the cloud under which the philosophers found themselves in Byzantium. It accounts on the one hand for the relatively weak influence exerted by the Athonite movement in Georgia after 1100, and undoubtedly prepared the way for the rise of the secular literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

After the sketch given above of some of the chief writers and translators, we next come to the third section (Part II) of Kekelidze's book—the discussion of the individual categories of the literature. The least satisfactory of these is the section dealing with the Bible, although the lack of books in Tiflis indispensable for this task makes it quite excusable.[1] The newly discovered palimpsests make it clear that the whole Bible must have been translated into Georgian by the end of the sixth century. We now have extremely ancient fragments of Genesis, the Proverbs, and Jeremiah, and portions of all the Gospels. My own study of the O.T. fragments shews it to be a mixed version with an Oriental branch at its base (Armenian-Syriac tradition) which has, however, been subjected to Septuagint influence. A descendant of this version, revised by a scholastic hand, forms the text of the Prophets in the Moscow Bible. In the Kětubim the text seems to have been less worked over, and to represent an ancient version in a relatively pure form.

A second distinct recension is that represented by the oldest complete MSS, O = Athos Iv. 1 (978) and I = Jerusalem 1 Tsagareli (now 11 + 7: *c.* 1050). This has been largely revised on the basis of the Greek.

The N.T. problem appears to be relatively simpler. We have one very old MS, that of Adýsh in Swanetia, which was written at the monastery of Khandzt'a in Tao-Klardjet'ia in 897. This shews a marked affinity with the ancient palimpsest fragments, and Shanidze has proved that its immediate ancestor was a Khanmeti MS.[2] No trace of immediate Greek influence can be found here: it goes directly back to the Armenian-Syrian tradition. As far as its affiliation with the greater Greek MSS are concerned, it proves to be an excellent representative—perhaps one of the very best—of the I group. The other old MSS form a group, very closely connected with one another, and exhibiting evident traces of revision by the Greek.

[1] In the following exposition I have incorporated some additional information, derived from my own investigations.

[2] This term signifies a dialectical peculiarity, by which the usual pronominal prefix ჰ- *h-* is represented by ხ- *kh-*.

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Nothing definite has been ascertained so far regarding the textual affinities of the MSS of the Apostolic writings, save that two of the oldest MSS have an Euthalian apparatus.

The Apocrypha in Georgian are fairly numerous, but the MSS for the most part are late in date. The Georgian Church was quite suspicious of works of this sort, as we can see from St Euthymius's letter to the monk George. A number of Apocryphal documents are put on the index, consisting for the most part of *Acta apostolorum*. The list of the apocryphal works preserved includes:

A. O.T. (1) Διήγησις καὶ πολιτεία Ἀδὰμ καὶ Εὔας τῶν πρωτοπλάστων; (2) *The Cave of Treasures* (die Schatzhöhle): this document, which in the Georgian is ascribed to Ephraem Syrus, is interesting as having served as a source to the compiler of the Georgian chronicle.

B. N.T. (1) Several documents relating to the Virgin; (2) Joseph of Arimatheia on the foundation of the church in Lydda[1]; (3) fragment of Τὰ παιδικὰ τοῦ Κυρίου; (4) part of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*; (5) *Acta Pilati*.

C. Apostolic Apocrypha. (1) *Acta Iohannis a Prochoro Scripta*; (2) the Clementines; (3) Life of St Pancratios (Bagrat); (4) *Acta Thomae* (two recensions); (5) *Acta Andreae* (three recensions); (6) *Apocalypsis Pauli*; (7) *Acta Iacobi*; (8) *Passio Marci Evangelistae*; (9) *Passio Timothei Apostoli*; (10) *Acta Theclae*; (11) *Passio Dionysii Areopagitae*.

A number of lives of saints are of an apocryphal character, and we have a number of MSS which contain tractates of this type.

Exegetic literature. This is fairly rich; the palm is held by five tractates of Hippolytus[2]: (*a*) on the blessings of Moses, (*b*) on David and Goliath, (*c*) on the blessings of Jacob, (*d*) on the Song of Songs, (*e*) on Christ and the antichrist. A homily of Aphraates is also preserved under his name. Of Epiphanius, we have his commentary on the Psalms (Ps. i–vi, ix, xvii, xliv–xlvi, xlviii–l): on the Twelve Stones (complete); on Weights and Measures (a fragment). The *Physiologus* is attributed to Basil in the MSS. Athanasius *Ep. ad Marcellinum*; Gregory of Nyssa Περὶ κατασκευῆς ἀνθρώπου (two versions); Basil on the Psalms and on the Hexameron (two versions); John Chrysostom on Genesis, on Matthew, and on John; Athanasius on the Psalms; Cyril on the Psalms; *Catena Nicephori* on the Octateuch; Theophylact of Bulgaria on Mark, Luke, and John; Olympiodorus and Metrophanes of Smyrna on Ecclesiastes.

[1] Ed. N. Marr, St Petersburg 1901.

[2] (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*) have been edited in German by G. N. Bonwetsch; (*d*) in the Georgian with a Russian translation by Marr, St Petersburg 1902, and in German by Bonwetsch.

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Dogmatic literature is rather scantily represented in the earlier period. Whether Origen was really translated into Georgian or not is a question: Kekelidze is sceptical on the point. We have a fragment of Eusebius's *Church History*, which confirms the second point in Euthymius's statement. On the other hand, we do know that the *Thesaurus* of Cyril had been translated in the eighth century. Polemical reasons led to the enrichment of this branch, beginning with the Athonites, Euthymius and George. The chief worker in the field, however, is Arsen Vačesdze of Iqalt'ó (Iqalt'oeli) in Kakhetia, a contemporary of Ioané Petriçi. This writer, who is equally important as a canonist, made a lengthy compilation, which he entitled *Doghmatikon*, consisting of extracts from John of Damascus, Theodore Abu Curra, Nicetas of Studion, and others. Several MSS of it remain.

Polemical literature is likewise not largely represented, and is for the most part fairly late in date, with the exception of certain tractates against the Armenians. A large amount of polemical matter was translated during the eighteenth century.

Peculiarly rich and very important are the hagiographical materials. In addition to a large number of original works we have a huge mass of translations. Many of the latter are not represented in other languages. We possess a number of versions from the Armenian, many from the Arabic, and a few from the Syriac. The greatest value of the texts of the older period lies in the fact that they preserve a whole series of *Vitae* from Syria and Palestine which have otherwise perished without a trace. Such are, e.g. the life of Timothy the wonder-worker,[1] the life of Johannes of Urha,[2] St Romanus the Younger,[3] St Antony Ravaḥ,[4] St Petrus Capitolinus,[5] John of Damascus (in the version of Simeon of Adana),[6] St Agathangelos of Damascus,[7] etc.

In the period when Hellenic influence was all-powerful, the Greek metaphrastic texts naturally predominate. The Georgian version forms a touchstone which enables us to test the Greek materials. Kekelidze promises us in the future a *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Georgica*,[8] which will be a work of fundamental importance for hagiographers. He pays particular attention to the original lives of the Georgian saints, as is natural, and brings out many new facts.

[1] In course of publication by Kekelidze.

[2] Ed. K. Kekelidze *Khristianskiĭ Vostok* 2. 301–348.

[3] Ed. A. S. Khakhanov, *Gruzinkie hagiagraphičeskie materialy* Moscow 1909. Translation by P. Peeters *Anal. Boll.* xxx.

[4] Ed. I. A. Kipshidze *Khristianskiĭ Vostok* 2. 54–104.

[5] Ed. K. Kekelidze *ibid.* 4. 246–283.

[6] Ed. K. Kekelidze *ibid.* 3. 142–174.

[7] Ed. K. Kekelidze *ibid.* 4. 1–71.

[8] p. 551.

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Ascetic literature is more abundantly represented than certain other categories. Martyrius of St Saba, Stephané the Doctor, Sahak the Monk, Pimen, Abraham the Monk, all belong to the oldest period.

The *Pratum Spirituale* of Johannes Moschos, Macarius the Egyptian, Isaac Syrus, and versions of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* are of later origin. We have mentioned above Ephraem Syrus, Johannes Sinaita, Palladius, Cassian, and Gregory the Great. Even more brilliantly represented are homiletics. Most of the greater and many of the minor Fathers (though mostly of the post-Nicene period) figure in the list. Theodoret forms a noticeable exception. The translations in the older period are mostly from languages other than Greek; later on the reverse is the case.

Canon law is scantily represented. Arseni of Iqalt'o translated the *Nomocanon* in fourteen titles. The redaction differs quite considerably from any of those found in the Greek MSS.

With regard to liturgical literature, much has been incidentally mentioned above. Four periods in the developement can be distinguished: (1) The dominance of Jerusalem models until the end of the tenth century; (2) The hegemony of Constantinople (eleventh to thirteenth century); (3) The re-establishment of the Τυπικόν of St Saba (thirteenth to seventeenth century); (4) The period of Russianization (eighteenth century). This field, as we should expect, is peculiarly well treated by Kekelidze.

The last subject which the author discusses is that of poetry. Here we have two distinct classes of productions: liturgical hymns in the proper sense of the term, and what Kekelidze calls 'didactic-descriptive' poetry. Both of these categories have been profoundly influenced by Greek models—the first by κοντάκια of the Romanos type, the second by iambics of the pseudo-classical model. The prosodic system is based on the number of syllables in either case: accent apparently plays no part at all, or else a very subordinate one; rhyme (barring fortuitous assonances) is absent. Acrostics are frequent. All the above characteristics markedly distinguish these productions from the later secular poetry, which is based on Persian models.

We have some very fine original hymns in Georgian composed by a group of writers who were active in the tenth century. They have come down to us in a single priceless codex of the year 995.[1] They deal rather with the important holidays of the year than with individual saints, and evince a fine command of language and real poetic talent. The later Athonite work is mostly adapted from the Greek, and is of less importance. The iambic poetry is a fair imitation of Greek models,

[1] Library of the Society for the Extension of Literacy among the Georgians, Tiflis, No. 425.

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and belongs almost wholly to the Graecophile and scholastic periods. Some of it is cleverly executed, but it is not highly edifying. A full and careful index with a table of contents completes the work.

Enough has been said above, I trust, to shew the capital significance of the book. It is the first pioneer work in an almost virgin field, yet extraordinarily full and painstaking withal. Many things are naturally left untouched; some MS sources are not accessible to the author, and further investigation of details will no doubt introduce some additions and many corrections. One naturally regrets that its Georgian guise makes it inaccessible save to the author's compatriots and to a very restricted circle of scholars. None the less I feel that I shall have performed a useful service, if my readers come to realize that this highly useful work has been published, and that great stretches of a rich and valuable literature are now accessible to scholars, who have hitherto had to rely upon inadequate and erroneous catalogues: only too frequently their impressions concerning the literature have reflected the character of the sources from which their information was derived.

R. P. BLAKE.

ST GREGORY OF NYSSA.

(1) GRAMMAR.

Text of V. Jaeger (Berlin 1921).

References to Migne *Patr. Gr.* vol. xlv (text-vulg.).

Chief MSS: Cod. Vat. (V) saec. xii, Laur. Med. (L) xi or x, Ambros. (A) xii, Lesb. Myt. (B) xi, Athous (C) xi or xii, Vat. (T) xiii, Vat. (S) xiii, Marcianus (M) xii–xiii.

I HAVE lately been reading the *contra Eunomium* of St Gregory of Nyssa while working on the *Patristic Lexicon*, and it was suggested to me that some remarks on his grammar might be of interest. There is a great contrast between the Greek and the Latin writers of the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. The Latin of the Vulgate demands different criteria and makes a different appeal from that made by classical Latin. A lover of the great Augustan writers may enjoy or be repelled by St Jerome; but if he is to enjoy him, he must alter his standards of taste and judgement. A revolution has taken place; it is a new speech. But the Greek of St Gregory of Nyssa is in the structure of the sentences, in vocabulary and, as a rule, in syntax, the Greek of the fifth and fourth centuries B. C.; he writes a good periodic style, often difficult, but seldom tortuous or confused. No doubt he and the other two great Cappadocian Fathers, St Gregory Nazianzen and St Basil, are peculiarly true to

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the classical tradition, much more so than the Greek e. g. of the N.T.; but the general rule holds good. Even Gregory of Nyssa, however, has irregularities of syntax; some, no doubt, escaped me because my attention was concentrated on the vocabulary and meaning rather than on the grammar, as well as for other reasons: those I noticed occur (1) in the structure of the conditional sentence, (2) in Final clauses, (3) in the use of the Relative, (4) in the use of Negatives, (5) in the use of Prepositions, (6) in verbal and nominal forms.

(1) The delicate distinctions in certain forms of the conditional sentence have become blurred, and uniformity has taken the place of variety.

We know that in classical Greek in a condition—

(*a*) in *present* time, where nothing is implied as to the fulfilment of the condition, the indicative is used in both clauses, e. g.

εἰ πράσσει τοῦτο, καλῶς ἔχει:

(*b*) in *future* time, where a *distinct* supposition is made of a future case, the apodosis expressing what *will* be the result if the condition *shall* be fulfilled, ἐάν with the subjunctive is used in the protasis, the future indicative in the apodosis, e. g.

ἐὰν πράσσῃ (*still more vividly* εἰ πράξει) τοῦτο, καλῶς ἕξει:

(*c*) in *future* time, where the supposition is *less distinct and vivid*, the apodosis expressing what *would* be the result if the condition *should* be fulfilled, εἰ with the optative is used in the protasis, followed by the optative with ἄν in the apodosis, e. g.

εἰ πράσσοι τοῦτο, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι.

Instead of these *three* forms of conditional sentence St Gregory regularly (not always) uses *one* form, εἰ with the optative in the protasis followed by indicative in the apodosis, present in form (*a*), future in forms (*b*) and (*c*), e. g.

(*a*) *c. Eunom.* vii 741. D. M (Jaeger's ed. iii tom. v 10) πολλαχῇ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἡ πρόχειρος ἑρμηνεία, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸν προσήκοντα νοῦν ἐκληφθείη, τῇ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ὑποδεικνυμένῃ ζωῇ τὸ ἐναντίον ποιεῖ, 'often the obvious interpretation of Scripture, if it is not understood in the proper sense, produces the opposite of the life conveyed by the spiritual (mystic) sense'.

So *ib.* 749. A. M (Jaeg. *ib.* 27): an interesting example where *both* indic. and opt. are used in two similar protases: εἰ γὰρ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐστὶν ἠλιθιότητος τὸν μὲν ἵππον τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον λέγειν, εἴπερ ἄνθρωποι . . . εἶεν ἀμφότεροι, τῆς ἴσης πάντως παραπληξίας ἐστί . . ., 'if it is a sign of the grossest folly to call one a horse and the other a man, if both . . . are men, it is certainly a sign of equal madness, both Father and Son being alike believed to be God, to call one create and the other uncreate'.

Other instances are *ib.* i 393. D. M (Jaeg. i 465) from St Gregory,

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ib. iv 668. B. M (Jaeg. iii tom. ii 137) in quotation from Eunomius, *ib.* iii 612. C. M (Jaeg. iii tom. i 132) with perf. infinitive in apod., *ib.* vii 760 M (Jaeg. iii tom. v 53) with pres. infinitive in apod.

(*b*) *Ib.* vii 744. A. M (Jaeg. iii tom. v 10), (this follows almost immediately on the first instance under (*a*)) οἷς εἴ τις προσέχοι κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, θανάτου διδασκαλίαν τὸ γράμμα ποιήσεται, 'If any one study these in their obvious sense, the letter will make the teaching to be a teaching of death'.

So in quotation from Eunomius xii B or xiii 1065. C. M (Jaeg. ii 464) εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀϊδίους (τοὺς αἰῶνας) λέγοιτε, Ἕλληνες ἔσεσθε . . . · εἰ δὲ γεννητούς, οὐκέτι . . . ὁμολογήσετε τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἀγέννητον, 'For if you call the ages eternal, you will be heathen . . . but if you call them created, you will no longer allow ungeneracy to God'.

(*c*) *Ib.* xii B or xiii 1089. D. M (Jaeg. ii 538) εἰ δὲ ἄρα τις καὶ σκιὰ νοήματος τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν ῥημάτων ἐνευρεθείη, ἀσεβὲς τὸ εὑρεθὲν ἔσται πάντως ἢ καταγέλαστον, 'If then any vestige of a thought should be discovered in this hubbub of words, what is discovered would be completely impious or ludicrous'.

ib. viii 796 A. & B. M (Jaeg. iii tom. vi 68–69), three instances in ten lines: εἰ ἀξιώσειε . . . συνεφαρμόσει . . . εἴ τις ἄνθρωπον εἶναι δοίη τινά, πάντα τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἴδια τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ ταύτῃ συνήρτησε (a sort of gnomic aorist) . . . εἰ κατανοήσαιμεν . . . ἔσται.

(2) Thus St Gregory's use involves a manifest loss of precision and blurring of distinctions. There seems to be a tendency in him to treat the *optative* as the mood whose function it is to denote *uncertainty*, and *to drop the use of the subjunctive* in this sense, which is ousted not only from the conditional sentence (except in primary general suppositions which are more akin to *temporal* than to *conditional* sentences), but from the final clause as well, where the optative with ἄν is used instead in primary time, e. g. (among numerous instances):—

ib. Jaeg. ii 481 omitted in M. ἀνάγκη . . . αὐτὴν ἐπὶ λέξεως παραθέσθαι τὴν ῥῆσιν, ὡς ἂν μὴ συκοφαντικῶς ἐπιφέρειν αὐτῷ τι τῶν οὐ προσόντων δοκοίημεν, 'It is necessary to quote his words *verbatim*, that we may not seem to charge him falsely with something of which he is not guilty'. Cf. *ib.* iii 600. A. M (Jaeg. iii tom. i 95) κατονομάζομεν . . . ὡς ἂν σημαίνοιτο.

(3) On the other hand, the subjunctive is sometimes used, as in Latin, where classical Greek uses the indicative future after a relative to denote purpose, e. g. *ib.* iii 609. B. M (Jaeg. iii tom. i 124) ὁ δὲ μηδέποτε γεγονὼς ἐν κακίᾳ οὔτε ὃ λάβῃ οὔτε ὃ καταλίπῃ ἔχει, 'But he who has never fallen into sin has nothing either to receive or to abandon'; *ib.* vii 748 M (Jaeg. iii tom. v 21) οἳ τοσοῦτον ὑψωθέντες, ὅσον μὴ ἔχειν ὅθεν πέσωσιν, 'which rise so little that they have no distance from which to fall'.

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This may be suggested by the use of the Deliberative subjunctive, or may possibly be a Latinism.

(4) The distinctions between οὐ and μή are partly neglected :—

(*a*) μή seems to be used regularly with the infinitives even after verbs of statement. *ib.* ii 485. D. M (Jaeg. *Refut. confess. Eunom.* 46 vol. ii p. 314 l. 7) ὁμολογεῖ συνεῖναι μὴ δύνασθαι ; *ib.* xii B or xiii 1028. B. M (Jaeg. ii 350) μηδένα φησὶ . . . ἐπιτεθεικέναι (for οὗ φησί τινα) : cf. *ib.* 997. A. M (Jaeg. ii 256).

Eunomius, on whose knowledge of Greek St Gregory pours great scorn, uses οὐ and μή in the same sentence, vii 752. D. M (Jaeg. iii tom. v 34) φησὶ γὰρ μηδένα τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας πεφροντικότων οὔτε τῶν γεννητῶν οὐδὲν ὀνομάζειν ἀγέννητον οὔτε τὸν . . . θεὸν υἱὸν ἢ γεννητόν.

(*b*) μή is used for οὐ in an ordinary relative sentence, e. g. *ib.* iv 636. D. M (Jaeg. iii tom. ii 51) τόκον . . . οὗ μηδεὶς ἐν ταῖς τοσαύταις τῶν ἀνθρώπων γενεαῖς καθηγήσατο, 'A miraculous birth of which there is no example in all these generations of men'.

(*c*) μή is used for οὐ with a participle used in temp. or caus. sense, e. g. *ib.* i 268. C. M (Jaeg. i 62) δηλονότι μὴ ἀπολογησάμενος πέπονθε, i. e. 'not having secured acquittal'.

(*d*) οὐ is used for μή in a cond. sentence : *ib.* xii B or xiii 1069. A. M (Jaeg. ii 474) εἰ γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπί τινος ἰδιαζούσης ἐννοίας καταλαμβάνεται, 'If none of the names is understood in any special sense' : *ib.* 1029. M (Jaeg. ii 355) εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐ δέχεται . . . εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἀντιλέγει.

Also μή is followed by μήτε instead of μηδέ, e. g. *ib.* i p. 305. D. M (Jaeg. i 184) μὴ τελείως μήτε κυρίως.

(5) Prepositions, though generally employed in accordance with rule, have some peculiar usages, e. g. παρά is used *generally* for the agent instead of ὑπό, not, as in classical Greek, *in certain select phrases* : e. g. παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν γράφεσθαι, παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ σεσῶσθαι ; we find ἐπὶ λέξεως *verbatim* ; ἐπί τινα συμφρονῆσαι 'to come to an agreement with some one' (Eunom.) ; ὑπὸ πολλῆς προσοχῆς 'with much care' (this is the only instance I have noted where a preposition is used when the simple case would be regular).

(6) There are one or two curious verbal and nominal forms, περιλαμφθείς (the Ionic form for Att. περιληφθείς), but μεταληφθείς ; σκόπησον = Att. σκέψαι, σκοπήσωμεν = Att. σκεψώμεθα : ἀνεχέθην = ἀνεχύθην (from ἀναχέω) : εὐθής = εὐθύς.

(2) Vocabulary and Style.

In the foregoing Note on St Gregory's grammar I have maintained that, though there were some important deviations, it followed with remarkable fidelity the classical tradition ; the strictest advocate of that tradition will

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find even less exception to be taken to his style and vocabulary. The sense is often hard to unravel, mainly owing to the difficulty of the subject-matter, but partly also to the length and involution of the sentences, but the style and structure are those of the authors of the best period, and passages of striking beauty occur frequently. For example, in Book xii B (or xiii, Jaeger ii), M. 937, he is speaking of the 'vanity and madness' of supposing that the nature of Him Who by His will alone created the universe is within our comprehension; 'so we may see', he continues, 'little ones in the ignorance of their childhood playing eagerly together, *πολλάκις γὰρ ἀκτῖνος ἡλιακῆς διὰ θυρίδος αὐτοῖς εἰσρυείσης περιχαρέντα τῷ κάλλει πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον ἴεται καὶ φέρειν φιλονεικεῖ διὰ χειρὸς τὴν ἀκτῖνα καὶ διαμάχεται πρὸς ἄλληλα καὶ περιδράσσεται τοῦ φωτός, τῇ περιβολῇ τῶν δακτύλων, ὡς οἴεται, τὴν αὐγὴν ἐνδησάμενα· ἀλλὰ διαλυθείσης τῶν δακτύλων τῆς ἐμπλοκῆς γέλωτα ποιεῖ τοῖς νηπίοις καὶ κρότον διαρρυεῖσα τῶν χειρῶν ἡ τῆς ἀκτῖνος λαβή.* Can we imagine a more exquisite image of the ungraspable glory of the Creator than this simile of the children in their play trying to imprison the sunbeam in their hands? And how perfectly the quick succession of short clauses interprets the breathless rapidity of their attempts, rivalries, and failures! The application to the 'children of this generation' who 'play, sitting in the marketplace', and 'grasp at the unseizable with the clutch of their sophisms and think to make prize of it with their syllogisms', is no less masterly but too long to quote. There is a fine passage in the same book (M. 985) describing the 'voice without speech of the heavens'; it is more characteristic of St Gregory's style than the last passage, and it is worth while quoting the opening sentence—*πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντες, ὦ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἀεικίνητον ταύτην περιφορὰν καὶ τὴν εὔτακτόν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον καὶ ἀεὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσαν κίνησιν ἐννοήσατε τὸν ἐπιστατοῦντα τῆς ἡμετέρας συστάσεως καὶ διὰ τοῦ φαινομένου κάλλους τὸ πρωτότυπον καὶ ἀόρατον κάλλος ἀναλογίσασθε· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἀδέσποτον ἢ αὐτοκίνητον ἢ αὐτόματον.* Other passages of sincere and splendid eloquence are the apostrophe to the Son of God, defamed by those who deny His Deity (M. iv 676, Jaeg. iii tom. 2 § 160); and the passage about the Two Natures (M. v 705, Jaeg. iii tom. 3 § 64–66), in which he speaks of the raising of Lazarus, *ἴδιον τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρώπου τὸ δάκρυον, ἡ δὲ ζωὴ τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς.* What a fine phrase is that in answer to those who conceived themselves able to define accurately the nature of God—'One thing pre-eminently reveals it, *τὸ ἀρρήτως περὶ αὐτῆς ἡμῖν θαῦμα κατὰ ψυχὴν ἐγγινόμενον!*' His invective, if sometimes unseemly in its violence as was common in the invective of his time, is full of pungency and wit; the same freshness of imagination which has been already noticed in his serious writing is shewn in the vivid pictures he draws of his opponents, e.g. of Eunomius as

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a satyr dancing on the arguments of St Basil to the music of his own pet phrases; or as a beggar-author scraping together from any quarter bits of broken victuals to supply his lack of honest bread. Eunomius and his disciples in their attacks on St Basil are like children throwing clods of earth at the stars, and when these fall back to earth boasting gleefully that their clod has hit the mark (M. vii 745, Jaeg. iii tom. 5 § 20–21). The torrential rush of his invective reminds one of the flood of epithets with which Prince Henry deluges Falstaff, e. g. in his comparison of the deluded followers of Eunomius to the sailors of Odysseus after they have drunk of Circe's cup and been turned into swine—*οἷόν τινα καρπὸν κρανείας ἢ βάλανον τοὺς διαρριπτουμένους παρ' αὐτοῦ λόγους ὑποκεκυφότες ἐκλέγουσιν, συῶν δίκην πρὸς τὰ χαμαιρριφῆ τῶν δογμάτων λαιμάργως ἐπιτρέχοντες* (M. iv 647, Jaeg. iii tom. 2 § 79). Now and then we come on a little picture exquisitely elaborated, as for instance the description of the peacock's tail, whose hidden beauty he compares to the inner mystic meaning of Scripture (Jaeg. iii tom 1 § 26, *desunt* in M.).

It is only fair, that a false impression may be avoided, to shew by one example how crabbed and difficult he can sometimes be. It occurs in one of the many arguments against the contention of Eunomius that *ἀγεννησία* expresses the actual *οὐσία* of God—*ἢ τοίνυν χωρισάτωσαν τοῦ ὁρισμοῦ τῆς θείας οὐσίας τὴν ἀγεννησίαν ἐπὶ μόνης τῆς ἰδίας ἐμφάσεως μένουσαν ἥν, εἴπερ διὰ τὴν ἁπλότητα τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τῇ ἀγεννησίᾳ τὴν οὐσίαν ὁρίζοιντο, διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν κτίσιν καὶ τὴν δημιουργίαν τῇ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐσίᾳ ἐνθεωρείτωσαν, ὡς οὐχὶ κτιζούσης καὶ δημιουργούσης τῆς ἐν τῇ οὐσίᾳ δυνάμεως, ἀλλ' αὐτῆς τῆς δυνάμεως κτίσμα καὶ δημιούργημα νοουμένης* (M. xii B or xiii 920, Jaeg. ii § 32). This has puzzled me terribly; I began by mistranslating it completely, I now translate the latter part—'Let them regard creation and contrivance as part of the essence of the Father, there being no creation or contrivance by the power within the essence, but the power itself being conceived as a thing created and contrived'; but I should be grateful for any further light.

St Gregory's vocabulary is classical, though it may not be that of a Fair Copy by a Cambridge scholar. What is meant is that he prefers the words used by the great classical authors; he does not indeed reject words of a later date if they serve his turn, but he very rarely uses them in place of a classical word with the same meaning. More than that his close acquaintance with Greek literature which is obvious everywhere (his invective, for instance, is full of reminiscences of Demosthenes and Aristophanes) is especially conspicuous in his delicate discrimination in the use of words employed in particular associations by the great writers. He speaks, for example, of impiety

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ἀνάκυπτον 'popping up' from certain premises, a favourite sense of the word in Aristophanes and Plato (M. 1112); he uses πλύνω (in the compound διαπλύνω found in Ar. Frag. 546) with the Aristophanic meaning 'to give a dressing to' (M. 1116); κολοφών in the Platonic sense of 'finishing stroke' (like θριγκός) (M. 1032); ἀποκναίω for 'bothering', 'boring' (Plat. and Ar.) (1077 M.); διπλόη for a 'junction' or 'flaw' of two discordant statements (Plat.) (M. 848). Plato and Demosthenes and Aristophanes are the authors he recalls, perhaps, most frequently; e. g. he traces (M. 1045) Eunomius's theory that God gave things their names to Plato's Cratylus (*τὸ τῇ φύσει ὄνομα Crat.* 390 E). But these are not all; when he speaks (M. 1008) of the daughter of Pharoah *τῷ λουτρῷ τὸ σῶμα φαιδρυνομένης* he must have had in his mind Aesch. *Ag.* 1109 *τὸν ὁμοδέμνιον πόσιν λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα*; when in a passage already cited (M. 647) he is speaking of Circe's swine, he uses the same word *κράνεια* which Homer uses of their food in *Od.* x 242. His vocabulary is not only accurate, but, like his style in general, strikingly picturesque. Eunomius 'nibbles off' (*περιεσθίεται*, from Lucian), like a rabbit, words and figures to be dished up for his own use (M. 748); having 'uttered one blasphemy', he is on the look out for a second and worse *ἐφεδρεύει τῷ ἐφεξῆς λόγῳ*; his genius is ironically described as *ἀμφιλαφής*, a word properly used (e. g. in Hdt.) of elephants and such-like animals, not of men. He uses *ἐμπύρευμα*, which in Aristotle means '*a live coal covered with ashes*, so as to allow of the fire being rekindled' (L. and S.), of the eternal life hidden in Christ's humanity (M. 708) *οἱονεὶ συγκαλύψας τὸ τῆς ζωῆς ἐμπύρευμα τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος . . . πάλιν ἄνηψέ τε καὶ ἀνεζωπύρησε τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἰδίας θεότητος*, a singularly felicitous word and simile. Once only he seems to make a mistake in the use of a technical word; Eunomius had accused St Gregory of speaking of 'two Christs'—*οἱ δὲ δύο Χριστοὶ πόθεν παρὰ τοῦ Εὐνομίου διὰ τοῦ εἰρημένου εἰσεκυκλήθησαν* (M. 704), which surely means 'From whence did Eunomius bring these "two Christs" on to the stage?'; but the Greek for this is not *εἰσκυκλέω*, which means 'to wheel *out of sight*', but *ἐκκυκλέω*. He gives an interesting account of the meaning of *παραλλάσσω* and *παραλλαγή* as commonly used (*ἐν τῇ καταχρήσει τῆς συνηθείας*) (M. 668). The account of the words in L. and S. on the face of it hardly confirms this except rarely. But if the instances quoted are examined carefully it will be seen that St Gregory's contention that the main sense is 'alteration *for the worse* whether from health to sickness or virtue to vice' is borne out. The other meaning he assigns to them, 'opposition', as between 'death and life', 'peace and war', is allowed by L. and S. of *παραλλαγή* but not of *παραλλάσσω*: I have little doubt that St Gregory is right throughout.

When it is said that he employs words with singular fidelity in their

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classical sense, it is not of course denied that he constantly gives words a special theological meaning, adapted from, but not identical with, their ordinary sense. This is done by theologians and philosophers in all languages: our use of Grace, Orders, Conversion, etc., will occur to any one, and no examples are necessary.

Besides giving new senses to old words, St Gregory constantly coins, or employs words already coined by other theologians, to suit his technical purpose. Such words are usually compounds, and the ease with which new compounds are formed in Greek and their astonishing flexibility makes the practice common at all periods of the language. For example, dealing as he does in the *contra Eunomium* with the mysteries of the Trinity, he wishes to declare the community of the nature of the Son with that of the Father, or to deny any community of the Son with the created world. All that is necessary is to add *σύν* to an existing verb and so invent a new compound: so he speaks (M. 624) of *τὸ συναϊδίαζον* (not in L. and S.) *τοῦ Λόγου πρὸς τὴν Ἀρχήν*; so he protests against the attribution of goodness to the Father alone *ὥστε τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ τὸν Μονογενῆ Θεὸν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ συναπείργεσθαι* (M. 857) (a word apparently invented by him). I noted fifty words compounded with *σύν* in the *contra Eunomium*, most of which were invented either by St Gregory or some other theological writer. He has many new words compounded with *ἀ* neg. to denote the nature of God, such words as *ἀνεκφώνητος*, *ἀπερίγραπτος*. Sometimes he has a new compound, combining both *σύν* and *ἀ* neg., e.g. *ἀσυνδύαστος* in M. 864 *τὸ ἓν ἀσυνδύαστον ἔχει τὴν σημασίαν*; i. e. usually 'the one has in it no sense of pairing (the union of two)', not so with the mysterious oneness of the Father and the Son. Being engaged in a peculiarly subtle controversy he has repeatedly to contrast one statement with another, hence there are several new compounds with *ἀντί*, such as *ἀντιπαραδείκνυμι*, 'to exhibit something side by side with, but in opposition to, another', 'in opposition to the various and conflicting views of the enemy *ἀντιπαραδείξωμεν τὴν τῆς Εὐσεβείας ἀλήθειαν*' (M. 644). The combined accuracy and brevity secured by these compounds are the despair of the translator.

There is much to be said, even from the point of view of the classical purist, for a more favourable estimate of Patristic Greek.

E. C. E. Owen.

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A NOTE ON TWO POINTS IN AARON'S HEAD-DRESS.

AARON'S headdress is referred to in Exodus, Leviticus, and Ecclesiasticus as a 'mitre', in the English versions (taken from the LXX *μίτρα*), upon which was placed a 'crown'. The Hebrew words are מצנפת (probably 'turban') and נזר (in Ecclesiasticus עטרת). In Exodus and Leviticus (E. Vv.) a 'golden plate' is also part of the head-dress, inscribed with 'Holiness [R.V. "Holy"] to the Lord'. The word 'plate' is a translation of ציץ, and 'Holiness to the Lord' is a translation of קדש ליהוה. The Hebrew fragment of Ecclesiasticus has the word ציץ and also the word קדש. It is the purpose of this note to suggest that these Hebrew expressions—ציץ and קדש ליהוה—have been misunderstood and should be rendered differently in English.

1. As to 'golden plate'. This is mentioned in three passages :—

Exod. xxviii 36: 'And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS [R.V. "HOLY"] TO THE LORD.'

Exod. xxxix 30: 'And they made the plate of the holy crown of pure gold, and wrote upon it a writing, like to the engravings of a signet, HOLINESS [R.V. "HOLY"] TO THE LORD.'

Lev. viii 9: '. . . upon the mitre, even upon his forefront [R.V. "in front"] did he put [R.V. "set"] the golden plate, the holy crown.'

In Exod. xxix 6 and in Ecclus. xlv 12 (E.Vv.) 'golden plate' is not mentioned, though reference is made to the 'crown'. The word ציץ in the Hebrew fragment of Ecclesiasticus is not represented in the Greek text; *στέφανος* represents עטרת.

The proper meaning of ציץ is 'flower'—natural or artificial—and only in the three quoted passages is it rendered 'plate'. In the books of Numbers, Job, Psalms, and Isaiah, ציץ is rendered *ἄνθος* in the LXX and 'flower' in the English versions, natural flowers being referred to. In ch. vi of 1 Kings the plural of ציץ occurs in several verses as a description of carved ornaments of wood in Solomon's Temple. The English versions in that chapter have 'flowers', and the LXX *πέταλα*. In the three quoted passages above, wherever 'plate' occurs, the LXX has *πέταλον* as the translation of ציץ. *Πέταλον* elsewhere than in the LXX has the meaning of 'leaf' of a flower, and 'leaf' of thin metal. In the LXX it is also the equivalent of נזר ('crown', Exod. xxix 6, relating to the head-dress), and פחי ('thin plates of metal', Exod. xxxix 3, LXX xxxvi 10, having nothing to do with the head-dress).

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The meaning of πέταλον is of importance here, because Philo uses the word in his description of Aaron's head-dress, and he certainly does not mean by it 'thin plate of metal', but something wrought by a handicraftsman and serving the purpose of a crown, presumably either נזר or ציץ, the only things for which the LXX uses πέταλον in the same connexion.

The passage from Philo is as follows (*De Vit. Mos.* iii 114, 152 M.): χρυσοῦν δὲ πέταλον ὡσανεὶ στέφανος ἐδημιουργεῖτο τέτταρας ἔχον γλυφὰς ὀνόματος . . . τετραγράμματον δὲ τοὔνομα . . . μίτρα δ' ἦν ὑπ' αὐτῷ, τοῦ μὴ ψάυειν τῆς κεφαλῆς τὸ πέταλον. It will be noticed that Philo also has μίτρα, the word used in the LXX in Exodus and Leviticus for the head-dress (מצנפת). This seems to confirm the view that to πέταλον, here described as 'made' or 'wrought' (ἐδημιουργεῖτο), Philo attached the same meaning as did the LXX; it is referred to in the LXX also as having been 'made' (ποιήσεις and ἐποίησαν πέταλον). Since by πέταλον in the three quoted passages the LXX meant ציץ, it seems clear that when Philo uses the word πέταλον in his description of Aaron's head-dress it is ציץ that is meant.

Whatever ציץ was, it was evidently the same thing as נזר. Not only does the LXX render נזר by πέταλον (Exod. xxix 6) as well as by ἀφόρισμα (Exod. xxxix 30, LXX xxxvi 38), but Symmachus (and perhaps Aquila) render ציץ by ἀφόρισμα instead of by πέταλον, and another Greek translator has στέφανος as the equivalent of ציץ in place of πέταλον (Lev. viii 9). ציץ and נזר were evidently regarded as different names for the same thing, and this is confirmed by Philo's expression—πέταλον ὡσανεὶ στέφανος. The identity of ציץ and נזר is further shewn by two of the quoted passages (Exod. xxxix 30, Lev. viii 9). In the first the English 'plate *of* the holy crown' rather disguises this, but in both verses the Hebrew words are in apposition, as in the English of Lev. viii 9—'the golden plate, the holy crown'.

That the ציץ ('flower') or נזר ('crown') was not a mere 'plate' of metal, but was in fact the diadem or crown worn over the high priest's turban or cap, seems clear from a passage in Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* iii 7. 6) which has many correspondences with the LXX and Philo in the description of the head-dress. Josephus says that Aaron's head-dress was surmounted by a golden calyx or flower, and this seems to be the ציץ of the Hebrew text in the three quoted passages. Neither πέταλον nor μίτρα occurs here, the 'flower' being κάλυξ χρύσεος, and the cap or turban πῖλος. The high priest is said to have worn an ordinary priest's πῖλος, with another embroidered πῖλος of violet stuff sewn over it (Philo also refers to both μίτρα and κίδαρις being worn). Josephus then proceeds: περιέρχεται δὲ στέφανος χρύσεος, ἐπὶ τριστοιχίαν κεχαλκευμένος· θάλλει δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ κάλυξ χρύσεος, τῇ σακχάρῳ βοτάνῃ παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένῃ

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ἀπομεμιμημένος. Then he explains that the Greeks call the plant ὑὸς κύαμος, gives a long description of its appearance, and continues: ἐκ τούτου μὲν στέφανος ἐκκεχάλκευται, ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰνίου πρὸς ἑκάτερον τῶν κροτάφων· τὸ δὲ μέτωπον . . . οὐκ ἔπεισι . . . κάλυξ, τελαμὼν δ' ἐστὶ χρύσεος, ὃς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένος ἐστί.

The picture presented by Josephus is that of a cap or turban of embroidered cloth or similar material, with a golden ornament or diadem fixed on to it, consisting of a triple band of gold, plain in front, and from the back and sides rising into the figure of a cup-like flower. On the plain front the sacred name is engraved. This golden ornament might well be described in Hebrew both as נזר and ציץ ('crown' and 'flower'), and in Greek both as στέφανος and πέταλον.

2. As to 'Holiness [R. V. "Holy"] to the Lord'. There are only two passages in the Bible itself (Exod. xxviii 36; xxxix 30, both quoted above) to be considered. The Ecclesiasticus passage is of little help; the inscription is said in Ecclus. xlv 12 to have been 'Holiness' (E. Vv.), but the Hebrew text is imperfect, and different emendations are suggested by Peters and I. Lévi. The Hebrew fragment has קדש, and the Greek text has ἁγιάσματος.

What is asserted by the English versions in each of the two passages is that the inscription on the ציץ consisted of the words קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה, which words they translate 'Holiness [*or* Holy] to the Lord'. The assertion made by the LXX in Exod. xxxix 30 (LXX xxxvi 38) is the same, the Hebrew inscribed words being rendered ἁγίασμα Κυρίῳ. In Exod. xxviii 36 (LXX 32) this is not the assertion made by the LXX; in place of Κυρίῳ the word in the text is Κυρίου, with the result that the meaning is different. What is here asserted is that what was to be engraved was 'a holy thing belonging to the Lord', not the words קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה. The difficulty is to discover what the translators intended to convey by the word ἁγίασμα which they used to render קדש, or what they thought קדש meant. This passage at any rate, as it stands in the LXX at Exod. xxviii 32, does not assert that the words to be inscribed on the ציץ were קדש ליהוה. From the text of the LXX itself it is not possible to say with confidence what 'holy thing' was meant by ἁγίασμα in the phrase ἁγίασμα Κυρίου.

In the passage quoted from Philo the words τέτταρας ἔχον γλυφὰς ὀνόματος, and his reference to the τετραγράμματον, make it quite plain that Philo thought, and intended to assert, that the inscribed word was יהוה.

In the passage from Josephus (quoted above) it seems also to be plainly implied that יהוה was the inscribed word—τελαμὼν δ' ἐστὶ χρύσεος ὃς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένος ἐστί. In another passage (*Ant. Iud.* viii 3. 8) Josephus, in describing the prepara-

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tion of a great many sets of vestments, etc., in Solomon's Temple, says: *ἡ δὲ στεφάνη, εἰς ἣν Μωυσῆς τὸν Θεὸν ἔγραψε, μία ἦν, καὶ διέμεινεν ἄχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας.*

The final point to be decided is whether the Hebrew text in Exod. xxviii 36 and xxxix 30 can be read so as to mean that the word יהוה was the word, and the only word, inscribed on the ציץ. The Hebrew text in the first passage is וּפִתַּחְתָּ עָלָיו . . . קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה, in the latter וַיִּכְתְּבוּ עָלָיו . . . קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה—engrave or write קדש ליהוה upon it (the ציץ). Holy or sacred to Jahve is, of course, prima facie, the meaning that would be attached to the phrase קדש ליהוה here, since it frequently occurs with that meaning. But when, as here and occasionally elsewhere, the words are not descriptive of anything, but merely refer to something to be written or placed upon an object, it seems permissible to give them a different meaning. קדש is used in so many ways, and of so many things, as indicating sacredness, that here it might well be considered as referring to the sacred or holy name. קדש ליהוה could then be translated 'the sacred name "Jahve"'. The ל prefixed to יהוה would be taken as prefixed in accordance with the Hebrew idiom, of which illustrations occur in Ezek. xxxvii 16 and Isa. viii 1. In the former of these passages וּכְתֹב עָלָיו לִיהוּדָה means 'Write upon it "Judah"' (not 'For Judah' as in the English versions): see BDB, *Heb. Lex.*, p. 513b, where, however, the references need correction.

The Exodus passages seem to have found an echo in the prophet Zechariah (ch. xiv), and *vv.* 20 and 21 of that chapter may be referred to as illustrating the ordinary meaning of the phrase קדש ליהוה, and also as affording an example of a passage in which these words might well be rendered as above suggested in the case of the Exodus passages. Zech. xiv 20, 21 runs:—

> In that day shall there be upon the bells of the horses, HOLINESS [R.V. 'HOLY'] UNTO THE LORD. . . . Yea, every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness [R.V. 'holy'] unto the Lord of Hosts.

In each verse the Hebrew is קדש ליהוה. In the first verse it is suggested that, as in the Exodus passages, the English version might be '. . . upon the bells of the horses the sacred name "Jahve"'.

This Zechariah passage stands of course by itself, except so far as the Exodus passages may be considered as helping it. But the Exodus passages have the aid of Philo and Josephus as testimony to the fact of the inscription on the ציץ consisting of the Tetragrammaton only, and unless it be considered impossible to render the Hebrew קדש ליהוה in the manner suggested, the scale might well be turned by the weight of these two Greek writers.

JAMES EDWARD HOGG.

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THE ORIGIN OF 'ḤIREQ COMPAGINIS' IN HEBREW.

It has long been the custom to compare the remnants of the Hebrew case-endings, ִ (nom.) and ִַ (acc.), with Babylonian and Arabic *-ŭ* (nom.) and *-ă* (acc.); but the explanation of ִ as cognate with Bab. and Ar. *-ĭ*, the termination of the gen. case (Ges.-K., ed. Cowley, § 90 *h*), has never been convincing,[1] since it indicates the construct and not, like the latter, the genitive case. The explanation is, however, simple; in early Babylonian not only the genitive but also the construct case terminated in *-ĭ*, a fact but little known since the vocalic ending was at an early period dropped in favour of the shortened form. The following examples, chiefly from the Code of Hammurabi, which exhibits a complete system of case-endings, in every instance correctly used, will make this old usage clear:—

(i) in the nomin.:

*mukinn***i** *Ištar* 'stablisher of Ishtar' (Code iv *a* 48), beside the later and more usual form *mukîn*, as in *mukîn išdi* (c-c., gen.) *Sippar* 'stablisher of the foundation of Sippar' (Code ii *a* 24–25)[2];

(ii) in the accus.:

*išd***i** *kussê šarrûtišu* . . . *šuršidi* 'set firm (f.) the foundation of the throne of his kingship' (IV Rawlinson 18, ii 13–14), beside the shortened form, as in *šipir gâtišu uštaḫizu* 'he has taught him the work of his hand' (Code xvi *b* 57–58);

(iii) in the genit.:

*mukîn išd***i** *âliya* 'stablisher of the foundation of my city' (Sargon's Cylinder 68), beside the shortened form *išid*, as in *ina išid šamê* 'from the foundation of heaven' (IV Rawlinson 20, ii Obv. 1–2).

Although this termination fell into general desuetude in the nomin., it continued to occur sporadically in the accus. and survived side by side with the shortened form in the genit. case. It was, however, retained in regular use in the nomin. in the case of nouns ending in two successive consonants, without any intervening vowel: (*a*) very often in masc. nouns, as in *libb***i** *ili* 'the heart of[3] the god' (cited by Muss-Arnolt *Assyrisches Wörterbuch* p. 467 *b*), and (*b*) almost invariably in fem. nouns ending similarly, as in *alakt***i** *ili* 'the way of[4] god' (I Rawlinson 53, i 29), and (*c*) in the Babylonian words expressing

[1] It is left still unexplained by Bauer and Leander *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache* §§ 63–65.

[2] Cp. Code iv *a* 40–41: *mukinnu išdišin* 'stablisher of their foundations'; see p. 77, n. 1.

[3] But also *lib*.

[4] But also *alkat*.

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relationship, like *abu* (= Hebrew אָב) 'father', as in *abi mârtim* 'the father of the girl' (Code x *b* 14), beside *ab*, as in *ab abi* 'father's father' (*Asurbanipal's Annals* i 25).

Enough, then, has been said to prove that in Babylonian, and especially in old Babylonian, there was a form of the construct case terminating in *-ĭ*, parallel to the shortened form common to Babylonian and Hebrew. But the fact that this *-ĭ* is almost confined to words ending in two consecutive consonants, and that even then it is only an alternative form, makes it likely that originally it was no case-ending but a mere helping or binding vowel, which probably the Babylonians and certainly the Hebrews mistook for a case-ending. Finally, as *-ŭ*[1] and *-ă* were lengthened into *-û* and *-āh* in accordance with the phonetic laws of Hebrew, which disliked a short final vowel, so the *-ĭ* of the construct case everywhere became *-î*, as in the case of the Babylonian *abi* = Hebrew אֲבִי 'father of'.[2]

G. R. DRIVER.

NOTES FROM PAPYRI.

1 COR. vii 21 ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δύνασαι ἐλεύθερος γενέσθαι, μᾶλλον χρῆσαι. The absolute use of χρῆσαι, which constitutes a *crux interpretum*, may be illustrated by a rather close parallel in the recently published *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xvi, 1865, 4 sqq. καὶ πολλάκις ἐξ[ὴν γράψαι σοι περὶ τοῦ] κεφαλαίου τούτου, καὶ προσδοκων (*leg.* προσδοκῶν) καθ' ἑκάστην καταλαμβά[νειν ἐκεῖσε?], τούτου ἕνεκεν οὐκ ἐχρησάμην ἄλλην γράψαι ἄλλοις γράμμα[σι]ν: *ib.* 12–13 καὶ πρὸς τὸ γνῶναι τὸν ἐμὸν δεσπότην ἐχρησάμην παρακαλῶν διὰ τούτον (*leg.* τούτων) μου τῶν γραμμάτων. 'I had many opportunities of writing to you concerning this matter, and, expecting each day to come thither, for that reason did not *avail myself of them* to write another letter over again. . . . That my master may know this I *took the opportunity* of exhorting you by this my writing' (edd.). The papyrus is attributed to the sixth or seventh century of our era. The late date detracts somewhat from the value of the comparison, but for what it is worth it favours the rendering of the Pauline passage —'If you actually have before you the possibility of becoming free,

[1] In early Babylonian *ŭ* was sometimes retained in the c.c. of the nomin. (as always in class. Arab., and in such proper names in Hebrew as מְתוּשֶׁלַח); cp. Code iv*a* 14–15 *mušaršidu šubatišin* 'founder of their dwellings' with ii 58–59 *mušaršid šubat* (*âl*) *Kiš* (*KI*) 'founder of the dwelling of Kish'.

[2] The original use of this termination as a helping or binding vowel is most clearly seen in forms like גְּנַבְתִּי (Gen. xxxi 39) and הַמַּנְבִּיהִי (Ps. cxiii 5); the second example shews, further, that it has no necessary connexion with the construct case, which cannot be determined by the definite article.

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avail yourself of it by preference'. In effect the object of χρῆσαι is supplied from the sense of δύνασαι exactly as in the papyrus it is supplied from the sense of ἐξῆν.

The following additional parallels may be noted in the Byzantine documents published in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* xvi :—

O. P. 1837 9 ἵνα τελιος (*leg.* τελείως) ἀσχημονήσῃ (vi p. C.). Cf. 1 Pet. i 13 νήφοντες τελείως ἐλπίσατε. This seems to offer a closer parallel than the examples of τελείως usually cited in commentaries from Maccabees and elsewhere.

O. P. 1839 3 ζῇ Κύριος, ἐὰν ἔτι ἔλθῃ πρὸς ἐμὲ [. . . καὶ μὴ συ]νηλλάγησαν, οὐκ ἔχεις μου βαστάξαι (vii p. C.) This must be added to the small number of examples in Moulton and Milligan of βαστάζω = 'tolerate', 'endure'. Apparently some such substantive as τὴν ὀργήν has been omitted, but it is possible, as the editors suggest, that μου is merely an error for με. In that case we should have the nearest parallel yet recorded to the use of βαστάζω with a personal object in Apoc. ii 2 οὐ δύνῃ βαστάσαι κακούς.

O. P. 1855 13 ἔχω γὰρ δεκαεννέα ἡμέρας σήμερον εἰς τὸ πρ[ᾶ]γμα τοῦτο (vi–vii p. C.). Cf. Jn. v 5 τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτὼ ἔτη ἔχων ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ αὐτοῦ.

C. H. DODD.

ST PETER DAMIAN AND 'AUXILIUS'.

THE first part of M. Augustin Fliche's 'La Réforme Grégorienne' has recently appeared as Fasciculus vi of the *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*. In a foot-note on p. 224 M. Fliche writes: 'Pierre Damien cite quelques textes canoniques, en assez petit nombre d'ailleurs. Parmi eux figurent le chapitre 68 des Canons des Apôtres et la lettre d'Anastase II à l'empereur Anastase qu'il a peut-être empruntés à la collection canonique du manuscrit t. xviii de la Vallicellane (*c.* 391–399) décrite par M. Paul Fournier, un groupe de recueils canoniques italiens des Xe et XIe siècles, dans les *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* t. xl, 1915, p. 6 et suiv. Le canon 68 était, en effet, peu connu en Occident, et cette collection est une des rares qui le mentionnent'.

It is perhaps worth while to suggest that the source from which Peter Damian derived his knowledge of Canon 68 is 'Auxilius' *de Ordinationibus a Formoso PP. factis* xviii (J. Morin *de sacris Ordinationibus* pars ii p. 288). Both 'Auxilius' and Damian omit the very important words 'nisi forte eum ab hereticis ordinatum comprobaverit'. (See St Peter Damian *Liber qui appellatur gratissimus* xxxii in *Libelli de*

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lite, M.G.H. i p. 66.) Consequently Cardinal Humbert in his *Adversus Simoniacos* (I. C. vii *Libelli de lite* t. i p. 112) takes full advantage of the controversial opportunity afforded by an omission of so unfortunate a nature. It is generally supposed that Humbert's work is an attempted refutation of the *Liber gratissimus*, but it has always been difficult to believe that Humbert could have written with such violence of one who stood so high in reputation as a saint and a reformer as the great Peter Damian. I would venture to suggest that the 'fool'—'the enemy of God'—with whose treatise Humbert is concerned is 'Auxilius'.

The clear dependence of Damian, in many places in the *Liber gratissimus*, on 'Auxilius' has escaped the attention of the learned editor of the *Liber gratissimus* in vol. i of the *Libelli de lite*. E. g. St Peter has a quotation from St Augustine in the following form :—

Liber gratissimus.

Quod autem in libro sapientiae legitur, *spiritus sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum, et auferet se a cogitationibus quae sunt sine intellectu ;* ita intelligendum est, ut desit saluti eius, ministerium tamen non deserat, quod per eum salutem operatur illorum. Unde ait apostolus, *si enim volens hoc facio, mercedem habeo ; si autem invitus, dispensatio mihi credita est.* Ac si dicat, illis prodest quibus hoc dispenso, non mihi qui fictus sum.

St Aug. *c. Parmen.* II xi 24.

Si autem fictus est, quoniam verissime scriptum est, *spiritus enim sanctus disciplinae effugiet fictum* ; deest quidam saluti eius, et auferat se a *cogitationibus quae sunt sine intellectu* : ministerium tamen eius non deserit, quo per eum salutem operatur aliorum. Propter quod apostolus ait, *si enim volens hoc facio, mercedem habeo, si autem invitus, dispensatio mihi credita est :* id est, illis prodest quibus hoc dispenso, non mihi qui fictus sum.

On this the editor in *Libelli de lite* observes that Augustine's text 'paululum discrepat a Petri Damiani'; but Damian agrees with 'Auxilius' *de Ordin.* xxix except in reading *illorum* for *aliorum.*

M. Fliche refers to Damian's citations of the Decretals of Innocent I and the letters of Gregory the Great, and suggests that Damian availed himself of 'une collection dérivant de celle de la Vallicellane et augmentée de quelques textes nouveaux'. Is it not possible that Damian once again is here indebted to 'Auxilius'?

Auxilius.

Cap. xxiv. Sancto Flaviano Constantinopolitano episcopo ob catholicam fidem in exsilium destinato, Anatolius eo vivente in eius loco ordinatus est. Ad quem Leo ita loquitur : *Decessore enim tuo,* etc.

Damian.

Cap. xvii. . . . Sancto Flaviano Constantinopolitano episcopo ob catholicam fidem in exsilium destinato, Anatolius, eo vivente, in loco eius ab haereticis ordinatus est. Ad quem sanctus papa Leo ita loquitur, dicens : *Decessore enim tuo,* etc.

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Cap. xxii. Certum est quod Bonosiaci haeretici comparandi sunt Iudaeis, eo quod Christum Deum ex Patris substantia ante saecula negent, sicut Iudaei qui eius divinitatem negaverunt et negant. Unde consequens est ut participium damnationis cum eis habent quorum errorem imitati sunt.

Cap. xxv. Et quidem Bonosus . . . Fotinianus fuisse dinoscitur. . . . Hii nimirum, quia cum Iudeis Dei Filium negare non metuunt, cum eisdem quoque participium non diversae dampnationis incurrunt.

The most interesting instances of Damian's use of Auxilius, however, are those afforded by the passages in which he deals with the memories of popes Liberius and Vigilius.

Auxilius.

Cap. xxv. Quis enim nesciat quod Liberius, heu proh dolor! Arianae haeresi subscripserit, et per eius transgressionem nefandissima scelera sint commissa; multitudo quoque sacerdotum et clericorum interfecta sit et martyrio coronata: residui vero catholici non solum ab ecclesiis, sed etiam a balneis prohibiti sint. Liberius autem apostata factus vixit annos sex, ordinationes tamen quas fecit in sua stabilitate permanserunt. Nec mirum; revera enim Iudas, quamvis fur et sacrilegus, quae salubriter apostolus gessit redarguere non ausus fuit.

Hinc est quod Vigilii ordinationes nemo commovere ausus est. Istum namque scias esse Vigilium qui prius Bonifacio papae insidias molitus est, quatenus, eo vivente, apostolicam dignitatem sacrilegus obtineret. Sed, resistente senatu, tale quid facere minime potuit. Postmodum vero solitis machinationibus Silverium papam apostolica dignitate exspoliare aggressus est. Quod ille animadvertens, advocatis episcopis, auctoritate sancti Spiritus et apostolica potestate, eum velut simoniacum et invasorem anathe-

Damian.

Cap. xvi. Hinc est enim, quod omnes ordinationes, quae a Liberio, heretico videlicet et sedicioso, sunt factae, in sui status noscuntur immobilitate servatae. Porro Liberius perfidiae deceptus errore, Arianae heresi subscripsisse dignoscitur, ac per eius transgressionem nefandissima scelera sunt commissa. Multi quoque sacerdotes et clerici per eius maliciam sunt perempti, residui quoque catholici non solum ab aecclesiis, sed etiam a balneis prohibiti. Liberius itaque factus apostata sex annorum spacio supervixit. Quicquid tamen super ordinationibus egit, fixum et ratum in sui vigoris stabilitate permansit.

Quid de papa Vigilio dicam? Qui nimirum sceleratus et impius quicquid ordinando constituit, nemo pontificum cassare presumpsit. Istum denique noveris esse Vigilium, qui prius Bonifacio papae est molitus insidias, quatinus, eo vivente, apostolicum sedem sacrilegus obtineret, sed, resistente senatu, conatus inlicitos et nefarios implere non poterit. Postmodum vero solitis machinationibus Silverium papam aggressus est apostolica dignitate privare. Quod ille mox animadvertens, sinodale concilium

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matis vinculis obligavit, et ille, ut mente conceperat, per imperialem potentiam, simulque falsos testes, eundem apostolicum patrem nequiter condemnavit, monachicis vestibus, et ad Pontias in exsilium destinavit, sustentans eum pane tribulationis et aqua angustiae; ibique mortuus est ac sepultus, et confessor affectus est: ad cuius corpus infirmi sanabantur. Vigilius autem anathematis nexibus merito irretitus, insuper et homicidii crimine nominatim infamatus, nefario ausu se papam instituit. O ineffabilem Dei pietatem! Vigilius, qui iam desperatus erat, servatur ad poenitentiam. Anthimum scilicet haereticum patriarcham quem reconciliare spoponderat, reconciliare nolens, longo exsilio, longaque afflictione, maceratus, digna factis recepit, et sic demum procul a patria defunctus quievit in Domino. Ordinationes tamen eius, ut dictum est, in sua stabilitate manserunt. Haec enim quae de Silverio et Vigilio retulimus, partim in synodali decreto eiusdem Silverii, partim in Pontificali libro habentur.

congregavit, ubi auctoritate sancti Spiritus et apostolica potestate eum ut revera symoniacum et invasorem aecclesiae anathematis vinculis obligavit. Vigilius tamen, ut sacrilega mente conceperat, per imperialem potentiam datamque pecuniam et falsorum amminiculo testium predictum papam Silverium nequiter condempnavit, monachicis vestibus induit, et ad Pontias in exilium destinavit, sustentans eum pane tribulationis et aqua angustiae. Ibique felix papa ille confessor factus, defunctus ac sepultus est; ad cuius tumulum nonnulli sanabantur infirmi. Vigilius autem dignis anathematis nexibus irretitus, reus insuper homicidii, nefariis ausibus se papam instituit. Sed o inestimabilem divinae clementiae pietatem! Vigilius, qui iam desperatus erat ob culpam, servatur ad poenitentiam, Antimum scilicet hereticum patriarcham, quem reconciliare sponderat, inthronizare noluit. Propterea longo detrusus exilio durisque afflictionibus maceratus factis digna recepit et sic demum procul a patria defunctus quievit in Domino. Ordinationes tamen eius, ut dictum est, in sua stabilitate permanserunt. Haec autem quae de Silverio Vigilioque retulimus partim in sinodali decreto eiusdem Silverii, partim in pontificali codice digesta leguntur.

W. K. FIRMINGER.

ISAAC OF NINEVEH.

Mystic Treatises by Isaac of Nineveh, translated from Bedjan's Syriac text by A. J. WENSINCK. (K. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, 1923.)

PROFESSOR WENSINCK, of Leiden, and the Royal Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam have conferred a great boon by this publication on all

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who are interested in ascetical and mystical literature. It is a handsome quarto of 400 pages, and contains an English translation of the works of Isaac of Nineveh, a recluse who became Bishop of Nineveh (i.e. Mosul) about the year 650, but like Pope Celestine V resigned his office after five months. He returned to the desert to live for forty years more and write his treatises for Solitaries. Isaac was a Nestorian, but so greatly were his writings esteemed by all parties that the Jacobites produced a forged Life of him, which pretends that he lived in the Egyptian Desert, and the Orthodox monks of St Saba translated most of his writings into Greek. It is further claimed by Prof. Wensinck that his influence is to be traced in such Muslim mystical writers as Ghazzālī. His work is therefore of some historical importance in the history of thought, quite apart from its intrinsic value.

I confess that I do not find Isaac of Nineveh inspiring. He represents that complete abandonment of the world, which handed over the Orient to Islam, to barbarism, and to stagnation. And when we examine the reasons for this renunciation it appears to be very little but selfishness based on superstition. There is very little in Isaac of the practical wisdom of St Benedict, or of the ardour of St Bernard, to say nothing of St Francis. The task of life, as Isaac saw it, is 'continual meditation on the order of things to come: . . . excellence consists that a man in his mind be a void as regards the world' (p. 1). 'The first impulse that by divine mercy befalls a man, which draws the soul toward life, strikes the heart concerning the transitoriness of this Nature: to this thought naturally follows contempt of this world. And then begin in the man all the beautiful emotions that educate him for life' (p. 225). 'The way towards life and light consists in two things: abiding in one and the same place, and constant fasting' (p. 188). 'In a full stomach there is no knowledge of the mysteries of God' (p. 34). When 'the distraction of intercourse with men has assailed thee . . . and the fervour of thy deliberations has become cold', then 'tears and beating the head during prayer and fervent self-humiliations quicken again their warm sweetness in the heart' (p. 90). The whole aim of the solitary's life seems to be a perpetual *crescendo* of self-induced emotion; there is none of the Western advice to attend to work during work-time, that the mind may come back refreshed afterwards to contemplation.[1] 'Do not think that there is any work more profitable

[1] The disciple asks: 'Which meditation and occupation should a man have in his solitude, lest his intellect should be found occupied with accidental deliberations?' The teacher answers: 'What should be the meditation of him that is dead to the world in his cell? Should a man whose soul is awake ask what his work should be? What is the meditation of the solitary in his cell but weeping?' (p. 169). A picture of the ideal solitary ('the pride of Christ's church') is given on p. 81. When he does sit down for a little rest he faces East (p. 370).

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than that of vigils' (p. 91). If you have 'a thought of relaxation', if you are ill or tired, desist from your prayer, from your Psalms—but 'do not sleep', 'do not make your heart thick and dark by sleep' (p. 94). What wonder that outraged Nature takes a heavy toll and the solitary is troubled by what we are now learning to call 'repressed complexes'? (see pp. 160, 277, 284). And when the desired state of 'apathy' was reached, it appears to me not so much the highest philosophy, as Isaac would believe, but something nearer idiocy, like that Father who could not remember whether he had eaten, or that other who 'had become so pure and simple and had reached such a perfection and serenity, that he was nearly as a babe' and had to be watched (p. 168; see also p. 261).

And what was the reward of this deliberately unnatural life, apart from 'the glory of the world to be, the hope preserved for the righteous of a life excited in spirit wholly originating in God' (p. 171)? The reward comes in occasional states of ecstasy, and the special merit of Isaac's dreary treatises seems to me to consist in this, that he describes these states of ecstasy in great detail. Here are a few of them. 'When thou art occupied in solitude with the beautiful work of humility, when thy soul is near unto coming forth from under the darkness, this will be thy sign: thy heart will burn and glow as with fire, night and day, so that thou wilt esteem all earthly things as ashes and dung. It will not even please thee to touch food . . . Then, of a sudden, the fountain of tears will be given thee . . . with all that thou doest tears will stream. If thou observest this in thyself, take heart, thou hast passed through the sea' (p. 63). 'Sometimes from prayer a certain contemplation is born which also makes prayer vanish from the lips. And he to whom this contemplation happens becomes as a corpse without soul, in ecstasy. This we call sight during prayer and not an image or form forged by phantasy, as fools say' (p. 112). 'By these insights the emotion of prayer ceases, the mind is absorbed in ecstasy[1] and the desire of its prayer is forgotten. The impulses are drowned (or baptized) in a heavy drunkenness and man is no longer in this world. Then there is no longer any discrimination of body or of soul' (p. 117). From time to time there arises in the solitary 'that sweetness of God and the flame of His love which burns in the heart and kindles all the affections of body and of soul. And this power he will perceive in all the species (*lit.* natures) of the creation and all things which he meets. From time to time he will become drunk by it as by wine; his limbs will relax, his mind will stand still and his heart will follow God

[1] *Bthahrā haunā methbla'*, i.e. the sane mind is swallowed up in a maze. Elsewhere the mind (*haunā*) is regarded as the king, the governor of the senses (p. 325). But consistency of thought or language is hardly to be expected from Isaac.

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as a captive . . . He that reaches this from time to time will not remember that he is clad with a body, nor will he know that he is in the world' (p. 226).

This, as I say, is the reward—a state of mind in which everything appears as a great and almost perceptible harmony. God is not unjust, and it would be hard if those who had violated every instinct of Nature in a whole-hearted attempt to attain non-material rapture should not sometimes get a taste of it. But at what a cost, to themselves and to the world of men which they have abandoned! And, at the end, do they get a truer vision and insight than Richard Jefferies, who also (in the words of Abbot Butler) used to try to enter into himself and get into touch with higher realities? 'All that was behind me', says Jefferies—'the house, the people, the sounds—seemed to disappear, and to leave me alone. Involuntarily I drew a long breath, then I breathed slowly. My thought, or inner consciousness, went up through the illumined sky, and I was lost in a moment of exaltation. This only lasted a very short time, perhaps only part of a second, and while it lasted there was no formulated wish. I was absorbed; I drank the beauty of the morning; I was exalted. When it ceased I did wish for some increase or enlargement of my existence to correspond with the largeness of feeling I had momentarily enjoyed.'[1]

Here we have, out of the lips of a Pantheist and a lover of nature, very much the same sort of experience as the 'consolations' of Isaac the Nestorian Christian and hater of matter and perceptible form. Ultimately it seems to me the expression of an experienced synthesis, a vivid perception that everything together makes a Harmony, larger, grander, more beautiful and impressive than the mind can put into words, and that if there be things outside this Harmony they are of no importance and do not really exist. There is also this resemblance between Richard Jefferies and Isaac of Nineveh, and probably also all the great mystics whether cloistered or uncloistered, viz. the practice of Solitude. To think profoundly, as distinct from thinking quickly and brightly, one must be often alone. The mistake that Isaac and his school made seems to me to be that they thought they would attain to better results by being nearly always alone. It was all very well for Arsenius to spend forty years in the Desert in silence and solitude, for he had the memories and the experience of a previous forty years at the very centre of affairs. But those who have taken nothing in have very little to give out.

It remains to notice one or two points of interest in Isaac's treatises apart from their main theme, and to touch upon certain defects in Wensinck's otherwise excellent work. The tolerance of Isaac is note-

[1] Quoted from Jefferies in Butler's *Western Mysticism* p. 334.

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worthy: he warns his solitaries against reading books 'that accentuate the differences between the confessions with the aim of causing schisms' (p. 34), and says that the true solitary 'offers prayer even for the enemies of truth and on behalf of reptiles' (p. 341): no wonder Isaac had the veneration of Monophysites and Greeks as well as of his own Nestorians. On p. 49 there is a reference to 'bound natures', a term used by Ephraim (Mitchell ii p. clxi). On p. 51 is a reference to Noah's Cedars: see Ephr. *Rom.* iv 147 E and the Note in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Relics, 1896), p. 99. On p. 109 occurs the notable statement that 'revelation is not the exact truth': i. e. 'it is not necessary that every one to whom a revelation is imparted or who is influenced by a consoling [divine] action, must know the truth and the exact knowledge concerning God; for many are those to whom such things were imparted, yet knew God as children only'.

On pp. 114, 134, 'spiritual prayer' is considered, i. e. a state of mind in which the thought is rapt into a sort of contemplation of God and reality, without conscious wishes or petition. This state comes by God's grace, not at all by an act of human will—as the Messalians say (mentioned pp. 116, 333).

We may note also (p. 128) that 'Sin, hell and death do not at all exist with God. For they are facts, not persons.' And again 'Those who are scourged in Hell are tormented with the scourgings of love.... It is evil for a man to think that the sinners in Hell are destitute of love for the Creator' (p. 136). Finally, there is a meditation on the whole Universe on p. 172, too long to quote, but interesting both in itself and also as a genuine ancient parallel to the concluding pages of Flaubert's *Tentation de St. Antoine.*

Prof. Wensinck's translation is a very creditable piece of English for a foreigner, but on p. 187 Isaac does not really assert that the true and elect feed upon 'drugs': the word should have been 'roots' (*'eḳḳārē*). On p. 307 I think he has missed the sense: he reads 'Be instead of an avenger, a deliverer; . . . instead of one who delivers (*mashlmānā*), a martyr; instead of a plaintiff (*mkawnānā*), a defendant (*mpīsānā*)'. Here the last clauses should read 'instead of a *traitor*,[1] a martyr; instead of a *reprover*, a *persuader*'.

On the same page (p. 307) the Biblical reference is not to Isaiah lxi 1, but to Lk. iv 18 f, and it goes down to the word 'forgiveness'. On p. 309, 'Sheol shall wither their form and they shall be bereft' is not a reference to Job xiv 20, but is the Peshitta text of Ps. xlix 14^{b}.[2] As a rule Isaac quotes accurately from the Peshitta, but there are at least two notable exceptions. On p. 191 the solitary is told, 'What hast

[1] See Lk. vi 16.

[2] On p. 261, note 5, 'Ps.' is a misprint for 'Is.', i. e. Isaiah.

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thou to do with the ways of Egypt and with drinking water from the Nile (Syr. *Gīḥōn*)?' This sentence, not recognized as a quotation by Wensinck, is Jerem. ii 18 according to the LXX. As a matter of fact Isaac's text (*Bedjan* 287) agrees exactly with the Syro-Hexaplar version, but it is not likely that Isaac used this Jacobite work. More probably the whole passage is a quotation from some translated Greek ascetical work.[1] Again on p. 181, 'Cursed is every one who performs the work of the Lord without diligence, restraining his hand from bloodshed' is Jerem. xxxi 10 (= xlviii 10 Heb. and Syr.) according to the LXX; this is followed by Psalm lxxxv 9[2] (but with 'help' for 'salvation'), and by Deut. ii 24^b, 25, according to the Peshitta. Here again it is likely that Isaac is reproducing, at least in part, some translated Greek work.

Certainly the various anecdotes of Ascetics, which occur up and down the treatises are not personal reminiscences but extracts from the *Apophthegmata*, mostly (so far as I am able to judge) from the translation of 'Ananisho'. Even the story of the unnamed Bishop on p. 167, which Prof. Wensinck regards as autobiographical (Introd. p. xx), is nothing more than the story of Abba Apphy, bishop of Oxyrhynchus (Migne *P. G.* lxv 133), called in Syriac *Apos* (Budge's '*Anān-Isho'* i 598). All the stories on pp. 206 ff, 376 ff, come out of the *Apophthegmata*, no doubt by way of 'Anānisho'. It would be a useful task to collect all the references to this literature in Isaac, and indeed it must be done before we can properly estimate his position as an independent thinker or mystic. There is a difference that I feel between Isaac and the Egyptian Fathers, of whom we read in Palladius and all that first stage of ascetical literature. Then the movement, with all its faults, was new and (so to speak) oecumenical. It not only attracted distinguished personages, like Arsenius, as personal exponents, but also a whole train of visitors and pilgrims like Palladius and Rufinus. Wise or foolish, it was the characteristic impulse of the day. By the time of Isaac, on the other hand, the whole thing was stereotyped, and the novice learnt from books what he ought to do and feel. The defects of hermitism had already by Isaac's time been perceived in the West, and St Benedict's rule and personal influence had done much to turn Monasticism into a bulwark of civilization. Isaac lived a century later, but he, like the East in general, was utterly untouched by St Benedict and his reforms, and we see in him a milestone on the melancholy road whereby the Orient lapsed from Christianity into an unprogressive, uninventive barbarism, in which not even philosophy continued to flourish.

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] It appears not to come in '*Anānisho'*.

[2] Not Psalm cxlv 19, as Wensinck.

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REVIEWS

The Design Argument Reconsidered: A Discussion between the Rev. C. J. SHEBBEARE and JOSEPH MCCABE. (Watts & Co., London.)

FIRST there is an introduction by Prof. Clement C. J. Webb in which he disagrees with both sides, but commends their interest in the subject and the admirable spirit with which the authors conduct their controversy. The reader is likely to agree with both aspects of this judgement. This is followed by an Explanatory Note, we are not told by whom, in which the reader is asked whether he bases his belief in God on the ontological, cosmological, teleological, ethical, absolute, or authority proof. But seeing he does not base his belief in the things seen and temporal on any of them, it might be that he is equally independent of them in respect of things unseen and eternal.

Both authors agree that the only argument worth considering is the teleological. Mr Shebbeare thinks that, though science in general and Darwinism in particular has abolished the old form of the proof, it still has force in the form that the beauty of the world cannot be a mere contingent result of mechanical uniformity determined solely by the law of inertia, while Mr McCabe does not see why it should not be, seeing that the world, being beautiful only in parts, has plenty of space to cover up its defects, and that it can force a creature who is only part of it to think the best of it. Both, however, profess themselves determinists, which apparently means that the uniformities of science are taken by them to be a picture of reality and that the whole is mechanically rigid from start to finish. That there is a philosophy of science which is asking whether science deals with reality in this sense at all is not mentioned by either. Both also accept the Darwinian Theory of Evolution, and neither refers to the change of interest from the mechanism of organisms to the purpose of the living creature as the determining factor in evolution. Further, neither of them seems to be aware that the whole problem of the standard of logic as well as of aesthetics and ethics has been discussed by serious thinkers who have made it far more difficult to conceive that it is the mere accidental measure of a small biped forced on him by the peculiar circumstances of a small planet. Neither sees that the evolution of their ideal standards has been according as they were regarded as sacred, so that truth and beauty and goodness were not weighed among other things as of merely comparative value. The moment man makes this distinction in name, however vaguely, he is religious, and one may question whether he

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would be man without it. Possibly if we start here, we shall see that Mr McCabe, as has been said of other scientific materialists, takes his religion more seriously and his science less seriously than he imagines. For example, what makes Mr McCabe, if he is a mechanical product of a rigid universe, go so far ahead of it as to say 'What an earth it would be if we were all honourable, kindly, just, temperate, manly! In that simple perception lies, for me, the essence of morality.' But if he is only moved *a tergo* what makes him perceive anything so far ahead?

Religion et Réalité, par CHARLES HAUTER. (Strasburg, 1923.)

THIS is the fifth study on religious history and philosophy published by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Strasburg.

It discusses its subject under three heads: I Reality, II Religion, III Religion and Reality.

I *Reality.* To know is to seize a reality, and the mind is satisfied that it has done so as its effort to make the object its own thought becomes clear. This is very much Descartes's theory of knowledge. But, especially in this section, if the author attains this end, most readers will have some doubt about arriving in his company. There is a form of rigid logic, but it is far from being clear what is to be understood by the universe being a necessary logical whole. The argument seems chiefly to depend on the affirmation that, by their common relation to the universe, the subject and predicate in such a statement as 'Caesar crossed the Rubicon' have a necessary relation. Why we should not regard the predicate merely as new information about the subject, which might or might not have been predicable about him, is not evident. Is not this newness, even when we know all the causes, precisely what science does not produce till experience shews it? Our relation to the universe being one order of discourse, we must come to the new through the old, but we know it simply because it is there, and not because it follows necessarily. We are told to be sceptical about an event till we know its causes: and this would seem to follow from the theory. But is not that the reverse of the right order? Surely we ought to be certain of the fact before we waste time on inquiring into its causes. The fact determines the theory; and no theory can determine a fact. The general drift of this section seems to be that thought postulates the universe as a complete, self-enclosed, logically necessary system, but that only perfect knowledge would have a right to close the frontiers and say that the phenomena postulated by religion are excluded.

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II *Religion.* This section is much clearer. The essentials of religion are sought in the individuals in whom it attains its highest level. The most important is the prophetic consciousness, which is a sense of an objective reality to which it is forced to conform in thought and action. The messianic consciousness is only the developement of the prophetic till the distinction between the personal *ego* and the divine *ego* is no longer felt. The primitive religions simply identify such a messianic person with the divine. But with the advance in the idea of God and of human personality this is no longer possible, and a special kind of union with God is invented. This is the source of the new cult of the Christian Church: and as long as it continues Christianity will be the same religion, however it may change in other matters. The centre of religion is the sacrifice. Historically Robertson Smith's theory may not be adequate, but the essential religious element in sacrifice is a mystical communion between the faithful and his god. In the primitive form it is a corporeal eating of a sacred uniting substance or even of the god himself; in the spiritual form it works with prayer and meditation. Christianity combines both, with emphasis on the former in the Mass, and on the latter in the Lord's Supper: and this is a happy inconsequence, as there are many not yet independent of the former. Yet Christianity more than any other religion unites to it the word, and thereby influences most the religion of the community by that of the higher individual. Anything is religious only by relation to the cult. Empirically religion is to be defined as the belief among individuals or communities of entering into communion with a higher power.

Religion, not as it is, but as it ought to be, depends on the nature of this power. Confidence is the essence of religion, and the truest religion is that which has faced life's fears and given victory over them. Thus Otto is right in emphasizing awe, but wrong in regarding it as more than a stage to be overcome. And confidence can only be in a person. Therefore, unless where there are obvious hindrances, the object of communion is always personal.

III *Religion and Reality.* If God is in touch with man, he must also be in touch with the universe. But religion, though stirred by things in the world, separates God from the world, creating the idea of the 'beyond' and placing God's transcendence alongside of his goodness. By its own logic religion makes this reality omnipotent; and when the idea of the universe is reached, omnipotence becomes a necessity of thought. Yet such a God has for science no relation to the universe, the universe being for it self-sufficing and self-contained, its energy the same and not capable of being increased by a divine agency.

All attempts to escape rigorous determinism our author rejects. An immanent necessity of the universe is common to science and

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religion. Religiously the sparrow does not fall to the ground without God's will; scientifically its fall is fixed from the beginning by the sequence of events. The question of the relation of these views extends into the whole inorganic world.

A beginning is made with Auguste Sabatier's view that for piety the laws of nature, in their sovereign constancy, are the immediate expression of the will of God. We must then draw the further inference that, if the laws of nature are an expression of the divine will, determinism is one of the forms under which God manifests Himself, and that our knowledge of God increases with our knowledge of nature. This gives us, as the precise form of the problem: every idea making part of a reality demands to be completed in a certain manner by another idea; and religion adds: every idea demands to be completed by the idea of a personal power on which it depends. If the rigorous relation were directly between the ideas, there would be no place for the religious view. But the bond between different ideas is only through their relation to the totality of the universe. On this ground mechanism is rejected in every form. If mechanism were more than a working hypothesis, we should, if it applied only to nature, have a pluralist world, or, if to all, a materialist. As spiritual facts are as real as solids, the idea of mechanism is contrary to the idea of the universe. The God of religion and the universe of science must coincide. This is not pantheism because it affirms the personal character of the universe. At present science only knows part of its field and religion only knows part of its field, but perfect science and perfect religion would be no more in conflict.

But how can a personal transcendent God be identified with the universe? In relation to each of its parts, however, the universe is also transcendent, and different in quality from every particular object.

The conclusion seems to be that Spinoza's religion of the universe only needs to have the idea of personality added; that historical Christianity was right in dissociating the Christ-God from the historical Jesus and occupying itself with cosmology; and that the task of religion now is to enable us to see that the universe is pervaded in all its parts by the presence of the divine.

What the conclusion of the whole matter is is not easy to say, but it seems to be that, as the great spirits have already done in feeling, we must in thought also surmount the fear of this seemingly hostile world so unlike the absolute goodness of God: and then the transcendence of God will wholly disappear in his immanence. The Universe-God bears the features of the unchangeable order which governs reality, the Christian-God is full of goodness. The problem for Christian piety is to unite both. Already religion as feeling is calm of spirit, and apparently when religious thought arrives at clearness, mystery will disappear, and peace

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alone exist; and religion will complete the features outlined by science into a living face.

Criticism of this scheme would not be difficult. The idea of a universe is apparently held to be inconsistent with anything in it being either mechanical or free. But why may it not embrace both? The rationality of our doings in it at least seems to depend on freedom as to our end and mechanical reliability as to our means.

Again as to the cult. Has it this exclusive place? Would it exist at all were not religion a reality apart from it?

Finally, as to Christianity. From the first it was concerned with the reconciliation of the aspirations of the spirit with the reality of the world. This it did through conceiving the inward life as the fellowship of the Spirit and the outward as the love of the Father. But the grace or graciousness of the Lord Jesus Christ which united them wrought, not with the world as it is, but with a purpose beyond it which alone gives it meaning and worth. For that matter, is there any higher religion which seeks peace by the view of God as merely the personal aspect of the universe? The universe alone has always seemed not good. And if beyond the necessity of the world there is not freedom as its end, is the necessity not mechanical, whether by matter or spirit is of no importance?

But the interest of the book is the same as of Otto's. It is a sign of the times. The German faces distress and despair, and, as a disciple of Luther, he seeks to gain an emotional victory; the Frenchman faces the uncertain menace of the future, and, as a disciple of Calvin, who was a more typical Frenchman than is usually recognized, he seeks victory over it by logic and a necessary universe: and he ends very much where Calvin did, with belief in absolute sovereignty as the supreme faith and with the glory of God as the supreme object of worship.

L'Épanouissement de la Pensée religieuse de Luther de 1515 à 1520, par HENRI STROHL. (Librairie Istra, Strasbourg, 1924.)

THIS is a continuation of a previous volume on the Religious Evolution of Luther up to 1515, which was reviewed in the January number, 1923, of this JOURNAL. This volume shews the same careful study of Luther's own works and of recent research, over a still wider field, and the same historical temper and lucidity of presentation. As the author seeks to escape the scholasticism which was built on Luther and which began with Melanchthon in his own time, and to discover what Luther himself felt and saw in his own actual experience, he considers it necessary to go beyond a mere explanation of principles and to shew

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the situations in which they were thought out, and explain the experiences by which alone they can be understood. Luther's religious fervour, he holds, is an essential part of his religious views, and not something merely added to them. This it is that gives his principles a cohesion so close, that it is easy to shew that any one of them contains all the others, in spite of the many traditional notions which remain mixed up with them, though generally inconsistent with them. This piety and the principles in which it is expressed remain to the end the key to all that Luther ever said or wrote. Even his defects have a certain value, for nothing has obscured Luther's original power so much as the orthodox picture of the theological doctor and ecclesiastical reformer. He was very human, sometimes with a very vehement and even primitive humanity, but it was also with a brave and big and penetrating and warm and even tender humanity, as any one who reads the copious extracts from his writings in this book will discover. Perhaps no part of the book is more useful, as the extracts are well selected and well translated. In any case matters controversial need to be documented, and this M. Strohl has done with learning and ability.

J. OMAN.

Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels (Second Series), by I. ABRAHAMS, M.A. (Cambridge University Press, 1924.)

WHEN in 1909 Mr C. G. Montefiore published his striking commentary on the Synoptic Gospels in two volumes they contained references to additional notes (over fifty in number) which were to follow in a third volume by Mr Abrahams. It proved to be impossible to produce this third volume in the form originally intended, but in 1917 Mr Abrahams published a series of studies which covered some of the ground, and this first series of studies has now been followed by a second. The first received a warm welcome from New Testament scholars, and they will certainly be grateful also for the second.

The second series consists of sixteen essays on such subjects as 'The High Priest's Confession', 'Whited Sepulchres', 'The Second Death', 'Tabernacles', 'Some Rabbinic Ideas on Prayer',[1] followed by twenty-six shorter miscellaneous notes on phrases found in the Gospels. In all cases Mr Abrahams draws upon his wide knowledge of Rabbinic literature, and the value of his work is greatly enhanced by the fullness and accuracy of his references.

A considerable part of it is taken up in correcting commonly mistaken impressions, e. g. with regard to the bearing of Rabbinic idiom

[1] Originally printed in *J.Q.R.* 1907–1908 pp. 272 ff and now revised.

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upon the meaning of σὺ εἶπας (pp. 1 ff), and with regard to Pharisaism (pp. 110 ff). In chapter xv, again, Mr Abrahams shews that Mr H. Danby's estimate[1] of the Rabbinic Criminal Code (in the Mishnah and Tosefta Tractate Sanhedrin) as 'of little or no value as a picture of native law as practised' during the lifetime of our Lord, must be somewhat modified: but, as Mr Abrahams himself in effect admits, not to any great extent.

In fact a great part of Mr Abrahams's present volume consists of a number of small corrections and suggestions which make a reference to his book a necessity for commentators upon the New Testament; and the useful index supplied at the end of it makes such reference easy and convenient.

Mr Abrahams writes without the least bias against Christianity, and if a note of Jewish apologetic may be detected (as Dr Sanday detected it in the First Series) it is a thoroughly amiable and good-natured apologia.

Two or three of the essays, like number xvi on 'The Imitation of God', belong rather to Comparative Religion than to the exegesis of the Gospels, but they are not out of place in the book.

It is much to be hoped that this series is not the last. In the preface to the First Series Mr Abrahams named several subjects to be discussed in the second which do not appear, at any rate, in the form proposed. One in particular, 'Life under the Law', which is, no doubt, touched upon in Second Series, chapter ii, 'The Yoke', calls insistently for fuller treatment. Schürer's chapter on that subject cannot be regarded as entirely satisfactory: and probably no one, among modern scholars, is better equipped than Mr Abrahams to make good its deficiencies.[2]

The Acts of the Apostles, translated from the Codex Bezae, with an Introduction on its Lucan Origin and importance, by J. M. Wilson, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1923.)

Canon Wilson translates the text of the Acts according to the Codex Bezae, following the Revised Version as far as possible, printing in thick type words peculiar to the Bezan text, and adding in brackets words absent from the Bezan text but found in the 'Neutral' text of Westcott and Hort. Canon Wilson's main object is

[1] *J. T. S.* Oct. 1919 pp. 51–76.

[2] I have noticed only a very few slips in the text: p. 75, for Psalm xxii 4 read Psalm xxii 3; p. 83 note 2, for Isaiah xlvi 6 read Isaiah xlvi 12; p. 112 note 2, read T. B. Taanith 7^b; p. 186 add the reference of the passage quoted by Dalman, T. B. Taanith 24^b (the date of the translation of Dalman's is 1909 not 1902).

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to lay before English readers materials for judging for themselves the general character of the Western text of the Acts. He himself is convinced of the correctness of Blass's hypothesis that the Bezan text represents the first draft of the Acts, and the 'Neutral' text a revision of it by St Luke himself.

In an Introduction Canon Wilson gives his own impressions as to the probable solution of such problems as the date of the Acts and the original text of the decree of the 'Council of Jerusalem' (Acts xv). But a cursory examination of evidence so difficult to handle is hardly sufficient to carry conviction. Some of Canon Wilson's statements need a good deal of qualification. For example, it is too much to say that 'no Western Father, or apologist, or hostile critic, ever alludes to such a food-law' (p. 17) as that represented by the 'Neutral' text of the decree. Tertullian (*De Pudicitia* xii; *Apol.* ix) clearly refers to some such law: so does the letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne (Eusebius *H. E.* v 1. 26) and the Octavius (xxx) of Minucius Felix.

Again, to refer to murder as 'commonly spoken of as blood-shedding or blood' (p. 18) is rather to confuse the issue. No doubt murder is commonly spoken of as 'blood-shedding': the question is whether or not αἷμα by itself = murder, and an instance like that in Matt. xxiii 35 is not really a case in point.

Canon Wilson does not seem to have taken account of such an important contribution to the subject as Dr Sanday's (*Theologische Studien Th. Zahn dargebracht*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 326 ff); not to mention more recent studies like those of Dr D. Plooj (*Expos.*, Jan. and Feb. 1923).

But, after all, these are minor points. Canon Wilson and his publishers deserve the warm thanks of all students of the Acts for putting into their hands, in a most convenient and useful form, an accurate translation of a fascinating text.

Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum (editio septima, emendata et adaucta), by A. CAMERLYNCK and A. VANDER HEEREN. (Carolus Beyaert, Brugis (Belgii), 1923.)

THIS edition of the Acts (in Latin) is the work of two Roman Catholic scholars and appears with the *imprimatur* of the Bishop of Bruges. In the *index bibliographicus* 'nomina Auctorum *acatholicorum* stellula seu asterisco * notantur'. So safeguarded the work is intended primarily for students in the seminaries. The text followed is, naturally, that of the Latin Vulgate, but account is taken (p. 6) of the principal readings in which the Greek MSS differ from the Vulgate, and use is

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made of Von Soden's *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (1913) and Nestle's *Novum Testamentum graece et latine* (ed. 6, 1921).

The writers defend vigorously the historical accuracy of St Luke, (e. g. in the case of Theudas, pp. 160 f), and introduce from time to time 'notatio theologica et moralis' with appropriate references to St Thomas Aquinas. A good example of their clearness in argument and of their orderly arrangement of material is found in the excursus on the Council of Jerusalem in which they decide for the originality of the 'Neutral' text.

The first section of the Prolegomena contains a discussion of the authorship and date of the book, the conclusions being reached that St Luke, a physician and companion of St Paul, is the writer both of the 'travel diary' and of the whole book as well as the Third Gospel, and that the date of the Acts is 62–63. The second section of the Prolegomena is entitled 'Conditio politico-religiosa Iudaeorum tempore historiae Actuum', and consists of a useful summary based upon such authorities as Schürer and Duchesne. The third section treats of the chronology of the Acts, and includes a chronological table (pp. 92–99). The reader is offered a choice of four dates for the Crucifixion (18 March 29; 7 April 30; 3 April 33; 8 April 35); St Paul's conversion is placed in the spring of 36; the Council of Jerusalem in 49; the Epistle to the Galatians (the North Galatian theory being maintained) *c.* 55; the arrival of St Paul at Rome March 61; the martyrdom of St Peter at Rome 65 (64); and the martyrdom of St Paul in the same place 67.

It will be seen that the commentary is a scholarly exposition of the Acts from a strictly Roman Catholic point of view. But although the positions taken up are supported by lucid statements of (generally speaking) well-known arguments and objections to them reasonably dealt with, it may be doubted whether the writers realize the difficulty of some of the important questions raised by the book. It is noticeable that they do not refer to the work of Professor Lake or that of Professor Foakes-Jackson. At the same time it is clear that within their self-imposed limits they have done their work very well.

St Paul on Trial: a new reading of the history in the book of Acts and the Pauline Epistles, by J. Ironside Still, M.A., D.D. (Student Christian Movement, 1923.)

It is difficult to discover for what readers this book is intended. The boisterousness of its style and the looseness of its arguments will hardly commend it to scholars or make it a satisfactory introduction to put into the hands of younger students.

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Yet there are certain important points connected with the Acts which Dr Still sees clearly and puts forcibly; as, for instance, that 'a continuous history of the early Christian Church is not what Luke proposes to write' (p. 29).

His main thesis is that the Acts is intended to be *An Explanatory Statement* for the information of readers somehow connected with the trial of St Paul's case at Rome (p. 35); probably designed, indeed, to enable the defending counsel to understand exactly what St Paul's position was and to maintain that the Christian religion was a religion permissible under Roman law because it was in accordance with the 'Charter' of Jewish religious rights, viz. the Scriptures of the Old Testament.

As, therefore, the Acts is to be used in connexion with St Paul's trial, it must be earlier than that trial. Dr Still dates it not later than A.D. 61 (p. 99); the third gospel 'was written before Acts was even thought of' (p. 101); and St Mark's 'as early at least as A.D. 46 if not before' (p. 286). But such conclusions as these, ill-supported as we must still hold them to be, are less strange than some others to which Dr Still invites his readers. The fact seems to be that Dr Still has harvested his ideas before they were ripe; and it is much to be desired that the Student Christian Movement should not again set such unripe fruit before its hungry children.

J. W. HUNKIN.

The Century Bible: St Mark; Introduction; Revised Version, with Notes, Index, and Map, edited by J. VERNON BARTLET, M.A., D.D., Professor in Mansfield College, Oxford, on the basis of the earlier edition by S. D. F. SALMOND, D.D. (T. C. & E. C. Jacks, Ltd., Edinburgh, 1922.)

THE new edition contains 458 pp. and is 81 pp. longer than the old one; moreover in the new edition the text of the A.V., which takes 52 pp. in the old edition, is omitted. Thus Dr Bartlet has expanded the book by 133 pp. Many of Dr Salmond's notes are taken over as they stood, with slight abbreviation. The new material is chiefly to be found in the Introduction and in excursuses on such subjects as 'The Son of Man', 'The Apocalyptic Discourse', 'Comparison of the Resurrection Narratives'. The most important difference between the two editions is that whereas Dr Salmond maintains no clearly defined position upon the literary relations of the Synoptic Gospels, Dr Bartlet devotes a considerable part of a long introduction to the synoptic problem, and his interpretation of the Gospel is throughout conditioned by his theory of the developement of the Gospel literature.

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Dr Bartlet accepts the common view of the dependence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark, but he rejects the idea of a written Q. The divergences between Matthew and Luke in the non-Marcan sections common to them both are so striking, that we must assume, he holds, that they represent different and independent lines of tradition. Hence he is led to postulate a 'common apostolic type of tradition' which he denominates X. The Marcan Gospel represents this common apostolic tradition in the form familiar to Mark $\mathbf{X}^{\mathbf{Mk.}}$, being no doubt in the main that used by Peter. Luke's special source $\mathbf{X}^{\mathbf{L}}$ and the Logia material embodied in Matthew $\mathbf{X}^{\mathbf{Mt.}}$ likewise represent variations of the same fundamental oral tradition; and this tradition always contained narratives as well as sayings. In St Mark's Gospel Dr Bartlet recognizes in addition to $\mathbf{X}^{\mathbf{Mk.}}$ which accounts for the bulk of the book, two other sources, (1) **P** or specially Petrine material derived by the Evangelist direct from the Apostle, and (2) **Mk.** or elements due to the Evangelist himself.

Dr Bartlet has done good service to Gospel criticism in reminding us that the acceptance of the literary dependence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark by no means solves all our problems. We have still to consider what lies behind Mark, and the way is still open for very different hypotheses as to the transmission of the non-Marcan material in the other Gospels. We may not be able to reach any certain conclusions on these problems, but it is none the less valuable to try to formulate probable hypotheses, and if we are only led to believe that the formulation and elaboration of the material embodied in our Gospels must have been in process during the early decades of the history of the Church, this is in itself a historical conclusion of great importance. I must however confess that I am not convinced by Dr Bartlet's theory as to the transmission of the tradition. In the first place I am not prepared to allow that we can dispense with the hypothesis of a written non-Marcan source on which both Matthew and Luke directly or indirectly depend. The minute verbal agreements between the two evangelists in such passages as the preaching of John the Baptist (Mt. iii 7–12 = Lk. iii 7–9, 16–17), the warning against worldly anxiety (Mt. vi 25–34 = Lk. xii 22–31) or the message of John the Baptist and the subsequent discourse of Christ (Mt. xi 2–19 = Lk. vii 18–35) seem to compel us to assume that a common document and a common *Greek* document lies behind. At the same time we must grant that the no less striking divergences, e.g. in the Beatitudes or in the Parable of the Talents (or of the Pounds) are enough to make us pause before we assume that Matthew and Luke are both directly dependent upon one and the same edition of one and the same document for all the non-Marcan material common to them both.

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In the second place, Dr Bartlet does not, I feel sure, do justice to the implications of the priority of Mark which he accepts. This comes out most clearly in his identification of the Petrine material in St Mark. To this source Dr Bartlet assigns the one parable and the two miracles peculiar to Mark (iv 26–29, vii 31–37, viii 22–26). These and other fragments peculiar to Mark account for five of the eleven sections labelled P. And the fact that the narrative is peculiar to Mark is apparently regarded as an argument for its Petrine origin. See notes on iii 20, 21 and on viii 22–26. But once we have accepted the position that Matthew and Luke knew our Mark, including the sections which, for some reason or other they omit, we have no good reason for regarding material peculiar to Mark as distinctively Petrine, unless we assume that Matthew and Luke deliberately excised material which they suspected of being Petrine; and this will hardly be maintained. Again, while it may quite possibly be the case that personal reminiscences do appear in the Passion narratives, it does not appear to be a very convincing differentiation of sources to assign xiv 1–50 to $\mathbf{X}^{\mathbf{Mk.}}$ and to give xiv 51–65 and xv 1—xvi 8 entirely to **Mk.**, especially when **Mk.** is otherwise only credited with three small fragments, viz. i 1, iii 16–19, and vii 3–4.

Thus I am not convinced by Dr Bartlet's labelling of the sources. Otherwise the book seems to me to be a valuable contribution to the literature on the New Testament. It is not easy to find adequate commentaries on the Gospels which take account of recent criticism. Dr Bartlet's book will put students in touch with the issues. For instance, it would not be easy to find elsewhere in English a more suitable introduction to the criticism of the Resurrection narratives than that given by Dr Bartlet on p. 438 f.

Another noticeable feature of Dr Bartlet's interpretation is his emphasis on the continuity of the central ideas of the Gospels with those of the Hebrew Prophets, especially Deutero-Isaiah, and here, as it seems to me, he provides a useful corrective to the somewhat one-sided emphasis which has been laid upon the undoubted connexion of the Gospel teaching with the ideas of the later Apocalyptic.

J. M. CREED.

The Bible Doctrine of Womanhood in its Historical Evolution, by CHARLES RYDER SMITH, B.A., D.D. (The Epworth Press, London, 1923.)

THE writer of this book has set himself the task of tracing in the Bible the gradual recognition by men of the right of woman to be 'an end in herself'.

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The following are the main points in his survey. The Bible affords no information about really 'primitive' social conditions. The polygyny of pre-monarchic Israel was 'the issue of a prolonged developement', unrecorded, and was 'a great deal better than some of the practices which, in the Hebrew race as in a number of others, it had superseded'. There is evidence in this period of some slight anticipation of the recognition of the personality of woman; but women were mainly thought of as the means of family, and the lower concept of woman as a means of pleasure survived. In the period of the monarchy the introduction of the harem retarded the realization of the ideal, and the prophets contributed almost nothing to its furtherance. 'The epoch that on other sides yielded most to the social ideal of Israel was barren for the doctrine of womanhood.' In post-monarchic times there was a notable advance. Three great passages in the literature of the period mark the changed attitude of men to women—Gen. i 27 ('personal inferiority cannot permanently belong to one made in [God's] image'); Prov. xxxi 10–31, the description of the Jewish ideal woman, the wife and mistress of the home; the Song of Songs, in which the Shulammite, who prefers to become the wife of a nameless peasant to being a monarch's principal bride, is treated as herself an end, a person. The New Testament unreservedly accepts this view of woman. Sex and child-bearing are in the teaching of Jesus and of the apostles subordinate to personality. 'There is nothing in the gospel of Jesus that belongs to men rather than to women', and most of the references to women in the New Testament are made to them, not as women, but as persons. Galatians iii 27 f is the expression of the underlying truth. The 'submission' of the wife, urged in the Pauline and Petrine epistles, may coexist with equality, and the restrictions placed upon the ministry of women in the church were called forth by local and temporary circumstances. 'Paul's words do not necessarily mean that there can never be a time when a woman ought to "teach"'. Finally, 'independence' does not fully describe the Christian ideal for woman. 1 Cor. xi 11 means that on the higher or spiritual side man's personality is incomplete without woman's and woman's without man's.

Dr Ryder Smith has brought out many other interesting points which cannot be touched on here, and his book may be recommended as an admirable introduction to an important subject. The reader will, however, be disappointed to find how slight is his treatment of the crucial New Testament passages. He makes no allusion to the doubtful authenticity of 1 Cor. xiv 34 ff, and he assumes the genuineness of the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles. I believe, on the other hand, that 1 Cor. xiv 34 ff and 1 Tim. ii 11 f mark a reaction from the earlier attitude to woman in the Christian church, of which

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reaction there is some evidence in textual variations in certain manuscripts.[1]

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

Die syrische Jacobosanaphora nach der Rezension des Ja'qôb(h) von Edessa, mit dem griechischen Paralleltext, by ADOLF RÜCKER. (Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Münster in Westf., 1923.)

WITHIN the compass of eighty-eight pages Dr Rücker has given us a really good and serviceable edition of the Syriac Anaphora of St James, and the first in which modern methods of editing have been employed.

This Anaphora (apart from the late abridgement of it by Bar Hebraeus) exists in three types of text, in all of which, however, it maintains its distinctive marks as compared with the Greek 'St James'. (1) There is first the Textus Receptus, represented in most of the later MSS, the printed (mainly 'Uniat') editions and current translations. (2) We have also, in several MSS of the British Museum and other libraries, a revision carried out in the seventh century by Jacob of Edessa: sometimes entitled 'New revision of Mar Jacob of Edessa', sometimes simply 'Greek revision'. (3) Four of the earliest MSS (of *saec.* viii–x, in the British Museum) contain considerable fragments which appear to preserve a form of text anterior to the revision just mentioned. These were edited and translated by the present writer and Mr W. H. Codrington in 1913, together with the liturgical commentaries of George, bishop of the Arab Tribes (?), and Moses Bar Kepha (*Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*, in the Text and Translation Society's publications).

The differences between these three types of text are not such as to prevent their being edited together. As regards the method to be followed, it might seem that the natural course was to take the earliest group of MSS as a basis; but the fragmentary character of these authorities made that less practicable, and there can be no doubt that Dr Rücker has done wisely in taking instead the Revision of Jacob of Edessa as his standard of reference. He prints without alteration the text of the oldest known MS of this Revision, viz. Brit. Mus. Add. 14493 (*saec.* x), which he calls L. In the Apparatus ten other MSS are collated, wholly or in part. Here the Revision is represented by a second MS, also of the British Museum (Add. 14499, *saec.* x/xi), called M. Of the Textus Receptus four Vatican codices have been used (though its readings are commonly given under a collective sign),

[1] See my *Women in the Apostolic Church* pp. 93 ff and Index s. v. 'Manuscripts'.

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besides the editions and translations. The four sets of early fragments referred to above under (3) are fully collated, two from photographs in the possession of the Editor, and two from the edition already referred to. An Ethiopic version, which has close affinity with these fragments, has also been employed, as well as the comments of Jacob of Edessa, Bar Kepha, Bar Ṣalibi, and others. A feature of the edition which, though subsidiary, greatly adds to its value, is that on the alternate pages the corresponding Greek text of the prayers, wherever available, is printed in full, with notes that contain much useful information. Here, too, the readings of the Armenian and Georgian versions are recorded. The varied sources of the edition are discussed in a concise but adequate Introduction of thirty pages; and at the end there is an index of Scripture passages followed by very full glossaries of the Syriac and Greek words found in the text and notes.

The book is one which every student of Liturgy will do well to have by him.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt, by J. F. ROHDE, O.F.M. (Herder Book Company, St Louis, Mo., U.S.A., and B. Herder, London.)

THIS study of the Christian Arabic versions of the Pentateuch is a very meritorious piece of work. What was printed in the Polyglots was Saadya Gaon's excellent translation into Arabic from the Hebrew (first printed in 1546): Fr Rohde is concerned not with this, but with the mediaeval translations current among the Christians of Egypt. He has gone through most of the greater European collections and has based his study on about 14 selected MSS. These, he finds, fall into two classes, those coming from the Melkite Church in communion with Constantinople and those from the Jacobite Coptic Church. The proper language of the Melkites was Greek, that of the Jacobites Coptic. During the first century of Arab dominion in Egypt, the Moslem conquerors favoured the Coptic language, so that the Melkites felt the need of an Arabic version of Scripture and Liturgy before the Jacobites. Consequently the Melkite Arabic versions are more ancient: they have influenced the Jacobite texts, but the reverse phenomenon does not occur (p. 117). In their original form the Jacobite texts were a direct translation from the Coptic, so that these texts are of some value for establishing the Coptic version (i. e. the Bohairic). The Melkite text seems to be a mixture of elements derived from the Greek

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and from the Syriac, i. e. from a LXX text (possibly Lucianic, p. 118) and from the Peshiṭta.

From the point of view of textual criticism, therefore, these Arabic versions are of secondary value, for we possess, speaking generally, the elements out of which they have been constructed. That, and not their mere chronological lateness, is the reason that so little attention is paid by modern scholars to their evidence. This is why 'CHEYNE and BLACK devote just seven[1] lines to the Arabic versions of the Old Testament in the fourth volume of their Encyclopaedia Biblica' (p. 16), although the author of the Article in question was the same F. C. Burkitt that wrote the Article 'Arabic Versions' in Hastings's Bible Dictionary, called by Fr Rohde four lines further down an 'excellent monograph'. It appeared to me that seven lines was the proper proportion in an article mainly occupied with the criticism of the original text.

The true interest of these Egyptian Arabic versions of Scripture lies elsewhere, in the region of ecclesiastical and liturgical history. Chap. vii of Fr Rohde's study is devoted to the lectionary notices. He shews that the Jacobite group have lections that agree with the liturgical books of the Coptic Church, while the Melkite MSS agree with one of the Melkite lectionaries (p. 115). It is noteworthy, as shewing the ecclesiastical affinities of this branch of Egyptian Christianity, that all the points of contact with Syriac lectionary systems come from the Melkite group (see p. 83).

It should be noted that the story of 'Shama'yā and Abṭalyā, chiefs of the city of Bātīr', in Bodl. Hunt. 424 (see p. 93, the Arabic is on p. 121) is obviously a bit of Jewish Haggada, though it is preserved in a Christian MS. Bātīr, which Titus did not take, is Bittir (Βίθθηρα), and the two preservers of tradition are Shema'iah and Abṭalion (*Pirḳe Aboth* i 11).

Dioscurus (p. 20, ll. 7 and 9) should be Dioscorus.

F. C. BURKITT.

Recherches sur l'Histoire du Texte et des Versions latines du DE PRINCIPIIS *d'Origène*, par GUSTAVE BARDY (*Mémoires et Travaux publiés par des Professeurs des Facultés Catholiques de Lille*, Fasc. XXV). (Champion, Paris, 1923.)

THE publication of Koetschau's edition of Origen's *De Principiis* in the Prussian series of Ante-Nicene Greek Fathers in 1913 marks a new era in the study of that work, and the present monograph, due to an accomplished student of Origen, is a natural outcome of this new

[1] Fr Rohde says 'ten', but I only count seven (*Ency. Bibl.* 5028).

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edition. It does not contain, as might be expected, an evaluation of the various MSS of Rufinus's Latin translation, but it is rather concerned with the wider question how far we can now get at Origen's real thoughts on his great subject. The investigation is most careful, and its conclusions are hardly likely to be seriously disputed. It is to be hoped that no one will be deterred from its study by the fact that the Dean of Wells's edition of the *Philocalia* is persistently referred to by the form 'Philokalia'. The bibliography does not record the third part of Hilberg's great edition of *Jerome's Letters*, published in 1918, though that part is quoted in the body of the work, for example on pp. 108 and 135. Minor defects of printing are to be found on pp. 30, 32, 121, 216. It may be noted that the rendering *lucta* in *Eph.* vi 12 is found also in Ambrose. I cannot understand why the author should regard the alternation of *maiestatis* and *gloriae* in 1 Cor. ii 8 as remarkable (p. 125). The verse is constantly quoted in the Fathers, and *gloriae*, the Vulgate reading, would be naturally substituted by scribes.[1] Not all scholars will agree with the statement (p. 126) that Rufinus 'ne se servait pas d'une version latine'. I fancy that Bp Westcott, whose classic article 'Origen' in the *Dict. Chr. Biog.* is regrettably absent from the bibliography, might have had something to say to the contrary.

A. SOUTER.

Praelectiones Cosmologiae, by J. M. DARIO, S.J. (Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.)

Cosmology, an Introduction to the Philosophy of Matter, by the Rev. JOHN O'NEILL. Vol. I The Greeks and the Aristotelian Schoolmen. (Longmans, London, 1923.)

Die Philosophie des Aristoteles als Naturerklärung und Weltanschauung, by Dr EUGEN ROLFES. (Meiner, Leipzig, 1923.)

THESE three books form welcome evidence of the revival of interest in Aristotle and in the Schoolmen who based their thought so largely on his. The ablest and the most philosophical of the three is, we think, Father Dario's work. His book is a systematic discussion of the ultimate problems that confront the mind with regard to the nature and properties of lifeless matter—he carefully excludes living matter from his consideration. The author is evidently well-equipped both by knowledge of mathematics and physics and by acquaintance with the history of philosophy. His method is the scholastic method of *thesis*, *probatio*, *obiectio*, *distinctio*, and *responsum*, which is apt to

[1] It may be mentioned that *maiestatis* is the reading of Ambrosiaster (four times) and Pelagius.

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produce in the minds of those brought up to another mode of philosophical thought the impression of something rather *borné*, rather cut and dried. But there is no mistaking Father Dario's acuteness and philosophical competence. His section on Kant's theory of space, for example, is full of subtle and relevant criticism; and when he comes to the root-notions of physics and chemistry he is equally thorough and impressive.

Dr O'Neill's book is historical, and is in its own way equally valuable. His account of the pre-Aristotelian systems is too brief to be quite adequate; that of Aristotle is excellent; and that of the Schoolmen is perhaps the best account available in English of that mass of subtle reasoning which St Thomas, Duns Scotus, Suarez, and others devoted to the ultimate nature of matter.

Dr Rolfes is already known by his useful translations of the *Organon*, the *Metaphysics*, the *Ethics*, and the *Politics*. The present work has four parts, dealing respectively with Aristotle's theories of knowledge, of nature, of the soul, and of God. Dr Rolfes is thoroughly familiar with the whole Aristotelian text. His book is made rather formless from a literary point of view by the fact that it consists largely of translations or summaries of Aristotle's words with a running commentary. In fact it may be suggested that he has not sufficiently distinguished between the treatments appropriate to a commentary and to a systematic treatise. But there is much genuine learning and sound exegesis in the book. We think, however, that in some parts, e. g. in his account of Aristotle's theology, he follows St Thomas too closely in his attempt to make Aristotle square with the doctrines of the Church. Indeed, he seems to go beyond St Thomas in dogmatically asserting that God is for Aristotle the creator of all things out of nothing and the providential upholder of the universe. Too much use is made of casual remarks in other contexts, and the systematic discussion of the subject in Book Λ of the *Metaphysics* is not taken seriously enough. But on the real meaning of Aristotle's theology perhaps opinion will never be agreed.

W. D. Ross.

Short Lectures on Modern Hebrew Literature, from M. H. Luzzatto to S. D. Luzzatto, by CHIEF RABBI J. L. LANDAU, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. (Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg: Longmans, Green & Co., London.)

THE title 'Modern Hebrew literature' must sound to many a contradiction in terms. It is indeed a strange phenomenon that the

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language which had its noblest expression in the Bible should have continued again and again to shew its fertility even when divorced from the soil to which all national culture, it would seem, must be rooted. Yet recent generations have come to recognize that the vast Talmudic literature deserves our attention not merely as the product of Rabbinic casuistry but also as the imperishable monument of a great culture. In a later age the school which had its principal seat in Spain was prodigal of poets and writers who must rank amongst the greatest of all time. It is sufficient to mention Jehuda Halevi, the sweetest singer of Zion; Ibn Gabirol, the Avencibron of the mediaeval churchmen; and Immanuel of Rome, imitator and perhaps friend of Dante. Yet this glory, like its predecessors, faded rather than fell; and to-day we can see before our eyes the flourishing of a *fourth* literature which, brought once again into contact with its native soil, may perhaps surpass those which have preceded it. In Palestine and in the Diaspora there is now a feverish Jewish literary activity. The publication of daily newspapers in the sacred tongue is a token, if not a recommendation, of the new spirit: and original works, classical reprints, and translations follow one another from the press with bewildering rapidity. The new Hebrew Josephus, now being published in Warsaw, is perhaps better than any edition existing in a European tongue. Translations of William James, Oscar Wilde, and Plato may now rub shoulders on the Hebrew bookshelf with a critical commentary on the Bible and an original novel or drama. Yet the whole literature, from the earliest passages of the Pentateuch down to the latest issue of the *Doär Ha-Yom*, the Jerusalem *Daily Mail*, has been achieved in what is virtually the same tongue. There have been varying influences, from the Arabic down to the Russian or the German; and words or phrases have been introduced, not always in the best taste. But the inspiration and the idiom have been one: and the Englishman who knows his Bible in the original would not have too much difficulty in reading the latest ephemeral production of the Hebrew press.

It is with the genesis of this last stage that Dr Landau deals in the little volume now before us. His title is indeed in some ways a misnomer. He deals exclusively with the period of transition and of formation: and the personalities whom he introduces are the pioneers rather than the masters. Many of them, too, tended to be literary critics rather than original authors. Moses Mendelssohn's greatest Hebrew work was exegetical: Ben Zeëb was essentially a grammarian: the most enduring labours of Samuel David Luzzatto were antiquarian and philological. Even of the other authors of the period, it is difficult to point to any who produced a real masterpiece which will live. They belonged to the generation which admired Thomson's *Seasons* and

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Young's *Night Thoughts*: and their works shew close parallels with the most uninspiring and uninspired period of English literature. Yet theirs was nevertheless an essential labour. It was they who broke the trammels of the mediaeval scholasticism which gained, and retained, its hold upon the Ghetto long after the Middle Ages were passed. There were of course notable exceptions. Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, with whom this volume commences, carried on the immemorial traditions of Italian Jewish culture, and belongs indeed to a different epoch. So in part did his kinsman Samuel David Luzzatto, with whom the volume ends, and the latter's correspondent, Isaac Samuel Reggio of Gorizia. Yet the rest of the personalities of this period came from more northern countries—principally from Germany and Galicia; and they had to free themselves from the intellectual influences of centuries of degradation, which have been depicted for all time in the *Autobiography* of Solomon Maimon. For every step they had to fight their way: for every mode of expression they had to make innovations. Yet in spite of this they made conspicuous headway, and through their victory light was carried into the Russian and Polish Ghettoes. Wessely originated the Hebrew epic; Ephrati, the modern Hebrew drama; the Meassfim ('Gatherers'), the Hebrew review; Solomon Cohen and Löwisohn commenced to revive the glory of Hebrew poetry. It is not that their productions were great in themselves; but they prepared the way—and it was an arduous task—for the *littérateurs* of the last generation, and for the Hebrew revival which is now going on before our eyes, and in which Dr Landau is himself a noteworthy figure. The essays of Ahad Haam, the poems of Byalick, are now available in an English dress; and they are sufficient to shew that the revival has already justified itself. It is to be hoped that Dr Landau's present volume will be the prelude to another which will justify its title and complete its task.

CECIL ROTH.

Babylonian Wisdom, with six Plates, by S. LANGDON. (Luzac & Co., London; and Paul Geuthner, Paris, 1923.)

PROFESSOR LANGDON has given us a valuable book, which will be found extremely interesting by the Biblical scholar and full of new light and suggestions by the Assyriologist. He has put together the various fragments we now possess of the Babylonian equivalent of the Wisdom-Literature of the Hebrews, together with a critical edition of the texts as well as translations, notes, and commentary. To a certain extent the book is a pioneering work; but it will also rank as a standard authority on the subject for a long while to come.

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The volume includes 'the Poem of the Righteous Sufferer, the Dialogue of Pessimism, the Books of Proverbs, and the Supposed Rules of Monthly Diet'. Babylonia had its pessimists and sceptics like Palestine and Egypt; but whereas the Egyptian sceptic (in the Song of the Harper, for instance) makes no attempt to reconcile his scepticism with orthodoxy, the Babylonian sceptic finally surrenders himself to orthodox teaching and implicitly admits that his pessimism was founded on error. Like the author of the Book of Job, the author of the Babylonian book of the Righteous Sufferer is really, as Prof. Langdon explains, an apologist for the current theology and a defender of the orthodox views of Providence. The frameworks of the Hebrew and Babylonian books are astonishingly alike, and their sceptical pessimism has much the same origin.

The theological background of that pessimism was in fact similar among the Babylonians and the Jews, and was strongly contrasted with Egyptian beliefs. While the Egyptians believed in a future world with its Osirian Paradise, its ethical judgement after death and its bodily resurrection, the Semite of Babylonia and Palestine regarded the after-world as a vague and dreary existence to which all alike must descend whatever their deeds and characters in this world may have been. It was in this world that they were punished or rewarded; there was no resurrection of the body to enjoy hereafter the reward of its good deeds or to be punished for its sins. The Osirian Paradise, on the other hand, was a better Egypt, a land of sunlight and joy: the light-hearted follower of Osiris, haunted by no consciousness of sin, felt assured that his god would be with him after death. But the Babylonian possessed the soul of the penitent, ever conscious of sin, and uncertain whether some forgotten or unconscious fault might not bring down upon him the wrath of a hostile deity.

The remarkable 'Dialogue of Pessimism', if it is complete, forms the only known exception to the rule that Babylonian scepticism in the end took refuge in orthodoxy. The Dialogue is not only despairingly sceptical; it makes no attempt to reconcile its view of life and death with the doctrines of religion. The only cure for the miseries of life is suicide; for the ordinary man it is better not to be born. There is no justice in heaven. It must be noted, however, that the work is thrown into the form of a dialogue between a Babylonian master and his slave, who would have been a foreigner and therefore outside Babylonian religion, and that the formulated expression of scepticism is put into the mouth of the slave. It thus resembles the classical work of Egyptian scepticism in which the teaching of the sceptic is put into the mouth of an Ethiopian cat.

The Proverbs Prof. Langdon has included in his book are an indica-

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tion that the spirit of scepticism was not confined to the educated few. 'A royal gift makes the prophet favourable', 'An amulet does not give protection', attest the popular attitude. Prof. Langdon notes that the Biblical 'A prophet is not without honour save in his own country' has its parallel in the Babylonian 'A loafer (if he go to) another city will become its head'.

The poem of 'The Righteous Sufferer' has also been called the 'Book of the Babylonian Job'. But there is no direct connexion between the two works; in conception, style, and theological outlook the Babylonian poem is immeasurably inferior to the Old Testament book. It is the background in which they agree, the difficulty of reconciling human experience with the justice or even the goodness of God as long as rewards and punishments are confined to this world. They agree furthermore in that consciousness of sin of which I have already spoken, and, above all, in their framework. The prologue and epilogue of the Book of Job are, it is now evident, part of the original work. They represent the attempt made to reconcile the great problem of experience with the underlying theological beliefs of the Semitic world.

The Babylonian texts are full of unfamiliar words, and their translation has added much to our knowledge of the Assyrian vocabulary. I wish, therefore, that the index of words at the end of the volume had been considerably enlarged.

A. H. SAYCE.

From Augustus to Augustine: essays and studies dealing with the contact and conflict of classic Paganism and Christianity, by ERNEST G. SIHLER, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature in New York University since 1892. (Cambridge University Press, 1923.)

THE general reader will find much in this book to interest him, but also, I think, wherever theological questions are touched, a good deal to mislead him. Dr Sihler, for example, seems wholly to dislike Clement of Alexandria; he has many a sneer and hardly a good word for him. Any use of Greek philosophy in connexion with Christianity seems to be an offence to him. For Tertullian, on the other hand, he waxes enthusiastic. He is carried away by Tertullian's argument and vigour, and he accepts his view of Marcion without a sign of suspicion. He writes all through with the strongest bias against Biblical critics and all who find the developement of Christianity influenced by its philosophical and cultural environment. He has confidence in his own erudition, yet 'erudite' and 'ambitious speculation' and 'wildest fancy' are among his labels for views quietly held by most readers of this JOURNAL. Perhaps the best chapters are those on Julian (purely

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objective, setting him before us as he was, without criticism), and on 'the old believers in Rome' with its bits from Macrobius and Servius (though it is not very well constructed). The story of Augustine's early life and conversion can never be other than thrilling, and Dr Sihler tells it well; but the chapter on 'Augustine's City of God' scarcely does justice to its theme.

The syntax of the book is often faulty. The queries of a careful press reader must have been frequent and have been ignored. I am rather surprised that it should be issued by the Cambridge Press.

The first part of the *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte für Studierende*, *Das Altertum*, to the eighth century, by E. Preuschen and G. Krüger (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1911), was welcomed by Dr Whitney (*J. T. S.* vol. xiv p. 445) as one to which he would be 'inclined to give the palm' among the many good manuals of Church History—a judgement in which from my own use of the book for the earlier period I entirely concur. Other scholars have helped Dr Krüger when left alone in his task of revision, and the second edition published in 1923 takes account of the work of the last ten years, which in some branches of the subject has been of high importance. In some cases Dr Krüger has been able to use proof-sheets of books as yet unpublished.

Duchesne's *Early History of the Christian Church* has long been known to all readers of this JOURNAL, and English translations of the first and second volumes were published in 1909 and 1912 respectively. That of the third volume (1910), by Mr Claude Jenkins, has waited till now (John Murray, 1924). It would have been a pity not to have Duchesne's treatment of the fifth century in English.

The second edition (Longmans, Green & Co., 1924) of Dom Butler's *Benedictine Monachism* is a reprint of the original edition of 1919 with some thirty pages of supplementary notes chiefly devoted to explanations of his position in reply to criticisms from Benedictines. On nearly every point with which he deals Dom Butler quietly maintains and usually reinforces the views to which exception was taken, often by reference to fresh and independent work of others since he wrote.

A valuable addition to the series of 'Texts for Students' published by the S.P.C.K. is no. 35 (1924), *Texts illustrating ancient Ruler-worship*, edited by C. Lattey, S.J., M.A., with English translation and notes in a separate no. 35*a*. Students who know the work already done on the subject will be as glad as others to have Fr Lattey's volume of selections.

In the same series (no. 29) Mr G. H. Blakeney edits *The Tome of*

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Pope Leo the Great, text, translation, and notes. To the text which is reprinted from Heurtley's *De Fide et Symbolo* he adds a few variants from cod. Monacensis, photographs of which were supplied by Prof. Turner. From the same MS he prints an appendix to the *Tome* in the form of the first part of a 'covering' letter of Leo to Juvenalis bishop of Jerusalem, which Prof. Ad. Jülicher has since identified (*Theol. Lit.-Zeit.* vol. 48 no. 20) as Letter 35 of the Ballerini edition reprinted in Migne (*P. L.* 54, p. 803) where it is wrongly addressed to bishop Julian of Cos (to whom Ep. 34 is addressed). Though the text of the letter itself in cod. Monacensis is less good than that already known, its true destination is thus recovered and future editors of Leo's Letters will not have to account for two letters to a bishop on the same subject on one day. The title *Juvenali episcopo Hierosolymitano* was, however, already known in cod. Ratisponensis and rejected by the Ballerini, in spite of the value they attached to that MS.

The new number of *The Subject Index to Periodicals* issued by the Library Association (Grafton & Co., 7 Coptic Street, W.C. 1, 1924), contains 1,780 entries obtained from 220 periodicals of the year 1921 on the subjects of Theology and Philosophy, and Folk Lore. Nothing but gratitude for what is given is due, and yet one must regret the discontinuance in recent Indexes of the list of authors which used to follow that of subjects.

J. F. B-B.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1924 (Vol. xcviii, No. 196: S.P.C.K.). W. RICHMOND Dr Holland's philosophy of Faith—M. LUCE Shakespeare and Nature—G. W. BUTTERWORTH The translation of the New Testament—F. H. SMITH The Incarnation and Incarnation beliefs—H. MARRIOTT The new proposals for occasional prayers and thanksgivings—F. R. BARRY New Testament interpretation—'Constitutional Church Government'—The Master of Peterhouse—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1924 (Vol. xxii, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). THE EDITOR The vicious circle of mass-production—S. K. RATCLIFFE Spiritual conditions in the United States—G. H. LANGLEY Interpretation of religious experience—E. J. PRICE The limitations of the psychology of religion—B. W. BACON The nature and design of Q, the second synoptic source—J. W. GRAHAM George Fox—E. DE FAYE The influence of Greek scepticism on Greek and Christian thought in the first and second centuries—H. B. MERRIMAN The philosophy of an ignorant person—G. KENDALL Dogma as metaphor—L. A. REID Creativeness in conduct and religion—M. WILSON The spiritual wanderings of a Cambridge literary lady a hundred years ago—M. S. O'RORKE Religion in the Gold Coast—H. D. A. MAJOR English Modernism—Discussions, Survey, and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, July 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 7: Hodder & Stoughton). THE EDITOR Current issues—W. E. BARNES 'Ten' treatises on the 'ten' Commandments—H. GUNKEL The secret experiences of the Prophets—G. J. R. MACAULAY The new psychology and the Christian doctrine of sin—W. D. NIVEN George Fox and the Scriptures—M. FROST Notes and notices—H. R. MACKINTOSH Reviews.

August 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 8). THE EDITOR Current issues—C. J. CADOUX The ten best books on the synoptic Gospels—R. DUNKERLEY The reliability of the Gospels—F. R. TENNANT Faith, Hope, and Knowledge in 1 Corinthians xiii—G. H. BOX Early Christianity and the Hellenic world—A. R. M. Notes and Notices—T. H. ROBINSON Some recent contributions to the study of the Old Testament.

September 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 9). THE EDITOR Current issues—G. H. BOX The ten best books on the prophetic literature—H. H. ROWLEY The Belshazzar of Daniel and of history—D. PLOOIJ The anti-sabbatic dilemma in the Gospels—A. E. GARVIE The experience of the grace of God in forgiveness—D. H. MCQUEEN The new

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Jerusalem and town-planning—Notes and notices of recent criticism—Reviews.

(2) AMERICAN.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE HEAVENLY MAN.

In various documents emanating from Gnostic and allied religious movements of later antiquity we find a myth of a heavenly Man, from whom the actual human race and sometimes the present world is derived. This paper reviews the principal documents in which this myth appears, considers the possible sources of the idea in oriental speculation, and discusses its possible relationship to the conceptions of the Son of Man or of a heavenly Man in later Jewish and early Christian thought.

I.

The Apostate Julian's Fifth Oration—'On the Mother of the Gods'—gives a quasi-philosophical explanation of the myth of Attis. Here, as elsewhere, the last Pagan emperor (361–363), is concerned to oppose to the triumphant progress of the Christian Church a systematic exposition of Paganism. A pagan myth, a pagan cult, and a pagan philosophy reinforce and interpret one another and thus offer emancipation from the Christian 'darkness' in which Julian himself had been brought up and from which, by the favour of the Mother of the gods, he has escaped.

The Oration opens with a historical section dealing with the introduction of the cult of Attis and the Great Mother in Greece and Rome (159–161 B). Julian then proceeds to explain his own understanding of Attis. Attis is 'the substance of the generative and creative mind, which begets all things down to the level of the lowest matter, and possesses in itself all the principles (λόγοι) and causes of the forms which inform matter (τῶν ἐνύλων εἰδῶν)'. There follows a philosophical exposition of the relations of matter (ὕλη), of the forms immanent in matter (εἴδη ἔνυλα), of the forms in themselves (εἴδη ἄϋλα), and of the creative power (φύσις), identified with Attis, which imparts the forms to passive matter (161 D–165 A). Julian now turns to the myth (165 B): Attis was exposed by the river Gallos, but he grew to man's estate and was loved by the Mother of the gods, who gave him a star-spangled hat. Now, if the head of Attis is covered by the visible heaven, we must understand

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by the river Gallos the Milky Way (γαλαξία), for this is the point at which the passible body mingles with 'the impassible revolution of the fifth body'.[1] To this point the Mother of the gods allowed Attis to proceed. But Attis transgressed the limit, and went 'to the extremities' (ἄχρι τῶν ἐσχάτων) where, as the myth says, he entered into the cave and was united with the nymph. The nymph represents, not matter itself, but the moisture of matter, which is the last immaterial cause. Thus Attis, an intelligent god (νοερὸς θεός), who holds together the immanent sublunary forms, enters into union with the immediate cause of matter. But the Mother of the gods, she who is the source of the intelligent and creative gods, who in turn rule the gods which appear (i.e. the stars), was filled with a passionless love for Attis and wished to recall him from the world of becoming to love herself. Korybas, therefore, who is the great Sun and the colleague of the Mother in creation and providence, persuades the Lion to carry the Mother's message to Attis. The Lion, who is described as αἴθων 'fiery', is the cause of warmth and heat, and he is sent to fight with the nymph who represents moisture. The Lion discovered Attis and caused him to castrate himself. The meaning of this mutilation is the arrest of infinite progression (ἐποχὴ τῆς ἀπειρίας) 'for the world of becoming stood still in appointed forms, being arrested by creative forethought—not without the so-called madness of Attis'. The coincidence of the Festival of Attis, when the tree is cut, with the equinox, is further testimony that the mutilation is to be understood of the στάσις τῆς ἀπειρίας. Again, the cutting of the tree signifies the offering to the gods of the best gift which we can secure, and that is virtue with piety. Thus 'the ordinance bids us who are by nature heavenly, but have been carried down to earth, to reap from our earthly citizenship virtue with piety, and so to hasten to the generative and life-giving goddess' (169 B). We, too, must cut out the infinite progression in ourselves and hasten upwards to that which has a defined and single form, and, if it be possible, to the One Itself. Hence the appropriateness of the Hilaria which close the Attis festival, for 'what can be more joyful than a soul which has escaped from the tempest of impiety and becoming, and has been borne upwards to the very gods? One of these gods it was—Attis—who approached nearer than was right, but the Mother of the gods did not neglect him, for she turned him back to herself and bade him stay the infinite progression.' In the next section (170 A–171 D) Julian explains that the myth is not to be under-

[1] i. e. the aether, the πρῶτον στοιχεῖον of Aristotle, later called πέμπτον σῶμα 'the fifth element'. Plotin. *Enn.* ii 1. 2. The sphere of the πέμπτον σῶμα was usually regarded as beginning with the Moon. So below in this Oration 176 D. But Julian has to work in his etymology Γάλλος—γαλαξία. See Bogner *Philologus* 1923–1924 p. 275.

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stood as a historical occurrence, but as the symbolic expression of an eternal truth. 'Let no man suppose', he says, no doubt with Christianity in view, 'that these things were once done and really happened, as though the gods were unaware what they were going to do, or were correcting their own mistakes . . . Attis is ever servant and charioteer to the Mother, his impulse ever leads towards becoming, ever he cuts away the unlimited from himself through the appointed cause of the Forms.' Further paragraphs give reasons for the dates of the festivals and justify the traditional restrictions on food. The Oration closes with a Prayer to the Mother of gods and men to grant to all men and especially to the Roman people happiness through knowledge (γνῶσις) of the gods.

For Julian philosophy is a handmaid to religion. 'The theories of Aristotle', he writes, 'I consider to be somewhat deficient, unless they are harmonized with Plato's doctrines, and these again need to be harmonized with the prophecies which have been given us from the gods' (162 C). Julian's philosophy is, in fact, borrowed from Iamblichus. In the Fourth Oration—*On King Helios*—the Emperor avows his complete dependence upon Iamblichus (156 D) who, 'though later in time, is yet not inferior in genius to Plato himself' (146 A). In the Fifth Oration he claims to be original: 'I had read nothing beforehand, nor speculated on the matter; indeed I had not even decided to speak on this subject, before asking for these tablets'. But here, too, the philosophy is clearly dependent upon Iamblichus[1]: Attis is 'the substance of the generative and creative mind which begets all things down to the lowest material plane' (161 C). The 'generative and creative mind' is the Ἥλιος Μίθρας of the Fourth Oration who controls the νοερὸς κόσμος and the θεοὶ νοεροί.[2] Hence Attis, himself a νοερὸς θεός, is compared to the sun's rays (165 C). Julian claims that this identification of Attis is his own idea (αὐτὸς οἰκοθεν ἐπινοῶ 161 B), and indeed it is unlikely that Julian is here following his master, who seems to have equated Attis, among other deities, with the Sun itself.[3] Moreover, there are signs that 'the prophecy given from the gods', which Julian here adopts, contained intractable elements which have been imperfectly harmonized with the Neoplatonic philosophy. Thus the nymph with whom Attis is united is interpreted as the moisture of matter (165 C), and by thus

[1] Bogner *Philologus* 1923-1924 p. 270 f suggests that Julian's source was a lost commentary of Iamblichus upon a work of Julian the Theurgist—also lost—which dealt with the planetary spheres. Hence the abrupt introduction of the πέμπτον σῶμα in the philosophical section of the Oration.

[2] On the κόσμος νοερός and the θεοὶ νοεροί interpolated by Iamblichus between the κόσμος νοητός and the κόσμος αἰσθητός of the earlier Neoplatonists see Zeller *Phil. d. Gr.* iii[4] 2 p. 748.

[3] Bogner *op. cit.* p. 260.

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entering into relations with the moisture of matter, Attis was transgressing the ordinance of the Mother of the gods. It was an act of madness (παραφροσύνη 167 D); and by overstepping the appointed limit Attis lost power over himself, and grew weak. The underlying idea is clear: by entering into relation with matter Attis fell from his proper sphere. A dualistic philosophy is implied. But the Neoplatonist Julian is obliged to tone this down. It is indeed admitted that 'the world of becoming stood still in appointed forms . . . not without the so-called madness of Attis'; but Julian explains that had Attis obeyed the Mother of the gods and looked to her alone, he would have been an even mightier[1] creator than he actually was (166 D), 'since in all things the turning to that which is mightier, is more effective (δραστήριος) than the declension to that which is worse'. This is good Neoplatonic doctrine. It is on this line that Plotinus criticizes the Gnostic dualism which derives the created world from the fall of Sophia and Psyche. To Plotinus the universe is good. Creation proceeds from the 'overflowing'[2] of the One, and the world-soul creates, not by a fall into an alien substance, but by contemplation of that which is above. 'In the perfect beauty that soul rests, free from all solicitude, not ruling by plan or policy, not redressing, but establishing order by the marvellous efficacy of its contemplation of the things above it. For the measure of its absorption in that vision is the measure of its grace and power, and what it draws from this contemplation it communicates to the lower sphere, illuminated and illuminating always'.[3] But in Julian the introduction of this doctrine is a transparent attempt to cover up the obvious implication of a Gnostic and dualistic myth, not dissimilar in idea from the conception opposed by Plotinus in his polemic 'Against the Gnostics'.

There was no one recognized interpretation of the Attis myth. Macrobius,[4] in all probability following Iamblichus, identified Attis with the Sun, and the Mother of the gods with the Earth. Proclus, who wrote a book on the subject[5] which has perished, likewise identified Attis with the Sun, 'whose rays descend to the lowest depth of matter'.[6] Porphyry also wrote a book on Attis to which Julian refers, though he says he has not read it. The book has not survived, but we know from Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* iii 11, 12 and Aug. *De Civ. Dei* vii 25 that he interpreted the story of the growth of the flowers. The castration symbolizes the falling of the flowers before they seed. Thus Julian differed from the greater Neoplatonists in his interpretation of the Attis myth. But he was not original. We know from Hippolytus *Refut.* v that in

[1] Accepting Hertlein's emendation κρείττων for the unintelligible κρεῖττον of the MSS.

[2] *Enn.* v 2. 1.

[3] *Enn.* ii 9. 2 Mackenna's translation.

[4] *Sat.* I xxi 7 f.

[5] Marinus *Vita Procli* 33.

[6] *Hymn.* i 25.

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the second century the Naassene Gnostics, probably following a pagan source, had identified Attis with the heavenly Man who descends into chaos, creates the world, and imparts life to the as yet lifeless ancestor of mankind. Although Julian does not use the name 'the Heavenly Man', yet his idea is essentially the same: Attis descends to the world of matter, and thus imparts order to chaos. Furthermore, the descent and ascension of Attis is really a symbolic version of the descent and ascension of the ψυχή of man (169 B). Thus we may fairly surmise that Julian knew a divine 'prophecy' about Attis as the heavenly Man, like that used by the Naassenes. The originality which he claims will lie in his combination of the Gnostic 'prophecy' with the philosophy of his master Iamblichus.

'The Naassenes', says Hippolytus,[1] 'pay honour to a Man and a Son of Man'. This Man, whom they call Adamas, is bisexual. Hymns have been composed in his honour, one of which Hippolytus quotes: 'From thee is the Father, and for thy sake is the Mother, the two immortal names, the progenitors of the Aeons, O citizen of Heaven, O man of many names'. The exposition of the doctrine which follows is very confused, and there can be no doubt that either Hippolytus or his source has misunderstood the original. The Naassenes, Hippolytus tells us, claim that their teachings were given by James the Lord's brother to Mariamne, but in reality they were derived from Greek and barbarian religious rites. The Man Adamas is the foundation of their doctine, and to him they apply the text 'And his generation who shall declare?' From this heavenly Man is to be distinguished the first historical man. Who he was, and when he came into being, it is hard to say. Different nations give different accounts. Some say he was Alalkomeneus who sprang from Lake Cephisos in Boeotia, others give the priority to the Idaean Kouretes, and so on. The Chaldaeans says he was Adam. But this first man, whoever he was, was only an image of Adamas the heavenly Man and lay at first like a lifeless statue on the ground. The passage which follows is obscure:—

ἵν' οὖν τελέως ᾖ κεκρατημένος ὁ μέγας ἄνθρωπος ἄνωθεν, "ἀφ' οὗ", καθὼς λέγουσι, "πᾶσα πατριὰ ὀνομαζομένη ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς" συνέστηκεν, ἐδόθη αὐτῷ καὶ ψυχή, ἵνα διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς πάσχῃ καὶ κολάζηται καταδουλούμενον τὸ πλάσμα τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ καλλίστου καὶ τελείου ἀνθρώπου· καὶ γὰρ οὕτως αὐτὸν καλοῦσι.

Reitzenstein, who regards all the N.T. texts as later interpolations, proposes to omit *ἀφ' οὗ . . . συνέστηκεν* (= Eph. iii 15) and to construct *ἄνωθεν* with *ἐδόθη*. The original meaning of the last part of the sentence, he holds, has been obscured by Hippolytus or by his source. The sense required is that the ψυχή, which descends to the earthly body,

[1] *Refut.* v. 6.

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is 'enslaved'.[1] The ψυχή is clearly identical with the heavenly Man Adamas.[2]

Dr Reitzenstein has shewn that the exposition which follows takes the form of an interpretation of a hymn to Attis which was then, as we gather from Hippolytus's account, popular in the theatres (ch. ix). The text of the hymn, quoted in ch. ix, is as follows:—

> Εἴτε Κρόνου γένος, εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρ,
> εἴτε Ῥέας μεγάλας, χαῖρε (ὦ) τὸ κατ-
> ηφὲς ἄκουσμα Ῥέας Ἄττι· σὲ κα-
> λοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι τριπόθητον Ἄ-
> δωνιν, ὅλη δ' Αἴγυπτος Ὄσιριν, ἐπ-
> ουράνιον μηνὸς κέρας Ἑλλη-
> νὶς σοφία, Σαμοθρᾴκες Ἀδαμ(να) σε-
> βάσμιον, Αἰμόνιοι Κορύβαντα, καὶ
> οἱ Φρύγες, ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, ποτὲ
> δὲ (αὖ) νέκυν, ἢ θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἄκαρπον ἢ
> αἰπόλον, ἢ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμη-
> θέντα, ἢ τὸν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν ἀ-
> μύγδαλος, ἀνέρα συρικτάν.[3]

The Naassene document identifies Attis as Adamas, the heavenly Man, and interprets *seriatim* his equivalents and titles as given in the hymn in the sense of the myth. Homer, Anacreon, the LXX, and the N.T. are all drawn upon and expounded, fantastically enough, to confirm the doctrine. Dr Reitzenstein holds that behind our text lies a heathen Gnostic document which has been later interpolated by a Jewish and then by a Christian hand, and he has attempted to reconstruct the supposed original by omitting all of the N. T. and most of the O. T. references. The result is not in detail convincing. For example, he is obliged to leave in his hypothetical original three O. T. citations, and if the author knew Isaiah xxviii 16 on 'the foundation of Sion' (*Poimandres* p. 89) and Isaiah xxxv on 'the children of the barren' (*ib.* p. 95) and Daniel ii 45 on 'the stone cut out without hands' (*ib.* p. 89), it is not clear why he may not also have known the 'three swelling words' Kaulakau, Saulasau, and Zeēsar of Is. xxviii 10 (*Poimandres* p. 90), of which we are told that the first signifies Adamas, the second lower mortal man, and the third the River Jordan, which flows upwards; or Benjamin's cup, which, it is implied, corresponds to the 'crater' of the Timaeus in which God mixed and mingled (κεκέρακεν) all things; which, again, is referred to in the words of the Attis song

[1] *Poimandres* p. 84 nn. 6 and 7.

[2] Cp. ch. vii 10 ψυχῆς γὰρ πᾶσα φύσις, ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλως ὀρέγεται with ch. ix 4 οὗτός (i. e. Attis) ἐστιν ὁ πολυώνυμος, μυριόμματος, ἀκατάληπτος, οὗ πᾶσα φύσις, ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλως ὀρέγεται.

[3] Wilamowitz (*Hermes* xxxvii p. 329) detects an artificial archaizing style and assigns the hymn provisionally to the reign of Hadrian.

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ἐπουράνιον μηνὸς κέρας. Nevertheless it may well be that Reitzenstein is right in the main point and that behind these chapters there lies an essentially pagan Gnostic document which has been superficially Christianized. In any case it is certain that the Naassenes held a doctrine of a heavenly Man which they discovered in the various gods of the mystery religions and expounded by references to Homer, the Septuagint, and the New Testament.

On the strength of this passage it is sometimes suggested that the Gnostics derived the conception of the heavenly Man from 'the literature of the Attis Mysteries'.[1] But it is more than doubtful whether the evidence points in this direction. There is nothing whatever about the heavenly Man in the Attis song[2]: he appears only in the commentary. The commentator starts from the myth which he must at all costs extract from the song. Hence the far-fetched derivation of the Phrygian divine title Πάπας (ch. 8. 22) Πάπας—παύει. This is the nearest approach the commentator can discover to an essential element in the myth—that the heavenly Man by his manifestation brings order into the pre-existing chaos, παύει τὴν ἀσυμφωνίαν. Hippolytus too, himself, writes of the 'actions', not of the literature of the mysteries, as attracting the Gnostics—διὰ τούτους καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους παρεδρεύουσιν οὗτοι τοῖς λεγομένοις Μητρὸς μεγάλης μυστηρίοις, μάλιστα καθορᾶν νομίζοντες διὰ τῶν δρωμένων ἐκεῖ τὸ ὅλον μυστήριον (ch. 9. 10).

It was Dr Reitzenstein who first pointed out the close resemblance in idea between the Naassene document and a passage in Zosimus the Alchemist.[3] In a letter to his sister Theosebeia Zosimus quotes from a Hermetic document not otherwise known, in which 'Hermes' contrasts with the false way of salvation by magic, the true way by means of knowledge of God and of self. Knowledge of self involves recognition of the distinction between the earthly and the heavenly Man. The earthly man is variously named Thot and Adam. The proper name of the heavenly Man is known only to Nikotheos,[4] but his common name is φώς (= φῶς 'light'). From him men are called φῶτες. The

[1] So Bousset *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* p. 186 followed by J. Kroll *Die Lehren des Hermes Trismegistos* p. 65.

[2] The God worshipped by the Samothracians is not referred to in the song by the name Ἀδάμας, as Bousset asserts (p. 185) but as Ἄδαμνα. So the edd. following a brilliant emendation by Bergk for the MS reading Ἄδαμ. See Hesychius *s. v.* ἀδαμνεῖν· τὸ φιλεῖν, καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλον Ἄδαμνα λέγουσι.

[3] Berthelot *Les alchemistes grecs* p. 201. Zosimus flourished early in the fourth century.

[4] An Apocalypse of Nikotheos was used by Gnostic Christians referred to by Porphyry *Vita Plotin.* 16. See also the Gnostic document in Codex Brucianus, ch. vii; Schmidt *Koptisch-Gnostische Schriften* i p. 342. Cf. Reitzenstein *Poimandres* p. 268.

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heavenly Man clothed himself with the earthly Adam, and thus man, as he is, came to be. This is the true meaning of the story of Prometheus, Epimetheus, and Pandora. Pandora is Eve, Epimetheus the fleshly Adam, and Prometheus the heavenly Man. The text of Zosimus, as it stands, further teaches that the Son of God, who is definitely named Jesus Christ, 'became all things, God, angel, suffering man' in order that he might enlighten men's minds, and enable them to give up the earthly man to death and to raise in safety their shining spirits to the place where they were before the world began. Here, as in the Naassene document, Reitzenstein maintains that the explicitly Christian elements are later insertions.

Among the Hermetic writings known to Zosimus was the *Poimandres*[1] which now stands at the beginning of the 'Corpus Hermeticum'. *Poimandres* differs from most of the extant Hermetic literature, but agrees with other Hermetic writings known to Zosimus in being unmistakeably dependent upon the Old Testament in Greek, nor is it certain that it is uninfluenced by Christian conceptions. *Poimandres* gives us a clearer and more coherent presentation of the descent and the redemption of the heavenly Man than any of the other documents which we have noticed. The following is a summary of the relevant sections (11–26).

Poimandres relates how, after the revolution of the spheres had brought birds from the air, fishes from the water, four-footed beasts and creeping things from the earth,[2] Mind, the Father of All, who is Life and Light 'begat Man equal to himself and him he loved as his own son, for he was exceedingly beautiful, having the image[3] of his Father'. To Man God gave authority over all created things. But Man became filled with the desire himself to create, and with the Father's permission he entered the sphere of creation. He passed in turn through each of the seven planetary circles which wheel around the earth. The διοικήτορες of the seven spheres loved him, and he in turn received from each of them a part of their nature. After he had thus descended through the ἁρμονία of the spheres and broken their might, he revealed the fair form of God which he bore to Nature beneath, and Nature beholding his divine beauty enhanced by the powers derived from each of the spheres, loved him, and he beholding his own image reflected in water loved it. Thus Man and Nature were united, and so it came about that man alone of all animals is possessed of a twofold nature: he is mortal because of his body and immortal because of the essential (οὐσιώδης) Man. In consequence of his union with the heavenly bisexual Man, Nature brought forth seven men corresponding to the

[1] Berthelot *op. cit.* p. 244.

[2] Cf. Gen. i 20, 25.

[3] Cf. Gen. i 26.

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natures of the seven rulers of the planetary spheres. These likewise were bisexual. When the cycle of time was completed God loosed the bond uniting male and female characters. Man, and all other animals, who till then had been bisexual, became males and females and God gave forth the holy word 'In increasing increase, and in multiplying multiply,[1] all ye that have been created and fashioned, and let man, for that he has reason, recognize that he is immortal and that love is the cause of death'. After this all living creatures increased 'after their kind',[2] and the man who recognizes his immortal origin comes to the supreme good, while he who loves his body falls a prey to death and vice and the avenging demon. God the Father is Light and Life. Man has been begotten from Him. He who has learnt this truth will himself return to Light and Life. Poimandres then explains the ascent of Man. The physical body and the senses are dissolved into their elements. Passion and desire return to the irrational. Man mounts through the ἁρμονία of the spheres, restoring to each sphere as he ascends its appropriate ἐνέργεια which he had absorbed at his descent—to the sphere of the Moon the power of growth and diminution, to the sphere of Mercury the contrivance of evil and deceit, to the sphere of Venus the deception of concupiscence, to the sphere of the Sun the pride of rule, to the sphere of Mars unholy courage and reckless daring, to the sphere of Jupiter the evil opportunities of wealth, and to the sphere of Saturn the crafty lie. At last he reaches the φύσις ὀγδοατική and approaches the Father. 'This is the good end for those who have won knowledge and deification.' The number closes with an account of the writer's mission to his fellow men and his prayer and praise to the supreme Father who is Light and Life.

The heavenly Man appears in other Gnostic systems, but except in the Manichaean system, which we will describe later, he is not, as in *Poimandres*, an essential element in the doctrine of redemption. According to the Barbelo Gnostics, as represented in the Coptic Gospel of Mary,[3] the highest god was named Πρωτάνθρωπος and the same title was also applied to Barbelo. In Irenaeus's description of this sect, however, 'the perfect and true man whom they call Adamas' appears at the end of the heavenly genealogy as the offspring of Autogenes and Aletheia.[4] Here it is the Holy Spirit, or the Sophia or Prunicus, which descended to the lower parts and produced the creation of the world. Again, the sect described in Irenaeus i ch. xxviii (Harvey) makes the First Man the highest God who produces as son the second Man or Son of Man, and they, by union with the Holy Spirit, who is the First Woman, begat

[1] Cf. Gen. i 22, 28.
[2] Cf. Gen. i 21, 24.
[3] See Schmidt *Abh. d. Ber. Akad.* 1896 pp. 843 f.
[4] *Adv. Haeres.* i ch. xxvii (Harvey).

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the Christ. In this case Sophia or Prunicus is an aeon flowing from the Spirit which descends and becomes mother of Ialdabaoth and the other planetary rulers. In the Pistis Sophia, which is associated with the Barbelo Gnostics, the Aeon Jeû is referred to as the First Man. The various Valentinian systems likewise contain the figure of the 'Man', but his position differs in the different versions. Some Valentinians, like the Barbelo Gnostics, made the 'Man' the supreme God.[1] In the Valentinian systems, again, there is no descent of the heavenly Man into matter. It is Achamoth, or the lower Sophia, who falls from the Pleroma and forms the demiurge Ialdabaoth and Adam, the first earthly man.

II.

'The Gnostics', wrote Harnack in his *Dogmengeschichte*, 'are those Christians who, in a swift advance, attempted to capture Christianity for Hellenic culture, and Hellenic culture for Christianity, and who gave up the Old Testament in order to facilitate the conclusion of a covenant between the two powers' (*E. T.* vol. i p. 227). Historical research during the last generation has, on the whole, moved away from this position.[2] It is not only that the details of Gnostic systems can often be explained from oriental sources—this Harnack always allowed—but the fundamental ideas of Gnosticism—its dualism and its conception of redemption—betray its oriental origin.[3] It is no accident that the last in the succession of the great Greek thinkers, Plotinus, engaged in earnest polemic with the Gnostics—'those who say that the creator of the world is evil, and that the world is evil'. Platonists always find difficulty in avoiding an element of metaphysical dualism, but the aim and spirit of Platonism is monistic. The phenomenal world, though imperfect, is good and beautiful, and depends for its existence upon the ideal. The Gnostic was of a different mind. The wheeling planetary spheres, which to Plotinus were 'full of graciousness', to him were the inexorable and cruel rulers of an evil world from which he sought redemption. The Gnostic world view, it is now generally held, was derived in the main from Babylonian astrology combined with Persian dualism. The conception of the heavenly Man is not, as we have seen, a central feature of most of the later Gnostic systems, but in *Poimandres*, in the Naassene document, in Zosimus, the fundamental Gnostic ideas are embodied in the myth of a heavenly Man who descends into the dark lower world and in some way combines with the forces of the lower

[1] Iren. I vi 3 (Harvey).

[2] See the Preface to Bousset's *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis.*

[3] See Carl Schmidt's excellent study *Plotin's Stellung zum Gnosticismus u. kirchlichen Christentum.* T. & U. Neue Folge Bd. v Heft 4.

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world to produce man as we know him, or sometimes the whole world-order as it is. Bousset is in harmony with the general tendency in historical criticism when he turns to Persian religious literature for the source of the conception of the heavenly Man.

We find in the Avesta occasional references to Gaya Maretan, the first man.[1] He it was who 'first listened unto the thought and teaching of Ahura Mazda', and of him 'Ahura formed the race of the Aryan nations'.[2] He is referred to as the type of human strength and virility.[3] He was the first, as 'Saoshyant the victorious'[4] will be the last, of the Saints.[5] But there is nothing in the allusions of the existing Avesta which implies a myth of a primal heavenly Man.

It is otherwise when we turn to the Pahlavi texts of the Parsees. Here we find a doctrine of Gayomar*d* as a heavenly being who falls a victim to the powers of evil, and from whose seed the human race is derived.

*Bundahi*s,[6] the Pahlavi work in which this myth is elaborated, cannot be earlier in its present form than the Mohammedan conquest of Persia, A. D. 651, but 'many passages', writes West, 'have the appearance of being translated from an Avestan original, and it is very probable that we have in the *Bundahi*s either a translation or an epitome of the *Dâmda*d *Nask*, one of the twenty-one books into which the whole of the Zoroastrian scriptures are said to have been divided before the time of Darius' (Introd. p. xli). Thus *Bundahi*s may be used, though with some reserve, as testimony to the religious conceptions of ancient Persia.

In this book Gayomar*d*, or 'the righteous man' as he is sometimes called, is a quasi-divine being. He and the 'labouring ox' were part of the original beneficent creation of Aürharmazd. For three thousand years the Evil Spirit and his confederate demons were kept in a state of impotent confusion 'owing to the righteous man' (ch. iii). At last, the three thousand years being ended, the wicked *G*êh (the spirit of unchastity) thus addressed the Evil Spirit: 'Rise up, thou Father of us, for in that conflict I will shed thus much vexation on the righteous man and the labouring ox, that through my deeds, life will not be wanted, and I will destroy their living souls.' At this the Evil Spirit

[1] The passages are collected and discussed by Windischmann *Abh. f. d. Kunde Morgenlandes* Bd. i p. 73 f.

[2] Farvardin Yast 87. [3] Tir Yast 13.

[4] The future saviour, who is to be born of the seed of Zarathustra at the end of the world and to inaugurate the Resurrection.

[5] Yasna xxvi 10 = Farvardin Yast 145.

[6] I have used West's translation. *Sacred Books of the East* vol. v Pahlavi Texts pt. i.

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was delighted and kissed *Gêh* and said, 'What is thy wish?', and *Gêh* shouted to the Evil Spirit 'A man is the wish and give it to me'. The passage which follows is very obscure. West translates as follows:— 'The form of the Evil Spirit was a log-like lizard's body, and he appeared a young man of fifteen years to *Gêh*, and that brought the thoughts of *Gêh* to him.' But Windischmann and Justi interpret the passage to mean that the Evil Spirit formed a youth for *Gêh* out of a toad's body. The Evil Spirit then launches his attack upon the creation of Aürharmazd, including Gayomar*d* and the ox. The ox, as it died, spoke thus: 'The cattle are to be created, and their work, labour and care are to be appointed.' But, 'before his coming to Gayomar*d*, Aürharmazd brought forth a sweat upon Gayomar*d*, so long as he might recite a prayer of one stanza; moreover, Aürharmazd formed that sweat into the youthful body of a man of fifteen years, radiant and tall. When Gayomar*d* issued from that sweat he saw the world dark as night, and the earth as though not a needle's point remained free from noxious creatures.' Before he was killed, Gayomar*d* spoke thus: 'Although the destroyer has come, mankind will be all of my race; and this one thing is good, when they perform duty, and good works.' How Gayomar*d* is finally killed we are not told.

It is not necessary for our present purpose to follow in detail the account in *Bundahi*s of how beasts, birds, fishes, and vegetables sprang from the seed of the ox (ch. x), and mankind from the seed of Gayomar*d* (ch. xv),[1] nor the account of the Resurrection of the dead which Soshyans is to bring about at the end of the world, when the bones of Gayomar*d* will be raised first (ch. xxx 4).

Thus in *Bundahi*s we find a Primal Man who falls a victim to the power of evil, and thus becomes the originator of the human race. It remains obscure how exactly the death of Gayomar*d* is brought about. Bousset has followed Windischmann in adopting a highly speculative reconstruction of the myth in *Bundahi*s. Taking his start from a phrase describing Gayomar*d* in ch. xxiv § 1, which he translates 'welcher in das Wasser schaut', Windischmann suggests that the enigmatic 'sweat' in ch. iii § 19 quoted above, out of which Aürharmazd formed the beautiful youth of fifteen years, was originally water into which Gayomar*d*, like Narcissus, gazes, thus, like Narcissus, falling a victim to his love for himself. This, again, would lie behind the equally obscure reference to the beauteous youth of fifteen years whom the Evil Spirit provides for *Gêh* (ch. iii). If this were allowed, we should have a close parallel to the fall of the heavenly Man in *Poimandres*. But Bousset has not noticed that the later editors, Justi and West, both follow Spiegel in rejecting

[1] Bousset has noted that the seven pairs of human beings that spring from Mashya and Mashyoi, the first humans, recall the seven pairs of *Poimandres* 16.

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Windischmann's reading of the one phrase which positively supports this solution of the riddle. In ch. xxiv § 1 for *mia* 'water' they both read *mas* 'great'.[1] This is unfortunate, for it appears to dispose of the one real parallel which has been adduced from Zoroastrian sources to the Gnostic doctrine of the descent of the heavenly Man into the material world. Bousset and other scholars may be right in thinking that the Gnostic supreme God of Light derives from Ahura Mazda, and that Gayomard lies behind the Gnostic heavenly Man, but we have no evidence that the Zoroastrian Gayomard was thought of as falling into the material world like the heavenly Man of the Naassenes and of *Poimandres*.

One other passage in Pahlavi literature should here be noted. In Dinkard iii 82[2] Gayomard is spoken of as the son of the Father of all by his own daughter Spendarmad the earth. This is adduced as divine authority for the practice of Khvêtûk-das or marriage of next of kin. In this passage Gayomard is the third member of the recurrent divine triad—Father, Mother, Son. A close parallel to this double relationship of the Father to the Mother is found in the teaching of the Gnostic sect referred to by Clement of Alexandria iii 4, 29: *ἓν ἦν τὰ πάντα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῦ τῇ ἐνότητι μὴ εἶναι μόνῃ, ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίπνοια καὶ ἐκοίνωσεν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸν ἀγαπητόν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπίπνοια, ἣ κοινωνήσας ἐποίησεν δυνάμεις μήτε ὁραθῆναι μήτε ἀκουσθῆναι δυναμένας*: while Irenaeus i 27. 1 (Harvey) in describing the system of the Barbelo Gnostics, after giving the Triad Autogenes, Aletheia, Anthropus, 'whom they also call Adamas' adds: 'Hinc autem dicunt manifestatam, Matrem, Patrem, Filium.'

The chief Gnostic theologians flourished and worked in the Roman Empire, and they wrote Greek, though, as we have seen, their ideas were derived from the East. Manichaeism may, on the whole, be classified as a type of Gnosticism, but it arose a century later than the systems usually described as Gnostic, and its founder appears never to have known the Graeco-Roman world. Mani was born in Babylonia and began his mission in Persia. He is said to have travelled as far as India and China. He finally fell a victim to the jealousy of the Zoroastrian priesthood and was put to death by the Sassanian King of Persia, Bahram I (reigned A. D. 274–277). He wrote in Aramaic and Persian. In the case of Manichaeism we may probably assume a more direct dependence upon Zoroastrian ideas than is probable in the case

[1] Spiegel's criticism of Windischmann is quoted by the latter (*op. cit.* p. 89). Justi translates: 'welcher in das grosse (Gestirn, in die Sonne) blickte (ohne geblendet zu werden).' West: 'with eyes which looked out for the great one.'

[2] West *S. B. E.* vol. xviii p. 401 quoted by Bousset *op. cit.* p. 335 f.

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of the earlier Gnostics.[1] 'Mani derived his doctrine', wrote Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq, 'from the Magians and from the Christians'.[2]

Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq's *Fihrist*, a sort of Arabic literary encyclopaedia composed towards the end of the tenth century, appears to give the most trustworthy account which we possess of the Manichaean system. The essential element in that system is the Primal Man. The following summary is extracted from Flügel's German translation of the Manichaean section of the *Fihrist*.

Mani taught that the Primal Man was begotten by the King of the Paradise of Light 'with the spirit of his right, his five worlds and his twelve elements', in order to repel the onslaught of Satan, the primaeval devil, upon the earth of Light. The Primal Man armed himself with the five elements of the earth of Light: the breeze, the wind, the light, the water, and the fire. Satan arrayed in the five elements of the earth of Darkness—smoke, flame, darkness, the scorching blast, and the cloud —encountered the Primal Man, and after a long conflict overcame him. By his victory he secured possession of portions of the Light and enclosed them within his own elements. Thereupon the King of the Paradise of Light with the other gods intervened, rescued the Primal Man, and defeated darkness. The Spirit of Life summoned the Primal Man with a loud voice from the depths of Hell, and he became another god. Meantime the five elements of Light which had formed the panoply of the Primal Man had mingled with the five elements of Darkness, the panoply of Satan. But the Primal Man, before his apotheosis, had descended to the lowest region of the world of darkness, and cut the roots of the five dark elements so that they could grow no more, and, on his return, had ordered one of the angels to draw the mingled elements towards that side of the earth of Darkness which marched with the earth of Light. Thereupon the king of the earth of Light gave orders to one of his angels to create this present world out of the mingled elements of light and darkness, and so to contrive it that the light should be able to escape out of the darkness.

It is not, for our present purpose, necessary to follow further the exposition of Manichaean doctrine in the *Fihrist*. One or two supplementary points which are found in other sources must be mentioned. According to the *Fihrist* the King of the Paradise of Light begat the

[1] Cumont *Recherches sur le Manichéisme* p. 172: 'Bien que [Mani] a pu faire des emprunts de divers côtés et invoquer même l'Évangile à l'appui de ses théories, un fait essentiel se dégage du commentaire succint que nous avons fait de ses fragments; c'est l'étroite filiation qui rattache la doctrine manichéenne au mazdéisme "chaldaïsant" qui était pratiqué de son temps en Babylonie.'

[2] Flügel *Mani seine Lehre u. seine Schriften* p. 85. This book contains a text and translation of the section of the *Fihrist* which deals with Manichaeism.

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Primal Man 'with the spirit of his right, his five worlds, and his twelve elements'. In the presentation of the system by Theodore Bar-Khouni,[1] it is said that the Father created the Mother of Life, and the Mother of Life the Primal Man. The *Acta Archelai* vii[2] agrees on this point with Theodore. Probably we may identify the 'Mother of Life' of Theodore and the *Acta Archelai* with the obscure 'Spirit of the Right' in the *Fihrist*. Here, again, we have the triad, Father, Mother, Son, and the heavenly Man identified with the Son, as in the Parsee *Dinkard*, in the Gnostic system of Iren. i 27 and, probably, in the original Naassene document behind Hipp. *Ref.* v 1 f. A further point of interest is that some Latin and Greek authorities for Manichee doctrine speak of the Primal Man as ψυχή,[3] thus recalling the identification of Ἀδάμας and ψυχή in the Naassene document, the teaching on ψυχή of the Gnostics attacked by Plotinus, and Julian's interpretation of the myth of Attis. In the *Acta Archelai* ch. vii it is not the Primal Man but his panoply—the five elements of Light—which is called ἡ ψυχή, i.e. the world soul. It seems likely that Manichaeism in Europe tried to commend itself by translating its Oriental mythology into the language of metaphysics. In a similar fashion our western authorities associate the Manichaean σκότος with ὕλη, but 'whether Mani ever attained to the conception of matter may be doubted'.[4]

There are essential differences between Manichaeism and Zoroastrianism: 'the aim of the Zoroastrian is to banish evil from the world; the aim of the Manichaean is to extract from the world that which is good' (Bevan). But there is a strong family likeness between the two faiths. Mani held that Zoroaster, like Buddha and Jesus, was one of the true prophets who had preceded himself.[5] In both faiths we find a Primal Man. The Primal Man of Manichaeism is not, like Gayomard, slain by the power of Evil, and his relationship to the creation is quite differently conceived; but it seems likely that the two conceptions are in some way connected.

Bousset traces the myth of the heavenly Man yet further afield. In the *Rig-Veda* x 90 we have an account of how the gods sacrificed

[1] Pognon *Inscriptions Mandaïtes des coupes de Khouabir* p. 185.

[2] The Greek version of this section is preserved by Epiph. *Adv. Haeres.* II lxvi 25.

[3] Titus of Bostra i 29; Alex. of Lycopolis ch. iii; Aug. *De Ver. Rel.* ch. 9.

[4] Bevan *E. R. E.* art. *Manichaeism* p. 397.

[5] See the quotation from Mani's work *Shâbûrkân* in Albîrûnî's Chronology, trans. Sachau, p. 190. Mani and his disciples appear to have known books which bore the name of Zoroaster, but not the *Avesta*. Cf. Alfaric *Les écritures Manichéennes* ii p. 206: 'Ces livres sont, sans doute, distincts de l'*Avesta*, qui n'offre rien de chrétien ni de Manichéen. Ils doivent se confondre plutôt avec des écrits plus ou moins teintés de gnosticisme que nous voyons attribués au même personnage par des auteurs anciens.'

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Purusha, the Primal Man, and from him created the universe and mankind: 'When born, Purusha extended beyond the earth, both behind and before. When the gods performed a sacrifice with Purusha as the oblation the spring was its butter, the summer its fuel, and the autumn its (accompanying) offering. This victim, Purusha, born in the beginning, they immolated on the sacrificial grass. With him the gods, the Sādhyas, and the rishis sacrificed. . . . When (the gods) divided Purusha, into how many parts did they cut him up? What was his mouth? What arms had he? What (two objects) are said (to have been) his thighs and feet? The Brāhman was his mouth; the Rājanya was made his arms; the being (called) the Vaiśya, he was his thighs; the Súdra sprang from his feet. The moon sprang from his soul, the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth, Vayu from his breath. From his navel arose the air, from his head the sky, from his feet the earth, from his ear the four quarters; in this manner (the gods) formed the worlds.'[1]

This hymn does not belong to the earliest strata of the *Veda*. Thus the caste system is already developed.[2] But it is in any case earlier than the Avesta. Bousset suggests that this hymn embodies a more primitive form of the myth. In the Persian version Gayomard falls a victim to the power of evil: the Indian conception is Pantheistic, and Purusha is sacrificed by the gods themselves. Bousset suspects that the myth is ultimately a *rationale* of human sacrifice practised as a fertility charm, and that it belongs to the religious conceptions of the primitive Indo-Iranian group.[3] He suggests a further comparison with the myth in the Poetic Edda of the dismemberment of the giant Ymir by the gods who create the world out of the various parts of his body,[4] and thinks it possible that the myth is not only Indo-Iranian, but primitive Aryan. Speculations such as these, though by no means valueless, are, and are likely to remain, unverified.

[1] Muir *Sanskrit Texts* (2nd ed.) vol. i p. 9.

[2] This is said to be the only passage in the Veda where castes are referred to.

[3] *op. cit.* p. 211 n. 1.

[4] Poetic Edda *Vafthruthnismol* 20, 21, trans. Bellows:

Othin spake:

First answer me well, if thy wisdom avails,
And thou knowest it, Vafthruthnir, now,
In earliest time, whence came the earth
Or the sky, thou giant sage?

Vafthruthnismol spake:

Out of Ymir's flesh was fashioned the earth,
And the mountains were made of his bones,
The sky from the frost cold giant's skull,
And the ocean out of his blood.

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III.

We turn now to consider whether, as Bousset believes, this Iranian myth of an ante-mundane heavenly Man lies behind the conception of the Son of Man, which appears in the apocalyptic literature of late Judaism and in the Gospels.

Wellhausen has shewn[1] that the Aramaic phrase *barnasha* means simply 'man', and it is possible that in some passages in the Gospels the word originally had merely a generic connotation. 'The Son of Man is lord even of the sabbath day'[2] may mean only that man has authority to override the law of the sabbath. In a number of other passages, however, in the Gospels it is certain that the term 'the Son of Man' is used in a specialized sense of a heavenly Man who is to come with the clouds of heaven to pass judgement upon the world and to inaugurate the age to come. It is not for our present purpose necessary to discuss the question whether Jesus publicly spoke of Himself as Son of Man in this sense, or whether there was an intentional ambiguity in his language, or whether, as Lietzmann, Wellhausen, and Bousset believe, the use of the term by Jesus of Himself is not historical, but was read back into His words by the early Church. It is in any case certain that the Gospels imply a belief that the Son of Man is to come to judge the world, and that this belief is not propounded as a novelty.

The specialized usage of the term Son of Man in the Gospels finds its explanation in the remains of Jewish Apocalyptic literature, and in particular in the Book of Enoch. In the Book of Enoch by God's side there is a quasi-divine being like a man:—

ch. xlvi 1. And there I saw One, who had a head of days,
And His head was white like wool,
And with Him was another being whose countenance had the appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness, like one of the holy angels. (Charles's translation.)

To this being, who is often referred to as 'the Son of Man' or 'that Son of Man', God commits the judgement of the world:—

ch. lxii 2 f. And the Lord of Spirits seated [the Elect One] on the throne of His glory,
And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face,

[1] *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien* p. 123 f. [2] Mark ii 28.

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And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,
And the exalted and those who hold the earth,
And they shall see and recognize
How he sits on the throne of his glory,
And righteousness is judged before him,
And no lying word is spoken before him.
. . . . . .
And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,
And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see that Son of Man,
Sitting on the throne of his glory.

This heavenly Man, who is to judge the world at the end, existed before the creation:—

ch. xlviii 2 f. And at that hour that Son of Man was named
In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,
And his name before the Head of Days.
Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,
Before the stars of heaven were made,
His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.

The heavenly Man appears again in 4 (2) Esdras, but the conception is here markedly different from that in Enoch. Esdras sees in a vision (ch. xiii) the sea blown upon by a wind and from the sea arises a Man who flies with the clouds of heaven; 'and when he turned his countenance to look, all things trembled that were seen under him'. A multitude of men gathers together to make war upon the Man that came out of the sea, whereupon the Man fashions a great mountain, and when he has flown upon it, he breathes out from thence a flood of fire, which consumes the multitude. 'Afterwards I beheld the same man come down from the mountain, and call unto him another multitude which was peaceable.' In the interpretation which follows, the Man is said to be 'he whom the Most High hath kept a great season, which by his own self shall deliver his creation, and he shall order them that are left behind'. He is further spoken of as God's son. The mountain on which he stands is Mount Zion, the multitude that is gathered against him is the Gentile nations, and the peaceable multitude which is received at the end is the lost ten tribes. The Man of 4 Esdras has much in common with the older conception of the Davidic Messiah. Unlike the Son of Man in Enoch, he is manifested *before* the Resurrection and the age to come, and his function is to destroy the heathen, and to reunite the chosen people in the Holy Land. From ch. vii it appears that his kingdom is to last four hundred years, after which he and all that have the breath of life are to die, and the world will be turned into

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the old silence seven days. After this the dead will arise and the Most High will be revealed upon the seat of judgement.

It is generally agreed that both Enoch and 4 Esdras have been influenced by the famous vision of Daniel ch. vii. Daniel sees in a vision the four winds break upon the sea, and four beasts come up in succession from the sea—the first like a lion, the second like a bear, the third like a leopard, and the fourth a beast with ten horns 'diverse from all the beasts that were before it'. Among the horns of this beast there arose another little horn, with eyes like a man's eyes, and a mouth speaking great things. Then Daniel beheld one ancient of days, clothed in white, sitting upon a fiery throne, and before the throne thousand thousands ministered. Because of the words of the little horn, the fourth beast was slain and his body given to be burned. The other beasts were allowed to live on 'for a season and a time', but their dominion was taken from them. Then Daniel 'saw in the night visions, and, behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, and he came even to the ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.' In the interpretation the four beasts are shewn to be four kingdoms, the ten horns of the fourth beast are ten kings, and the little horn another king 'diverse from the former', who 'shall speak words against the Most High'. But judgement shall be passed upon him, and his dominion shall be taken away and granted to the people of the saints of the Most High. It is plain that the being like a man who comes with the clouds symbolizes the people of the Saints.

There are obvious points of contact between the visions both of Enoch and of 4 Esdras and the vision in Daniel, but there are important developements in the later books. In Daniel the heavenly Man is not a personal Messiah or Judge; he is a symbolic figure who represents the kingdom of the Saints. Both in Enoch and in 4 Esdras, on the other hand, the heavenly Man is an individual personality who himself intervenes to judge and to save.

British scholarship, so far as I am aware, has confined itself to noting the dependence of the later visions upon Daniel and to pointing out the developement in the idea of the heavenly Man from the symbolic figure in Daniel. But it seems doubtful if this literary treatment of the problem is adequate. How did the later apocalyptists come by their conception of the heavenly Man? If no such conception was originally implied in Daniel, we must at least recognize and account for the willingness of the later writers to discover it there. There is nothing, as far as

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we know, in the older Judaism which would naturally lead on to such an idea, and there is thus a presumption that the conception entered Judaism from without.[1]

Gressmann,[2] who has forcibly stated the difficulty of the transition from Daniel as ordinarily interpreted to the later apocalyptists proposes a reconsideration of Daniel. He holds that the vision of one like a son of man was no original creation of the author to symbolize the kingdom of the Saints, but that, on the contrary, the figure of the heavenly Man was already given in the religious ideas of the time and was applied by the writer of Daniel to Israel. Gressmann supports his position by urging that the Man coming in the clouds of heaven does not naturally fit into the picture in Daniel. We should expect him to rise like the beasts from the sea, as indeed the Man does in 4 Esdras. The coming with the clouds is satisfactorily accounted for, if we suppose that it was part of the traditional picture of the heavenly Man. If Gressmann's interpretation of Daniel be allowed, the later writers are not so far removed in idea. They no doubt knew Daniel and were influenced by it, but they did not construct their own heavenly Man by an artificial misinterpretation of Daniel vii; they are rather to be thought of as drawing upon and variously developing a widespread mythical idea, which the author of Daniel had already associated with the eschatological hope.

Gressmann believes that the conception of the heavenly Man entered Judaism from without, but he is not prepared to maintain any definite theory as to its sources. Bousset believes it to be derived from the Iranian myth of Gayomard.[3] There is nothing inherently improbable in the suggestion. There are strong reasons for thinking that the belief in the Resurrection, the belief in a personal devil, and the elaborated

[1] Ezekiel xxviii represents the King of Tyre as a glorious being placed in Eden, the garden of God, from which he is expelled for his pride. 'It is probable that it is the history of the first man that floats before Ezekiel's mind. . . . It is not unlikely that he was in possession of traditions regarding Paradise more ample than those in Genesis, or different from them' (Streane *ad loc.*). But Ezekiel's language does not suggest the conception of a heavenly or pre-cosmic Man. The conception of a primaeval Man older than creation has been found in Job xv 7, 8. 'Art thou the first man that was born? Or wast thou brought forth before the hills? Hast thou heard the secret counsel of God? And dost thou restrain wisdom to thyself?' But on the whole it seems easier to suppose that Eliphaz passes on from the thought of the first man to the thought of the creative Wisdom of God. See Driver and Gray *ad loc.*

[2] *Ursprung der Eschatologie* p. 40 f.

[3] Reitzenstein quotes parallels to various features in the picture of the Son of Man in Enoch and 4 Esdras from Mandaean and Manichaean literature. This literature he believes to reproduce conceptions of earlier Persian religion, which had already influenced Judaism before the Christian era, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* p. 121 f.

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doctrine of angels arose in Judaism as a consequence of contact with Persian religion. The conception of the heavenly Man might well be derived from the same source. If this is the case, it must be admitted that Gayomard has been effectively transformed. The Zoroastrian Man falls a victim to the power of evil before the creation of the present world, and is eventually raised from the dead as the firstfruits of the general resurrection, while the apocalyptic Man defeats or pronounces judgement upon the mighty at the end of the world. This transformation may in part be ascribed to the influence of the ancient Hebrew Messianic hope.[1]

It is interesting to compare the heavenly Man of the Apocalyptists with the heavenly Man of a very different Jewish Theologian—the Alexandrine Philo. Philo makes the double narrative in Genesis of the creation of man the starting-point of a distinction between the heavenly and the earthly man (*De Op. mund.* 134f, *Leg. all.* i 134f). The words in Gen. i 26 'Let us make man according to our image' are interpreted of an ideal immaterial man who is sexless and immortal. The εἰκών according to which he is made is the Logos. In *De confus. ling.* 146 Philo goes further and speaks of ὁ κατ' εἰκόνα ἄνθρωπος as being one of the appellations of the Logos himself. The second man, whose creation is narrated in Gen. ii 7 'God fashioned man, having taken dust from the earth, and he breathed into his face the breath of life', is the first historical man. The man of this second creation is a sensible being compounded of body and soul, and endowed with sex. As a visible and sensible being man is mortal, but the divine spirit which is breathed into him is immortal. The conception of the heavenly Man in Philo, as in *Poimandres*, is part and parcel of a whole theory of human nature. Philo, like his successors the early Greek Christian theologians, does not distinguish between λόγος and πνεῦμα.[2] For him, therefore, the spirit which God breathed into the earthly body is no other than the Logos in whose image the heavenly Man was formed. This is the type of thought in which the early Greek Christian theologians worked out their Christology. There is a divine element in every man—the rational soul. This rational soul is akin to, and is a manifestation of the universal Logos. Thus the Logos is the archetype of essential human nature. This Logos, or archetype of the rational soul, became personally incarnate in Jesus Christ.

[1] The Son of Man of Enoch and the Gospels bears a closer resemblance to the Zoroastrian Sôshyans than to Gayomard. Sôshyans is to be born of the seed of Zorathustra at the end of the world order, and to usher in the Resurrection, after which, by order of Aïrharmazd, he assigns to all men the recompense for their deeds. *Bundahis* chh. xxx–xxxii.

[2] See Gfrörer *Philo* p. 229 f.

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The earlier apocalyptic Christology likewise identified Jesus Christ with the heavenly Man. At first sight it would appear as if the belief in Jesus as heavenly Son of Man might readily blend with a Logos Christology, and indeed it is possible that an interpretation of the term Son of Man on these lines was not absent from the mind of the fourth evangelist. He alone of the evangelists brings out the pre-existence of Him who is called Son of Man. 'No man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of Man' (Jn. iii 13). It would seem, therefore, that the fourth evangelist was prepared, like Philo, to identify the heavenly Man with the Logos, and perhaps to suggest that the Logos was archetypal Man. However this may be in St John, the Son of Man had an entirely different connotation in Apocalptic. Here the humanity of the heavenly being is in no way significant. Indeed, the heavenly Man is not really human. He is a divine or angelic being in the form of a man. For Philo, on the contrary, the heavenly Man was not in the form of a human being at all. A human form could only be predicated of that compound of spirit and earth which is the earthly man. On the other hand, the heavenly Man of Philo is the archetype of the truly human, i. e. the rational, element in mankind. The title Son of Man was originally applied to Jesus Christ in its apocalyptic sense, but in course of time the apocalytic connotation was forgotten. With the possible exception of the fourth evangelist, Christian thinkers did not work in the idea with the Logos Christology, and, instead of denoting the supernatural function of the heavenly saviour and judge, the term by a natural misunderstanding came to be generally used of the incarnate, as distinct from the divine pre-existent Christ. Son of Man becomes an antithesis to Son of God. 'For this reason', writes Irenaeus, 'he calls himself Son of Man, because he sums up in himself that original man, from whom is made that creation which is born of woman, in order that, as through the defeat of a man our race went down to death, so again through the victory of a man we might ascend up to life'.[1] Irenaeus reproduces the Pauline doctrine of Christ as the second Adam. This doctrine has nothing to do with the heavenly Man either of Apocalyptic or of Philonic philosophy. Christ is second Adam in virtue of His incarnation. It is not impossible that St Paul actually combats the Philonic doctrine in 1 Cor. xv, where he maintains that the natural man was prior to the spiritual man. 'The first man is of the earth earthy, the second man is from heaven'. Later scribes interpolated the words ὁ Κύριος—'The second man is *the Lord* from heaven'. This gives St Paul's meaning. A heavenly Man would stultify his thought. He requires a divine being who *becomes* the Second Adam. This may be the reason why St Paul avoids the

[1] *Adv. Haer.* v 21. 1 (Harvey).

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term Son of Man, although he accepts the apocalyptic idea. It was too soon for the term to have acquired its specific association with the incarnation, while to speak of Christ as Man without reference to the incarnation would have been confusing.

It will have become clear in the course of this paper that the heavenly Man is no master-key to the mysteries of the history of religion. Historical affiliation between various presentations of the idea can be maintained with varying probability, but the idea itself was vague and lent itself to widely differing schemes of thought. The fundamental Gnostic doctrine of the redemption of a divine element from the hostile world of matter was, in some circles, elaborated in terms of the descent of the heavenly Man into matter and his subsequent redemption. More often, however, the same doctrine was presented in other ways. Usually it is not the Man but Sophia who falls from the heavenly state. Yet even then the conception of the heavenly Man is frequently retained. It was a given element in religious tradition and had to be worked in. Sometimes 'the Man' is the title of the supreme God, sometimes of a subordinate aeon, sometimes of both. In these cases the name seems non-significant. It is not unlikely that the Persian Gayomar*d* was the original of the Gnostic, as of the Manichaean, heavenly Man, but the dualism of Zoroastrianism was moral rather than metaphysical, and we have no evidence that the Zoroastrian Gayomar*d* was ever thought of as descending into an alien material world. If, as some scholars think, the Purusha of the *Rig-Veda* and the Zoroastrian Gayomar*d* derive from an identical Indo-Iranian original, the original idea has been transformed in different ways and has been subordinated to two entirely different philosophies. The Vedas are pantheistic. Purusha is sacrificed by the gods, and becomes the source of gods, of men and of the world. In the Zoroastrian *Bundahi*s Gayomar*d* becomes the source whence mankind springs; but he is the creation of Ahura Mazda; he falls a victim to the Evil Spirit, and is eventually raised from the dead as the firstfruits of the general resurrection. It is conceivable, though it is certainly not established, that the Son of Man of Jewish Apocalyptic is another variant of the Persian Primal Man. If so, we have a further example of the complete transformation of the idea. The Man is now the future judge of mankind and redeemer of the elect. Finally, the term Son of Man enters upon a new history through its association with Jesus Christ. The apocalyptic idea remains: Jesus is to come with the clouds and judge the world. But first He came and lived a human life and gave Himself 'a ransom for many'. 'Son of Man' originally connoted the quasi-divine functions of the judge; later it is used predominantly to express the *human* attributes

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of Him who humbled Himself to become 'the Son of Man'. With what meaning Jesus Himself used the term it is hard to say. It is an attractive theory that He used it with studied ambiguity.

J. M. CREED.

A CRY FROM THE SIEGE: A SUGGESTION REGARDING A NON-MARCAN ORACLE EMBEDDED IN LK. XXI 20–36.

NEW TESTAMENT scholarship during the past half century has shewn a refreshing tendency to escape the trammels of traditionalism in method and outlook. But, while considerable progress can be registered, problems still remain which defy solution from the lack of readiness to approach them from a new point of view. Such a problem, I believe, is the origin of the very interesting oracle contained in Lk. xxi 20–36 ('But when ye see Jerusalem compassed with armies &c.').

It is the accepted opinion that Lk. xxi is no more than an editorial version of Mk. xiii; so much so that as a rule the question is hardly thought worth discussing. 'These sayings', writes Dr Burkitt, in reference to the Lucan Discourse, 'are nothing more than Luke's version of Mk. xiii 3–37.'[1] This statement is repeatedly made in a valuable chapter in *The Beginnings of Christianity* (Pt. i vol. ii pp. 106 ff), where Dr Burkitt examines Lk. xxi 7–36 for the purpose of throwing light on the historical value of the speeches in Acts. His argument is that, while the style of Lk. xxi 7–36 is characteristically Lucan, the passage is none the less a version of Mk. xiii, and is thus 'a measure of the general faithfulness of "Luke" to his sources, and of the confidence which we may reasonably place in his reports of speeches in his second volume' (p. 115).

Now it is indisputable that St Luke has used Mark in the construction of Lk. xxi, but that the Lucan Discourse is simply an editorial version of Mk. xiii seems to me to be doubtful in the extreme in the light of facts which will be detailed in the present essay. I should not doubt that Lk. xxi 5–11, the first part of the Discourse, is a version of Mk. xiii 1–8. Regarding the second part, Lk. xxi 12–19 ('Warnings as to Persecution'), the issue is more uncertain. The third part, Lk. xxi 20–36 ('The Oracle relating to the Siege'), is the section I propose to examine here, and the conclusion to which the evidence seems to point is that this passage contains a fragment from a non-Marcan oracle, which was penned during the years A. D. 67–69, and which was subsequently enlarged by Marcan additions or insertions.

[1] See the chapter on 'The Use of Mark in the Gospel according to Luke' in *The Beginnings of Christianity* Pt. i vol. ii p. 108. See also pp. 113. 115.

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The first step in approaching such a problem is to compare the language of Lk. xxi 20–36 with that of Mk. xiii 14–37. Such tests do not settle anything, but they are valuable because they raise questions and act as sign-posts. The percentage of words in Lk. xxi 20–36 which are also common to Mark is 37·4 per cent. This percentage is not, of course, a high one, when we remember that in the body of the Gospel passages based on Mark frequently reproduce more than 50 per cent. of Mark's words. If, however, we could say no more than this, it would be a sufficient explanation of the Lucan Discourse to say that it is a free rendering of Mk. xiii 14–37. But we have not yet made a full statement of the case. Any one who will take the trouble to underline every word in Lk. xxi 20–36, which also occurs in the parallel section in Mark, will be astonished at their *distribution*. They are not distributed regularly, nor even with fair regularity. On the contrary, they are massed in four passages, which together form but one-third of Lk. xxi 20–36. No less than 88 (or 81 per cent.) of the 108 words in these four passages are found in Mark. The remaining two-thirds stands out in striking contrast. It includes 178 words, of which 19 only (10·6 per cent.) are common to Mark.

Striking as the above statistics are, they would not carry us very far if they stood alone. They are at least sufficient to raise a question, even if they are inadequate to answer it. Is the substance of Lk. xxi 20–36 a non-Marcan source to which Marcan passages have been added, or do these passages constitute a framework to which the Evangelist has attached matter peculiar to himself?

The four passages in question are as follows:—

Lk. xxi 21 *a* = Mk. xiii 14 *b*.
Lk. xxi 23 *a* = Mk. xiii 17.
Lk. xxi 26 *b*, 27 = Mk. xiii 25 *b*, 26.
Lk. xxi 29–33 = Mk. xiii 28–31.

In order to determine their relation to the Lucan Discourse, several questions need to be considered. Do they form an integral part of the Discourse, or have they at least the appearance of insertions? Does the remainder of Lk. xxi 20–36 possess a unity of its own? How do the four passages stand in relation to Mk. xiii, and what opinion can we form of such parts of Mk. xiii as St Luke has demonstrably passed by? When these tests have been applied, there remains a fourth which is of very great importance. Any solution we can reach must be tested by its ability to furnish a credible account of the literary genesis of the entire passage Lk. xxi 20–36. It is more than likely that any results we can reach must inevitably contain a certain amount of speculation. We can guard ourselves against the obvious perils only by being alive to

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this fact, and by approaching the problem from as many points of view as possible.

(1) *The Relation of the Marcan passages in Lk. xxi 20–36 to their present context.*

It will be found, I believe, that if the four passages mentioned above are viewed in relation to their context, the relationship is anything but close, and indeed that, with their omission, as good if not a better connexion of thought is obtained. Critics have very rightly been warned against this argument when it stands by itself. In the case under consideration, however, the four passages referred to are those which have most in common with Mark, while their Lucan context shares scarcely any linguistic features with that Gospel. Under such conditions looseness of connexion is an important phenomenon. As an illustration of what we have in mind Lk. xxi 29–33 may be considered. There can be no doubt of the Marcan origin of this passage (The Parable of the Ripening Fig Tree). The percentage of words found also in Mark is 71. Its form distinctly suggests that it is an insertion in its present context. In favour of this view, the abrupt way in which the passage is introduced should be noted. The words, 'And he spake to them a parable' (absent in Mark), appear to betray the hand of a redactor, an opinion which is strengthened by the excellent connexion of thought which exists between verse 28 and verses 34–36.

'But when these things begin to come to pass,
look up, and lift up your heads;
because your redemption draweth nigh.
But take heed to yourselves . . .'

(2) *The Unity of the non-Marcan portions of Lk. xxi 20–36.*

Each of the four Marcan passages is easily detachable from its present context, and in some cases with a consequent improvement in the sequence of thought. Thus the further question arises, What is the nature of the material that is left when these passages are omitted? Does it consist of a number of disconnected fragments, or are we left with a section which possesses a unity of its own? This question can only be answered by printing Lk. xxi 20, 21 *b*, 22, 23 *b*–26 *a*, 28, 34–36 as a continuous passage.

'(But when ye see) Jerusalem compassed with armies,
(then know that her desolation is at hand).
And let them that are in the midst of her depart out;
and let not them that are in the country enter therein.
For these are days of vengeance,
that all things which are written may be fulfilled.

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For there shall be great distress upon the land,
and wrath unto this people.
And they shall fall by the edge of the sword,
and shall be led captive unto all the nations:
and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles,
until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.
And there shall be signs in sun and moon and stars;
and upon the earth distress of nations,
in perplexity for the roaring of the sea and the billows;
men fainting for fear, and for expectation of the things which are coming on the world.
But when these things begin to come to pass,
look up, and lift up your heads;
because your redemption draweth nigh.
But take heed to yourselves,
lest haply your hearts be overcharged
with surfeiting, and drunkenness, and cares of this life,
and that day come upon you suddenly as a snare:
for so shall it come upon all them that dwell on the face of all the earth.
But watch ye at every season, making supplication,
that ye may prevail to escape all these things that shall come to pass,
and to stand before the Son of man.'

It will be seen from the above that the resultant matter is not a patchwork or mosaic, but a well articulated whole. Only nineteen words in the above passage occur in the parallel sections of Mk. xiii. The only phrases which seem due to Mark are the reference to 'desolation' (ἐρήμωσις) in the second line, and possibly the opening conventional phrase, 'But when ye see'; and, if it is necessary, these can be regarded as editorial touches, made by the Third Evangelist under the influence of Mark at the time when he gave final form and shape to his Gospel. For the rest, the passage has a unity and movement of thought which finds its climax in the enigmatic reference to the day of the Son of man, which is held back until the end.

(3) *Mk. xiii as used and neglected by the Third Evangelist.*

In contrast with the unity of the section displayed above, the fragmentary character of the four Marcan passages (Lk. xxi 21*a*, 23*a*, 26*b*–27, 29–33) will be manifest on examination. In no way constituting the framework of Mk. xiii 14–37, these passages have the appearance of 'extracts'. The first is a counsel regarding flight, the second a cry of anguish, the third a prophecy of the appearance of the Son of Man, the fourth a parable which teaches the imminence of the Parousia. If it is still contended that these passages do not represent the whole of St Luke's debt to Mark, the answer is immediately to hand. What use

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of a source is implied when 'extracts' are reproduced practically verbatim, while the body of the source supplies the most meagre linguistic parallels? It is not as if we can explain the 'extracts' as material carried over by some trick of memory; they are so closely reproduced as to imply immediate reference to Mark. The natural presumption is that Mark is used as a secondary source, as a supplement and not as a foundation.

This opinion receives further confirmation when we consider those parts of the Marcan Discourse which the Third Evangelist has undoubtedly passed by. Some of these passages have been ignored because parallel sayings from Q have been given in other parts of the Third Gospel (e.g. Mk. xiii 15 f, 21, 34, 35, 36). But distinct from these is a series of Markan passages which must be considered together.

(*a*) Mk. xiii 19, 20: 'For those days shall be tribulation, such as there hath not been the like from the beginning of the creation. . . . And except the Lord had shortened the days, no flesh would have been saved; but for the elect's sake, whom he chose, he shortened the days.'

(*b*) Mk. xiii 22, 23: 'For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall shew signs and wonders, that they may lead astray, if possible, the elect. But take ye heed: behold, I have told you all things beforehand.'

(*c*) Mk. xiii 27: 'And then shall he send forth the angels, and shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from the uttermost part of the earth to the uttermost part of heaven.'

(*d*) Mk. xiii 32, 33: 'But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father. Take ye heed, watch (and pray): for ye know not when the time is.'

How similar the subject-matter of these passages is will be seen at a glance. All refer to a divine visitation of a distinct apocalyptic character. The visitation is one of judgement. Only because of the elect's sake has universal destruction been averted. On their account a measure of mercy is extended to all flesh in the shortening of the days. The elect themselves have need to be on their guard lest they should be deceived by false Messiahs and prophets. But, though watchfulness is necessary, the elect need not fear. In the hour of His wrath the Son of man will not forget His chosen ones. He will send forth His angels and gather them from the four winds. Meanwhile the time of the Parousia is hidden; neither the angels nor the Son Himself know the day and the hour, but the Father only. Ignorant of the time, the elect are to be always ready.

It will be seen that these passages form a compact body of thought, which gives definite tone and meaning to the Marcan Discourse.

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These verses are not fringes and cuttings; they are of the very pattern of the Marcan fabric; they make it what it is. Why, then, has St Luke entirely neglected them? Is his procedure consistent with the use of Mark as a principal source? In part, we may explain the omissions by St Luke's apparent distaste for apocalyptic; his sympathies, it may be thought, lay in another direction. It may be doubted, however, if this is a sufficient explanation. In *The Lord of Thought* Mr C. W. Emmet, after detailed consideration of the evidence, committed himself to the thesis that St Luke does not eliminate the eschatology of his sources. It must be confessed that one finds it very difficult to agree with this view, if Mark is St Luke's principal source in Lk. xxi. Mr Emmet's position is, nevertheless, supported by St Luke's procedure elsewhere in his Gospel (ix 26, xvii 22–37, xxii 69) and in the Acts (i 11, ii 17 ff, iii 19 ff), and, so far as this thesis is valid, it strengthens our doubts as to the Evangelist's debt to Mark in Lk. xxi 20–36. If, then, we cannot adequately explain St Luke's neglect of vital parts of Mk. xiii by his distaste for apocalyptic, we must seek a solution elsewhere; and such a solution naturally presents itself in the view that the Third Evangelist is using more sources than one. In Lk. xxi 20–36 he is using a non-Marcan source, eschatological it is true, but less objectively so than Mk. xiii 14–37, and it is the superior attractions of this source which account for his neglect of St Mark's references to the elect, the shortening of the days, the angel-harvesters, the secret day and hour. Mark is the supplementary source, not the foundation document. Such a view does justice both to what St Luke has taken and to what he has left, and is consonant with the impressions we receive from his works regarding his use of sources.

(4) *The Literary Genesis of Lk. xxi 20–36.*

If we are to accept the above theory, we now require to be able to form for ourselves a credible picture of the conditions out of which Lk. xxi 20–36 has arisen. That such an attempt must be speculative, and therefore provisional, goes without saying; but the use of imagination, controlled by the available data, ought not in these days to require defence, even in relation to Synoptic problems. To force a theory of editorial manipulation upon Synoptic material is a monstrosity; to suggest a way in which sources, laid bare by critical investigation, may well have been employed is a consummation devoutly to be wished.

In attempting this task, we must first remind ourselves of what criticism has said regarding the origin of Mk. xiii. It is now sixty years since the theory of a special written source, embodied in Mk. xiii, was first put forward by Colani. The theory has steadily gained ground.

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It has not been universally accepted, though Moffatt has described it as a '*sententia recepta* of Synoptic criticism'. The importance of the 'small apocalypse theory' for our special purpose is the light which it throws on the period preceding and following the Fall of Jerusalem in A. D. 70. This was a period of intense excitement, during which Jewish Christians must have looked eagerly for sayings of Jesus which, in the hour of political upheaval, should guide conduct and answer the obstinate questionings of the mind. It is difficult to suppose that the 'fly-leaf' embedded in Mk. xiii was the only literary production of the kind, and it may well be that Lk. xxi 20–36 rests upon a similar oracle. The progress of half a century of criticism in relation to the New Testament Apocalypse enables us to attain to something more than mere conjecture. It is not to be expected that critics like Erbes, Spitta, Wellhausen, J. Weiss, Bossuet, Moffatt, and R. H. Charles should be at one in respect of details, or even in more important matters relating to the delineation of sources. Their agreement, nevertheless, in the broad thesis that sources, Jewish and Jewish Christian, underlie the Apocalypse, is too solid to be dismissed; and, for our immediate purpose, it is the more important because some of these sources belong to the period preceding the tragedy of A. D. 70. Thus, we have reason to think of the time as one of considerable literary activity. It follows that the common assumption that Lk. xxi 20–36 is but an editorial version of Mk. xiii 14–37 is anything but necessary; the Lucan Discourse may be viewed as containing an independent oracle.

We cannot be surprised that the contents of Lk. xxi 20–36 are at once simpler and more direct than the confused forebodings of Mk. xiii. In Luke the siege is in actual progress or in immediate retrospect. Everything turns upon the significance of this great event. The siege is looked upon as an upheaval which carries with it all else. Its significance is looked upon as Christian as well as Jewish; it is not alone a signal act of divine judgement in the destruction of the city, and the subjection of its people; it is the inauguration of a new epoch, the coming of 'the times of the Gentiles'. As such it sends a thrill throughout the whole world, nature itself throbbing in sympathy with distracted man. A note almost hysterical sounds in the description of men fainting for fear and for expectation of further impending woes. Against such a background of terror and despair the Christian is the one man who can lift up his head. For him destruction is the pathway of a redeeming God. A great day is at hand for which Christ's followers must watch and pray. Nothing is said of that day except that it will come suddenly as a snare. Only at the end, in the reference to prayer for strength to stand before the Son of man, do we find the allusion which stamps this day as the day of the Son of man. In

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the absence, in this non-Marcan source, of any reference to a dramatic, spectacular intervention, such as characterizes popular apocalyptic thought and appears in Mk. xiii, we can only think of the coming contemplated as a coming in history, as the wrath of the Son of man in the destruction of the Jewish State, the death of the old and the birth of the new.

If such be the nature of the oracle lying behind Lk. xxi, the question will be asked, *Why did St Luke find it necessary to expand it? What explanation can we give of the 'Marcan additions'?* The answer to this question must be found in the attention which must have been aroused in the Evangelist's mind by Mk. xiii 14–37. At once vaguer and more objective, this oracle must have awakened interest and provoked reflection. We must remember that the phrase 'the abomination of desolation' (Mk. xiii 14) does not necessarily refer, and probably was not intended by the writer to refer to the Fall of Jerusalem. Dr Burkitt is probably right in claiming that the Marcan saying 'implies some general apocalyptic catastrophe rather than so mundane and secular an affair as a Roman campaign' (*The Beginnings of Christianity* Pt. i vol. ii p. 114). Nevertheless, we can easily understand how St Luke, under the influence of such a source as that which appears to lie behind Lk. xxi 20–36, to say nothing of the Fall itself, came to identify the reference to 'the abomination of desolation' with the ruin of the city. Such an inference would at once stamp Mk. xiii 14–37 as in some sense a parallel source to that which he already possessed. There would be passages in Mark, we may suppose, which St Luke would view with little favour, while other passages again would commend themselves as valuable additions to his existing original. We may account in this way for such additions as the reference to 'desolation' in Lk. xxi 20, and the mention of the flight to the mountains in Lk. xxi 21. The pathetic reference to those with child and to those suckling children, Lk. xxi 23 *a*, echoing as it does Old Testament prophetic language, appealed to him as an added detail depicting the horrors of the siege. From the same point of view we can explain the omission of the references to the shortening of the days and the sending forth of the angels to gather the elect from the four winds (Mk. xiii 20, 27). These are apocalyptic details which did not readily relate themselves to the destruction of the city. The borrowing of the Marcan parable of the Ripening Fig Tree (Lk. xxi 29–33) is explained by St Luke's evident love for parabolic matter, and by its complete relevance to the drift of his original source. The same may also be said of the suitability of the Marcan sayings about the certainty of the approach of the kingdom, and the conviction that Christ's words will not fail (Lk. xxi 32 f = Mk. xiii 30 f). We have finally to consider the reference to the coming of the Son of man taken from Mk. xiii 25 *b*,

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26. It is evident that this element has imposed on Lk. xxi 20–36 an apocalyptic character very much in excess of that which the non-Marcan source possessed. The latter does speak of the coming of the Son, but it is a coming in history, a visitation in the order of God's providential government. We can only say that it is the undefined, not to say enigmatic character of this thought, as it occurred in his original source, together with the exhortation to 'look up' in view of the coming deliverance (Lk. xxi 28), which led the Evangelist to take this vivid passage from Mark. Upon the mystical and half-poetical conception of the Parousia as it appeared in St Luke's non-Marcan source there has been imposed the more objective presentation in Mk. xiii 25 *b*, 26.

I should be the last to claim that the account given above of the literary genesis of Lk. xxi 20–36 is, in all its details, a correct version of the Evangelist's procedure. So ambitious a claim would be vain, in view of the obviously narrow limits within which we can track the path of an ancient writer's literary methods. As supplying in outline an account of what St Luke's procedure may well have been the attempt has been made, because in default of a rational explanation of source-usage our theories remain very much in the air. That a straightforward account of the use of two sources, Marcan and non-Marcan, is possible strengthens our belief in their existence as revealed in our investigation.

The bearing of the theory outlined in the present essay upon the question of St Luke's use and estimate of Mark seems to me to be important. It is connected with some of the problems which arise in Canon Streeter's Proto-Luke Theory which was first presented in the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1921. In view of its late date, it is doubtful if the primary source on which Lk. xxi rests can be claimed for the Proto-Luke document; none the less, our investigation has revealed phenomena in the Lucan Discourse very similar to those on which Canon Streeter's hypothesis depends.[1] Mark is used as a secondary authority, and is used to fill up the deficiencies of a non-Marcan foundation.

VINCENT TAYLOR.

[1] I may perhaps be permitted to refer to my earlier article on 'Proto-Luke' in the *Expository Times* for March, 1922, in which I have sought to prove for the Lucan Passion narrative a theory similar to that which is here presented in the case of the Eschatological Discourse. The announcement of the publication of Canon Streeter's work, *The Four Gospels*, awakens the expectation of the fuller discussion of a theory which I believe will furnish a key to many of the problems of the Third Gospel.

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MARCAN USAGE: NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL, ON THE SECOND GOSPEL

(*continued*).

IV. *Parenthetical clauses in Mark.*

ANCIENT manuscripts were written without signs of punctuation or even of interrogation. In the hands of a master of the Greek language its highly developed structure and its numerous particles made punctuation to a large extent superfluous, and enabled any intelligent reader to punctuate for himself as he read. But St Mark was not a master of the Greek language: and his fondness for brief co-ordinate clauses, not helped out by appropriate particles, often leaves us in doubt whether, for instance, we should read a clause interrogatively or not. Take a simple case, where both Matthew and Luke already felt the difficulty, and took care to insert words to shew which interpretation they adopted —and, in fact, one interpreted one way, and one the other: xvi 6 *μὴ ἐκθαμβεῖσθε | Ἰησοῦν ζητεῖτε τὸν Ναζαρηνὸν τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον | ἠγέρθη | οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε*. Here the second clause can be punctuated either as a statement of fact (with Vulgate, A.V., R.V., and Westcott-Hort) 'Ye seek Jesus the Nazarene the Crucified', or as a question 'Are you seeking Jesus the Nazarene the Crucified?': and Matthew by prefixing the words *οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι* shews that he takes the former view, while Luke, writing *τί ζητεῖτε*, shews us as clearly that he takes the latter.[1]

The present note envisages a special group of cases where St Mark employs parenthetical clauses, and a modern writer or printer would place these within dashes or brackets. In some cases the parenthesis is so brief and so obvious that no real difficulty arises. If in vii 2 Mark writes *κοιναῖς χερσίν, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀνίπτοις, ἐσθίουσιν τοὺς ἄρτους*, 'they eat their bread with defiled, i. e. unwashed, hands', we understand of course that the Pharisees used the Aramaic equivalent of *κοινός* 'defiled' and that the Evangelist explains to his Gentile readers in what the defilement consisted. But in many more cases, as I think, Mark has made use of this expedient in a way which has misled scribes or commentators or both. The process of my argument would be more cogent and more logical if the clearer cases were cited first, and advance was then made from the more to the less certain. But convenience of reference appears to dictate the simpler course of taking the passages in the order of the Gospel.

[1] For a similar difficulty as to the second of three clauses see Mark i 24.

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1. Mark i 1–4 Ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ υἱοῦ θεοῦ (καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἡσαίᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ Ἰδοὺ . . . τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ) ἐγένετο Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Here the *text* of Westcott-Hort (apart from the insertion of the words υἱοῦ θεοῦ, which do not concern the problem before us) is followed, but not their *punctuation*. Westcott-Hort place a full stop before καθὼς γέγραπται, and a comma after αὐτοῦ: Swete prints a full-stop in both places; Tischendorf a comma before καθώς, a full-stop after αὐτοῦ. Wellhausen wants to remove the whole of the quotation (verses 2 and 3) as not genuine, but retains the full-stop after verse 1. And in general modern exegetes are more or less agreed in segregating verse 1 as a sort of title,[1] though it is hard to see what real meaning ἀρχή has on this supposition.

But ancient exegetes had at least this advantage over modern, that they were accustomed to read unpunctuated Greek MSS, and therefore in problems of this sort especial weight attaches to their interpretation. We have only to remember how the true meaning of Mark vii 19 (no. 10 below) was rescued by Field from Origen and Chrysostom (to whom Burgon added Gregory Thaumaturgus) where modern interpreters had been baffled, and we shall be prepared on the present problem to listen respectfully to Origen, Basil, and Victor of Antioch. The two latter are quoted by Swete: Basil *c. Eunomium* ii 15 ὁ δὲ Μᾶρκος ἀρχὴν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τὸ Ἰωάννου πεποίηκε κήρυγμα, Victor Ἰωάννην οὖν τελευταῖον τῶν προφητῶν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου φησίν. And Origen should, I believe, be cited on the same side: *in Jo.* i 13 ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου . . . ἤτοι πᾶσά ἐστιν ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, τύπου αὐτῆς ὄντος Ἰωάννου, ἢ . . . τὰ τέλη τῆς παλαιᾶς διὰ Ἰωάννου παριστάμενα, and a few lines further on ὅθεν θαυμάζειν μοι ἔπεισι πῶς δυσὶ θεοῖς προσάπτουσιν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς διαθήκας οἱ ἑτερόδοξοι, οὐκ ἔλαττον καὶ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ῥητοῦ ἐλεγχόμενοι. πῶς γὰρ δύναται ἀρχὴ εἶναι τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (ὡς αὐτοὶ οἴονται ἑτέρου τυγχάνων θεοῦ) Ἰωάννης, ὁ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ ἄνθρωπος; (Brooke i 17. 26, 18. 2). Place then verses 2 and 3 within brackets as a parenthesis, and construct ἀρχὴ with ἐγένετο. 'The beginning of the proclamation of good news about Jesus as Messiah and Son of God, was John the Baptizer's preaching in the wilderness of a baptism of repentance for remission of sins.'

2. ii 10, 11 ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (λέγει τῷ παραλυτικῷ) Σοὶ λέγω, ἔγειρε.

The parenthesis is so obvious that it is retained with practically no change by both Matthew and Luke. We could express it in English '(he turns to the paralytic)'.

[1] Lagrange *Évangile selon Saint Marc* ad loc. cites Zahn, Nestle, J. Weiss, on this side.

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3. ii 15, 16 *καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ—ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοί, καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ—καὶ οἱ γραμματεῖς τῶν Φαρισαίων ἰδόντες ὅτι ἐσθίει μετὰ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ τελωνῶν . . .*

The words within dashes are, I am sure, to be taken as strictly parenthetical: if they were removed altogether the main emphasis would remain unaltered—'Many "publicans and sinners"[1] sat at table with Jesus and his disciples, and the Pharisee scribes seeing that Jesus was eating with them . . .', or, as in the logical order we might put it, 'And the Pharisee scribes, seeing that many "publicans and sinners" were at the dinner with Jesus and his disciples, and that he ate freely with them . . .' The parenthesis has nothing to do with the *τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοί*. We have no reason to suppose that large numbers of revenue collectors deserted their employment to follow our Lord, nor is there anything in the rest of the Gospel to suggest it. What St Mark really does here is to lay stress on the mention, for the first time, of the word 'disciples'. Before this we have only heard from him of the call of Peter and Andrew, James and John, and perhaps of a growing company in the 'Simon and his friends' of i 36. Now in ii 15 he reminds us by the way that already a considerable body of followers had gathered round Jesus and accompanied him wherever he went: *μαθηταί* is the noun to be supplied with *ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοί*. Weiss and Loisy interpret correctly: Lagrange and Swete are on the other side. Wellhausen gives two alternative explanations, but misses the true one.

4. ii 22 *καὶ οὐδεὶς βάλλει οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς παλαιοὺς—εἰ δὲ μή, ῥήξει ὁ οἶνος τοὺς ἀσκούς, καὶ ὁ οἶνος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί—ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινούς.*

The arrangement above given (which is that adopted by Swete) is the only possible one if the last six words are genuine. They are omitted by D and many Old Latin MSS (not *e*, which borrows the full form of the verse from Matthew), but the agreement of Matthew and Luke in giving exactly these six words in common, while they provide different forms of *βάλλω* to complete the construction, is a strong argument for their genuineness in Mark. ℵ B, therefore, should be followed against the rest: and if *εἰ δὲ μή . . . οἱ ἀσκοί* is printed as a parenthesis, there is no real difficulty about the construction. But Matthew and Luke, not recognizing or not liking the parenthesis, give the final clause a construction of its own with *βάλλει* (Matthew) or *βλητέον* (Luke).

5. ii 26*b* *καὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τῆς προθέσεως ἔφαγεν (οὓς οὐκ ἔξεστιν φαγεῖν εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς) καὶ ἔδωκεν καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ οὖσιν.*

The case for parenthesis is less certain here, but I believe that the

[1] I do not enter here into the meaning of *ἁμαρτωλοί*, which requires treatment by itself: I hope later on to devote a section of these Notes to lexical usage.

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words 'which only the priests are allowed to eat' is an addition by Peter or Mark to make it clear to Gentile hearers or readers in what way the instance of David and his company afforded parallel and justification for the action of Jesus and his disciples. It looks, at any rate, as if Luke felt that there was something wrong with the Marcan passage, for he transposes the words treated above as parenthetical to the end of the sentence. If they were not parenthetical, that was the natural thing to do.

Commentators have perhaps not sufficiently realized Mark's habit of introducing explanations for those unfamiliar with the details of Jewish customs, see vii 2; vii 3, 4; vii 26 *a*; xiv 36: compare the note introduced by him in xiii 14.

6. iii 22–30.

It would be misleading to print so long a passage as parenthetical: yet we lose something if the direct connexion of verse 21 with verse 31 escapes our notice. It would seem as though the Evangelist, after he has begun to tell us of the charge about our Lord that he was out of his senses, diverged to put on record the much graver charge that he was possessed by Beelzebub, and then, having dealt with that, recurs to the story he was beginning to tell and goes on to finish it. A similar case is that of the two verses viii 14, 16, which are directly connected with one another, though there it is only a single verse which intervenes. And possibly the same sort of consideration will help to unravel the complicated connexions of ix 33–50, where verses 37 and 42 are the necessary complement to one another.

7. vi 14, 15 *καὶ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης (φανερὸν γὰρ ἐγένετο τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτίζων ἐγήγερται ἐκ νεκρῶν . . . ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι Ἠλείας ἐστίν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι προφήτης ὡς εἷς τῶν προφητῶν)· ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ἡρῴδης ἔλεγεν Ὃν ἐγὼ ἀπεκεφάλισα Ἰωάννην, οὗτος ἠγέρθη.*

Here *ἀκούσας ὁ Ἡρῴδης* is simply resumptive of *ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρῴδης*, 'Herod then, on hearing about Jesus, said'. The parenthetical arrangement assumes that *ἔλεγον* is the right reading in verse 14, not *ἔλεγεν*,[1] for the parenthesis gives the vivid popular interest in the personality of Jesus of Nazareth as the reason for his fame coming to Herod's ears.

The whole passage vi 17–29 is parenthetical in the sense that the story of the martyrdom of John the Baptist is inserted here out of its historical place. All that belongs to the period at which St Mark's narrative has arrived is just Herod's knowledge about Jesus. And perhaps it is one of the curious links that connect the Fourth Gospel with the Second, that we learn in John vi 15 (cf. Mark vi 31 *b*, 33) that

[1] See *J. T. S.* July 1924 pp. 380, 381.

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there was at this time a movement, such as might naturally attract 'King' Herod's attention, to make Jesus king.

8. vii 2 *ἰδόντες τινὰς τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ὅτι κοιναῖς χερσὶν (τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀνίπτοις) ἐσθίουσιν τοὺς ἄρτους . . .*

κοινός in the sense of 'unclean' does not occur elsewhere in the Gospels: but it is used throughout the story of St Peter and Cornelius in Acts x–xi, being there combined with *ἀκάθαρτος*. The usage is technical and Jewish, and Mark explains to his Gentile readers that it means in this case 'unwashed'. Presumably St Peter in relating the story had employed the word and intended to represent by it the actual phraseology in Aramaic employed by the Pharisees. The interpretation being editorial would best be put within brackets: cf. nos. **5** (ii 26 *b*), **9** (vii 3, 4), **11** (vii 26 *a*), **16** (xiii 14) and probably **17** (xiv 36).

From **8** to **12** inclusive there are no parallels in Luke.

9. vii 3, 4 *οἱ γὰρ Φαρισαῖοι . . . ξεστῶν καὶ χαλκίων [καὶ κλινῶν]*.

The editors rightly print these verses within dashes: the Evangelist remembers that his readers would hardly understand the religious value set by the Pharisees on such an observance as washing the hands before meals, unless he correlated it with their general attitude to other similar purifications. Matthew discards the explanation: what was necessary for Gentile readers in Rome was unnecessary in Palestinian circles.

10. vii 18, 19 *καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσύνετοί ἐστε; οὐ νοεῖτε ὅτι πᾶν τὸ ἔξωθεν . . . ἐκπορεύεται; καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα.*

A very interesting example, for it shews how the Greek fathers may be better guides to the intelligent reading of the Gospels than the best equipped modern critics. Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Chrysostom saw that *καθαρίζων* (the reading is quite certain, though later scribes attempted to make it more grammatical, as they thought, by changing it to the neuter) goes back to the beginning of the sentence, and means that Christ when he said this 'cleansed all meats': and we owe to Dr Field *Otium Norvicense* iii (= *Notes on the Translation of the New Testament* p. 31) and to Dean Burgon (*Last Twelve Verses of St Mark* p. 179 note *u*) the recovery of the true exegesis from the patristic comments. Wellhausen *ad loc.* still takes *καθαρίζων* with *τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα*! Loisy (*Les Évangiles Synoptiques* p. 965) is acquainted with the recovered interpretation, but thinks that if it is correct it can only be treated as a gloss, seeing that it 'interrupts the thread of the argument too unskilfully to be original'. But I do not think that any one who studies the series here enumerated of parentheses in the Second Gospel will accept the suggestion that unskilful interruption of the context is decisive against genuineness. If the parentheses were wholly normal and intelligible, the other Synoptists would not have got rid of them so consistently.

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11. vii 25, 26 *a* *ἀκούσασα γυνὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ἧς εἶχεν τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς πνεῦμα ἀκάθαρτον, ἐλθοῦσα προσέπεσεν πρὸς τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ (ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἦν Ἑλληνίς, Συροφοινίκισσα τῷ γένει) καὶ ἠρώτα αὐτὸν . . .*

Mark reflects as he writes that the sequel of the story will be unintelligible if he does not explain that the woman was not a Jewess either by race or religion, but on the contrary a Syrophenician in the one respect, a heathen in the other.[1] Matthew reduces the statement to the single word 'a Canaanite'—which by itself implied both things to those for whom he wrote—and put it at its logical place in the forefront of the story.

12. viii 14–17 *καὶ ἐπελάθοντο λαβεῖν ἄρτους, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἕνα ἄρτον οὐκ εἶχον μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ. (καὶ διεστέλλετο αὐτοῖς λέγων Ὁρᾶτε, βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ τῆς ζύμης Ηρῴδου). καὶ διελογίζοντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχουσιν. καὶ γνοὺς λέγει αὐτοῖς Τί διαλογίζεσθε ὅτι ἄρτους οὐκ ἔχετε; οὔπω νοεῖτε οὐδὲ συνίετε;*

If the bracketed words are omitted from the sequence of the argument, everything seems plain sailing: and whatever explanation we give of the words in question, it can hardly be doubtful that our Lord's meaning, as reported in this Gospel, is that his disciples shewed grievous want of perception in not recognizing, after the miracles of the multiplication of the loaves, that their Master had at command a power from God to provide, if need were, their necessary food. This straightforward sequence of thought is broken by one intrusive verse. It is not an interpolation: the substance of it is present in the Matthaean parallel, and *διαστέλλομαι* is a characteristically Marcan word, never found in the other Gospels apart from a single passage, and that a doubtful one, in Matthew (xvi 20); Marcan, too, is the combination 'Pharisees and Herod'. The parallels give us no help: Matthew follows Mark closely. Luke omits the whole passage. But Luke, though he omits the passage, does give in quite another context (xii 1) the single verse 'Beware for yourselves of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy'. He may of course have borrowed it from this passage: it is more likely that it was in Q. Anyhow it seems that the context of 'bread' must have reminded St Mark of the saying about the leaven of the Pharisees and Herod, and he inserted it here, though strictly speaking it was foreign to the context. In other words, it must be regarded as a parenthesis, an extreme example of Mark's naïve and non-logical construction of his narrative. A modern writer would have put it in a note at the foot of

[1] I feel sure that St Mark means by *Ἑλληνίς* not 'Greek-speaking' (as Swete) but 'heathen', and I think that Matthew so understood him when he substituted for *Ἑλληνὶς Συροφοινίκισσα τῷ γένει* the single word *Χαναναία*. If Mark had meant 'Greek by language, Phoenician by race', he must have added something like *τῇ γλώσσῃ*. The normal meaning of *Ἕλλην* in N.T. is 'pagan', and that is precisely the sense needed to lead up to the contrast between 'children' and 'dogs'.

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the page, and introduced it with the phrase 'compare . . .' The ancients, lacking such devices, were shut up within the alternatives of intercalation into the body of the text and omission. The modern editor of an ancient text, in which such intercalations occur, can only guide his readers by the typographical expedients of the dash and the bracket.

13. ix 36–42 (38–41) *καὶ λαβὼν παιδίον ἔστησεν αὐτὸ ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐναγκαλισάμενος αὐτὸ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ὃς ἂν ἕν τῶν τοιούτων παιδίων δέξηται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου, ἐμὲ δέχεται· καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐμὲ δέχηται, οὐκ ἐμὲ δέχεται ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με.* (*Ἔφη αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰωάννης Διδάσκαλε, εἴδαμέν τινα . . . ὃς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν καθ' ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐστίν. ὃς γὰρ ἂν ποτίσῃ ὑμᾶς ποτήριον ὕδατος ἐν ὀνόματι ὅτι Χριστοῦ ἐστέ, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τὸν μισθὸν αὐτοῦ.*) *καὶ ὃς ἂν σκανδαλίσῃ ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν τούτων τῶν πιστευόντων, καλόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον εἰ περίκειται μύλος ὀνικὸς περὶ τὸν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ καὶ βέβληται εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. καὶ ἐὰν σκανδαλίσῃ σε ἡ χείρ σου . . .*

In the ninth chapter of his Gospel St Mark devotes a larger proportion than hitherto to the Sayings of Christ. There are indeed in the earlier chapters episodes introduced which lead up to Sayings, and without the Sayings the episode would have no special point. Such would be, for instance, the plucking of the ears of corn, ii 23–28. But in the second half of the Gospel the training of the disciples gives more occasion to direct and systematic teaching, either not dependent upon special episodes at all, or at any rate more loosely connected with them than before. And the verses cited at the head of the paragraph exemplify this new feature of his story. It is hardly possible to suppose either that verses 35–50 are all continuous and belong to a single occasion, or that verses 35–37 record one conversation introduced by the episode of the child placed in the midst, 38–50 another conversation introduced by the remark of John. What we have is something more complex than that, and less easy to disentangle.

As in the last passage treated, no. **12**, it seems likely that the Evangelist has interwoven with one another Sayings originally independent, though very probably belonging to the same cycle of teaching. And the method of combination seems to be on the same lines as before: a word or phrase brings to the writer's mind another Saying on a similar topic and he sets it down, returning later on to the original topic. The intervening words may once more be treated as an example of Mark's fondness for parenthesis.

If we read verses 37 and 42 consecutively, it is difficult not to think that they are connected with one another. 'Whosoever shall receive one of such children as this, receiveth me . . . and whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe, it were better for him . . .' St Mark will have inserted the episode of John's remark and the Lord's

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answer, because it seemed to him to illustrate the same general idea; but having so inserted it, he returns to the topic from which he started and completes the saying which the parenthesis had interrupted.

Wellhausen, too, points out the connexion of verses 37 and 42. But he brings an arbitrary element into his exegesis of the passage by making a contrast between verses 43 and following, which he regards as genuine words of Christ, and verses 42 and preceding which appear to him to imply the period of the Apostolic age and not the period of the Ministry. He follows D in verse 40, reading *ὑμῶν* for *ἡμῶν*, 'Whosoever is not against you is with you', and supposes that the Evangelist or his authority has in his mind attempts in the primitive community to dispense with the leadership of the Twelve. Even if he is right in the reading he adopts, there is an obvious objection to his interpretation which he has not attempted to meet. The Gospel according to Mark puts in the foreground the selection of the Twelve and their subsequent training, and not less the prominence of Peter as spokesman of the inner company of the disciples. If there was in the early Church any tendency to minimize the one or the other, it certainly could not be proved from our Second Gospel. Except on the postulate that Jesus cannot have contemplated the continued existence of preaching in his name after his death, it is surely far simpler and more reasonable to suppose that the Saying or Sayings which inculcate the principle laid down in these verses came from no other lips than his.

14. xii 12 *a* *καὶ ἐζήτουν αὐτὸν κρατῆσαι (καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν τὸν ὄχλον), ἔγνωσαν γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν παραβολὴν εἶπεν.*

Obviously the recognition on the part of the Jewish authorities that the Parable of the Vineyard and the Husbandmen had been directed against them, was the reason not for their fear of the multitude but for their desire to arrest Jesus. The words 'and they feared the multitude' interrupt the connexion, and it is from that point of view necessary to bracket them. The Evangelist ought logically to have put first the reason for the desire before mentioning the obstacle which interfered with its fulfilment.

The sense is clear enough, and Luke (xx 19) left Mark's order of the clauses unaltered. Matthew (xxi 46) felt a difficulty in the sentence as it stood, and substitutes a reason for their fearing the people in place of Mark's reason for their desire to arrest Jesus: 'they feared the multitudes because they [the multitudes] held him for a prophet.'

15. xiii 9–11 *παραδώσουσιν ὑμᾶς εἰς συνέδρια καὶ εἰς συναγωγὰς δαρήσεσθε, καὶ ἐπὶ ἡγεμόνων καὶ βασιλέων σταθήσεσθε, ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς—καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη πρῶτον δεῖ κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον—καὶ ὅταν ἄγωσιν ὑμᾶς παραδιδόντες, μὴ προμεριμνᾶτε τί λαλήσητε . . .*

The connexion of verses 9 and 11 is obvious: it is broken by verse

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10 which Luke in his parallel passage (xxi 13, 14) and Matthew in an earlier parallel (x 18, 19) entirely omit, while Matthew at this point (xxiv 9) transfers the verse to the end of the section (after Mark xiii 13) *καὶ κηρυχθήσεται τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τότε ἥξει τὸ τέλος.* This Matthaean paraphrase does probably supply the answer to the two questions which suggest themselves about the Marcan parenthesis. In the first place it is the words *εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς* which give the cue for the parenthetic reference to the preaching of the Gospel to all nations: in the second place *πρῶτον* is correctly interpreted by Matthew to mean 'before the end come'.

16. xiii 14 *ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἑστηκότα ὅπου οὐ δεῖ (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοείτω), τότε οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ . . .*

An obvious and acknowledged parenthesis, copied by Matthew, omitted by Luke. Whether Matthew retained it because he understood what it meant, whether Luke omitted it because he saw that it was no longer necessary, I am not sure: but I am quite sure what Mark meant by it.

In the first place *ὁ ἀναγινώσκων* has nothing to do with the Reader, or with any reading of the Gospel in the Christian congregation. It would be an anachronism to suppose that the Evangelist contemplated the use of his Gospel in public worship: and it is a pure misunderstanding of the meaning of *ἀναγινώσκειν* to suppose that it excludes private reading. It was the custom of the ancients to read aloud to themselves: St Augustine relates it of St Ambrose as something unusual that he read to himself, as we do, without using his voice.[1] Mark simply means 'my readers'.

In the second place *νοεῖν*, as in Apoc. xiii 18 *ὁ ἔχων νοῦν ψηφισάτω*, means 'to read between the lines', 'to penetrate below the surface'. Evangelist and Apocalyptist alike mean something that neither can afford to put down in black and white. In both cases there is veiled

[1] Aug. *Confess.* vi 3 (ed. Ben. i 121) 'Sed cum legebat, oculi ducebantur per paginas, et cor intellectum rimabatur, uox autem et lingua quiescebant. saepe cum adessemus (non enim uetabatur quisquam ingredi aut ei uenientem nuntiari mos erat), sic eum legentem vidimus tacite, et aliter numquam; sedentesque in diuturno silentio—quis enim tam intento esse oneri auderet?—discedebamus, et coniectabamus eum, paruo ipso tempore quod reparandae menti suae nanciscebatur, feriatum ab strepitu causarum alienarum nolle in aliud auocari et cauere fortasse ne, auditore suspenso et intento, si qua obscurius posuisset ille quem legeret etiam exponere necesse esset aut de aliquibus difficilioribus disceptare quaestionibus, atque huic operi temporibus impensis minus quam uellet uoluminum euolueret: quamquam et causa seruandae uocis, quae illi facillime obtundebatur, poterat esse iustior tacite legendi. quolibet tamen animo id ageret, bono utique ille uir agebat.' I owe this reference to my colleague, Prof. J. A. Smith.

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reference to the Roman power, and just as St Paul conceals allusion to empire and emperor by employing both masculine and neuter, ὁ κατέχων and τὸ κατέχον, in 2 Thess. ii 6, 7, so St Mark with a bold disregard of grammar writes τὸ βδέλυγμα ἑστηκότα because he wants to indicate that Daniel's 'abomination of desolation' has a human reference. Matthew, seeing in the capture of the Temple the fulfilment of the prediction, paraphrases 'standing in the holy place': Mark, writing with the prediction still unfulfilled—though it is possible that the Jewish war had already broken out—reproduces, we may well believe, the very phrase employed by Jesus, and adds to it parenthetically his own comment.

Wellhausen *ad loc.* goes preposterously wrong. 'The warning to the reader to take note', he says, 'fits only with the context of Matthew, where express reference is made to Daniel—the reader of Daniel, that is, is to note how his prophecy is fulfilled—and has therefore been inserted in Mark out of Matthew'. If critics would take a little more trouble to master the meaning of the words before them, counsel would less often be darkened, and textual problem and Synoptic problem would arrive more speedily and surely at solution. Wellhausen's work is full of acute exegesis: but this comment is perverse.

17. κῖν 36 Ἀββὰ (ὁ πατήρ).

So St Paul in Gal. iv 6, Rom. viii 15. The early Church as we know it was, as were all the Jews of the Dispersion from Alexandria round to Rome, Greek-speaking. But just as Greek survived in the Roman church and other Western churches for purposes of worship after it had ceased to be the language of ordinary speech—witness the *Agios agios agios* of Saturus's vision in the Acts of Perpetua—just as Latin has remained the liturgical language of south-western Europe, or Old Slavonic of Slav Churches, or Coptic of the Monophysite church of Egypt, so Aramaic phrases survived in the Greek-speaking churches founded by St Paul. The ἀββά of the Christians of Galatia and Rome, the μαράν ἀθά of the Christians of Corinth, are like the *Kyrie eleison* in the Latin liturgy of to-day.[1]

What then of ὁ πατήρ? It is the Greek equivalent inserted to explain the ἀββά for those of the congregation who were ignorant of Aramaic. I cannot think (with Sanday and Headlam on Rom. viii 15) that we are to suppose that our Lord used both words in his prayer—any more than he used Greek as well as Aramaic on the other occasions on which St Mark records the actual Aramaic (or Hebrew[2]) words employed by

[1] I do not mean to assert that the *Kyrie* in the Mass goes back to the second or third century, though I am not convinced to the contrary. But there is at any rate some probability that the *Agios agios agios* of Mozarabic and Gallican books is a survival rather than a later introduction.

[2] In Mark xv 34 I believe the true text to be that of D *k* (with some support from other Old Latins and B) ἡλεὶ ἡλεὶ λαμὰ ζαφθάνει (עֲזַבְתָּנִי), that is to say, that the

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him. Ὁ πατήρ, then, is one more of St Mark's parentheses. But it differs from his other parentheses in being provided for him, so to say, ready made. It was in familiar use—possibly in connexion with the Lord's Prayer—in the church of the Apostolic age. But St Mark's testimony is the last that we have for it. After the destruction of Jerusalem the Aramaic element in Greek-speaking Christianity disappeared. Matthew and Luke agree in substituting Πάτερ for the earlier Ἀββὰ ὁ πατήρ.

18. xvi 3, 4 καὶ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἑαυτάς Τίς ἀποκυλίσει ἡμῖν τὸν λίθον ἐκ τῆς θύρας τοῦ μνημείου; (καὶ ἀναβλέψασαι θεωροῦσιν ὅτι ἀνακεκύλισται ὁ λίθος) ἦν γὰρ μέγας σφόδρα.

I cannot doubt that St Mark's motive in the words 'for it was very great' was to account for the anxiety of the women to find help in the rolling away of the stone. If it had been a small one, they could have rolled it away unaided: as it is, they doubt their own capacity to do so without assistance. The parenthesis explains that after all their anxiety was unnecessary: the stone had been, not indeed rolled away, but shifted, 'rolled a little' (κυλισθεὶς ἐπεχώρησε παρὰ μέρος, *Ev. Petri*), sufficiently to permit of their entrance. The structure of the sentence closely resembles that of xii 12, no. 14 *supra*.

The detail is so unimportant that it can only have come from the artless narrative of one who was relating individual experience. Fortunately perhaps for us, the Evangelist was no more given to distinguishing the essential and the unessential features of a story than was his informant, and it re-appeared untrimmed in his record. Matthew, true to his methods of condensation, omits the whole episode of the two verses, though he has transferred to his account of the entombment, a few verses higher up, the detail that the stone was 'great': Luke simply states that the women found 'the stone' rolled away from the sepulchre, but he had said nothing of the closing of the tomb and no doubt simply means his readers to understand that the normal proceeding had been adopted, and the tomb closed with a slab which was now found 'rolled away'.

19. xvi 7 εἴπατε τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ Πέτρῳ ὅτι Προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν—ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε—καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν.

The natural exegesis of these words, if printed without punctuation

Evangelist reports our Lord's cry according to the Hebrew of the Psalm and not in Aramaic (שְׁבַקְתָּנִי): Matthew substituted the Aramaic, and the Matthaean reading, as so often elsewhere, has ousted the original reading in St Mark. On our Lord's knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures see Dr Headlam's *Life and Teaching of Jesus the Christ* p. 107 f. That he should have used the Hebrew of a familiar Scripture in a dying ejaculation is just as natural as it would be for a Roman Catholic to use the Latin of the Vulgate.

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or brackets, is that our Lord had told the disciples that they would see him in Galilee. But the Gospel contains no record of any such Saying. Matthew, therefore, by substituting the first person for the third, εἶπον for εἶπεν, changes the sense from a prediction of our Lord's to a statement by the angel, 'You will see him in Galilee: I tell you so categorically'.[1] Luke retains the third person; but as his Gospel records appearances of the Risen Christ in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood only, he has to connect Galilee not with the appearances but with the prediction, 'He spake yet being in Galilee'. But St Mark had recorded one prediction by Jesus, uttered as recently as the Last Supper (xiv 28), μετὰ τὸ ἐγερθῆναί με προάξω ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν, in language of which the angel's words seem an obvious echo, xvi 6, 7, ἠγέρθη . . . προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν . . . καθὼς εἶπεν ὑμῖν. Apart from the three intrusive words, ἐκεῖ αὐτὸν ὄψεσθε, the correspondence is exact. Treat them as a parenthesis after the Marcan manner, place them between dashes, and all difficulty disappears.

C. H. TURNER.

SOME TENDENCIES IN OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

FOR some time past there have been striking developements in Old Testament Criticism. Even fifteen years ago Dr Skinner could remark that 'O. T. scholars have a good many new eras dawning on them just now', although, as he immediately added, 'whether any of them will shine unto the perfect day, time will show'.[2] And, in fact, no new era has as yet appeared, although it can justly be said that tendencies to pass beyond or away from the current 'Wellhausen' position are considerably stronger and more significant than they were in 1910. Much could be said upon the nature and value of these tendencies, but it will be convenient for the present to confine our remarks to a couple of books which can be regarded as symptomatic of the conviction that some new stage in O. T. criticism is necessary. In one of them a German writer, Martin Kegel, Ph.D. (Eng. trans., *Away from Wellhausen*, Murray), offers what the sub-title describes as 'a contribution to the new orientation in O. T. study'. In the other (*The Code of Deuteronomy*, James Clarke) Prof. Adam C. Welch of Edinburgh publishes what the 'jacket' styles 'a singularly courageous book', and not

[1] Hort *ad loc.* proposes to restore εἶπεν in the text of Matthew. But I think Matthew was puzzled by Mark's statement as he understood it, and deliberately altered it: unless indeed he read εἶπον in his copy of Mark. In either case, ἰδού appears to me to exclude εἶπεν. It introduces a new speaker.

[2] Commentary on *Genesis* (1910) p. xliii; cf. *J. T. S.* xii (1911) p. 467.

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unreasonably, seeing that he gives us a new theory of Deuteronomy which could be called 'Away from De Wette'—if not, rather, 'Away from the criticism of more than a century'. It will be useful, in place of a formal review, to see more precisely the objections which these writers have to urge against modern criticism, and whither these popular little books—and both adjectives are justified—propose to lead their readers.

Dr Martin Kegel, for his part, was moved by *The Great Delusion*, an extraordinary production by the famous Assyriologist, the late Friederich Delitzsch, which excited no little comment in the German press of 1920–1921. Its extravagance, if not its Anti-Semitism, precluded O. T. scholars from taking it seriously: the *Täuschung*, as one reviewer observed, being 'eine recht grosse Enttäuschung'; and so severely was it condemned that few, if any in this country, were further interested in it. Dr Kegel, however, chose to take Delitzsch as the logical outcome of the Wellhausen school, and launched a vehement attack upon the well-known *Prolegomena*, the appearance of which nearly half a century ago inaugurated the modern critical position.[1] His pamphlet, for it is scarcely more, was translated into English at the instance of the late Dr Wace, by the wife of Canon Nolloth, who himself contributes a prefatory note; and for a variety of reasons it is likely to be read with attention in certain circles. His attack, which is fortified by numerous quotations from the *Prolegomena*, is directed partly against Wellhausen's tone, his rationalism, and his philosophical and other presuppositions, and partly against the apparent arbitrariness of his methods. But although their cumulative effect might seem impressive, it may safely be said that his pages are not likely to leave any impression upon O. T. scholars, or to afford any help towards the 'new orientation' to which they are intended to contribute.[2]

In the first place, Kegel's attacks upon Wellhausen's tone and language are of no lasting interest inasmuch as the Wellhausen position was accepted, after independent examination, by a host of scholars whose tone and language are surely unimpeachable, and who were, or are, most of them at least, entirely opposed to crude rationalism. 'It is easier', as Robertson Smith has said, 'to correct the errors of a rationalism with which we have no sympathy, than to lay aside prejudices deeply interwoven with our most cherished and truest convic-

[1] The *Prolegomena* first appeared in 1878; Wellhausen was born in 1844.

[2] The references to the *Prolegomena* are not made to the English translation (now out of print), but to the sixth German edition, and cannot therefore be readily checked by those who possess only the translation. In some important cases there are no references, e. g. pp. 21 (where does Wellhausen refer to 'Jewish gastric juices'?), 41, 117.

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tions'; and Dr James Orr, one of the best exponents of the anti-critical position, admitted that criticism 'even of the rationalistic sort . . . with all its attendant evils . . . has been productive, under the providence of God, of many benefits which in large measure counterbalance . . . if they do not outweigh, these evils'.[1] Kegel rightly maintains that we should approach the O. T. with reverence, but he goes so far as to admit that had Wellhausen proceeded in a reverent spirit there would be nothing to reproach him with: he is to be blamed, not so much for his attack on the traditional view, as for his tone (p. 121 sq.). Moreover, he recognizes that 'the scientific student of the O. T. must not treat it at the outset as a supernaturally revealed and divinely inspired book', but 'as a human book in its origin and transmission, and it must be judged by the usual standards of historical science, like any other book' (p. 120). With such very proper admissions before us it is safe to say that Kegel's onslaught already loses much of its force, for even if Wellhausen approached the history and religion of Israel 'in a spirit of clumsy rationalism' (p. 119), this cannot be said of the great majority of the scholars who followed him. Half the book, without exaggeration, loses its value when we think of men like Robertson Smith and Driver, to name no others, and how they interpreted the Wellhausen position to English-speaking peoples. Not without a little surprise—and amusement—do we read Kegel's suggestion that 'Wellhausen's startling methods of criticism would have encountered much stronger opposition from students of theology, if he had not brilliantly succeeded in acting on the adage, "Attack is the best defence"' (p. 88 sq.). Outside Germany, at all events, Wellhausen's vigorous language can scarcely be said to have frightened scholars from opposing him![2]

After all, Kegel does not by any means dispute Wellhausen's services to O. T. scholarship (pp. 76, 94 sqq., 100). He laid his finger upon real difficulties; whereas earlier conservative theologians erred because 'they frequently would not recognize obvious contradictions, because as such they ran counter to their own dogmatic theories' (p. 123). It is still a problem why so few traces of the Priestly Code are to be found in Judges–Kings if it really dates from the primitive days of Israel (p. 96). Wellhausen cannot be refuted until his opponents acquire the critical acumen of the Wellhausen school and offer a better view of the course of Israel's history (pp. 96, 124). With this every one must entirely agree—but we search his pages in vain for guidance. We are indeed told that 'those portions only of tradition should be rejected which are *palpably erroneous or impossible* [our italics], not such as fail

[1] *O. T. J. C.* 2nd ed. p. 314; James Orr *Problem of the O. T.* (1905) p. 9.

[2] Does Wellhausen really 'set Bleek down as mentally deficient'? Kegel (p. 90 n.) cites *Prol.* p. 155 (Eng. tr., p. 160).

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to fit themselves any longer into the views of to-day' (p. 123). But what shall be the criteria of the next impartial student when he sets to work? Kegel is touching upon a question of vital methodological significance, but he fails to discern the heart of the difficulty. On all sides a choice has constantly to be made between variant readings, versions, probabilities, and so forth. The opponents of the Higher Criticism—naturally and inevitably—select or emphasize just those data which agree with the view they have come to prefer; and Kegel's onslaught loses the other half of its force and relevance, because he forgets that each side employs methods and makes selections which appear to the other to be thoroughly arbitrary and subjective. One begins to think that perhaps one ought at the outset to discuss the criteria of good and bad theories, that the philosophy or methodology of theorizing ought to be considered before biblical students in general proceed to formulate their views. At all events the fact remains that it is utterly futile, at this time of day, to spend pages upon what one side considers to be the arbitrariness of the textual, literary, and historical criticism of the other side, and the gibe is a pointless one that 'it is so easy to prove any theory, if only the facts are selected judiciously' (p. 71). Of course it is, and is not that precisely what each side could say of the other? So, the 'Higher Critics' and their opponents are and will continue to be worlds apart, because each side emphasizes different groups of data; and when Kegel agrees that Wellhausen is often right in his criticism of Chronicles, and that that book originated in the spirit of later Judaism (pp. 74, 76), or when he freely admits Wellhausen's services (ch. iii), he forgets that the conclusions which he now happens to accept seemed irreverent, rationalistic, and arbitrary in the past, and that what he now happens to reject are based upon principles which he has at least implicitly endorsed.

Kegel does not stand alone, by any means, when he calls for some new position; but it will have to be one as penetrating and as comprehensive as that which it seeks to dislodge. Now he has much to say against the general evolutionary conception which characterizes the Wellhausen position. He traces it back to Vatke and thence to Hegel, and he seems to treat it as though it were some merely mechanical contrivance for the interpretation of history. He scarcely tempts us to take him very seriously when he tells us that he rejects what he is pleased to call 'the silly belief in an ascent of mankind, with the speed of an express train' (p. 47). Even when he writes more temperately, and declares that the Great War and Spengler's now famous *Fall of the West* destroyed whatever fascination the idea of developement once possessed (p. 103), Spengler himself has distinctly a sweeping theory of his own, and Kegel, in turn, recognizes some sort of developement when he

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accepts the late date and the peculiar origin of Chronicles. In a word, it is impossible to form any clear and comprehensive idea of the history and religion of the O. T. without some implicit or explicit theory of developement. The O. T. itself often implies a theory; and no one can range over a lengthy period of social-religious history without experiencing the need of some synthesizing and regulative theory. The danger of forcing our theories mechanically besets both the 'critics' and their opponents; but there is perhaps no profounder enquiry than that of endeavouring to formulate the eternal principles which manifest themselves in history, and especially in so uniquely wonderful a period as that which lies behind the Bible. The critical 'evolutionary' view may be admitted to stand in need of improvement; but its opponents have no coherent view of their own, and therefore do not succeed in presenting any reasonable interpretation of biblical history.

In this connexion it is significant that Kegel, in my opinion, does the scantiest justice to the prophets—significant because the test of sound criticism is invariably the use made of those grand figures whose teaching was a landmark in Ancient History. But perhaps this begs the question. Sometimes one reads books which fill one with amazement at the inconsiderable role which is ascribed to the prophets; and when one considers the persistent interest in them, on the one hand, and the secondary place which they hold in some works, on the other, it is difficult to resist the conviction that a restatement or reinterpretation of the meaning of the prophets is necessary for the healthy progress of O. T. studies on all sides. The test of criticism lies in the place assigned to the prophets in the history of Israel; and Kegel, although admittedly concerned with the religious value of the O. T., offers a treatment of the religious problems which is far from adequate. Thus he appears to be unwilling to accept the prophets' denunciations as sufficient evidence for determining the character of the current popular religion (pp. 82 sqq.). Here, to be sure, he does not stand alone, and those who are aware of the sympathetic connexion between the interpretation of the prophets and tendencies in other fields than that of biblical study, will note that instead of regarding the prophets as fine social reformers, there is just the hint of a tendency to suggest that they exaggerated the abuses. In any case, Kegel agrees with those who consider that the prophets are no sure guide to the current religion: there always were 'representatives of the legitimate religion', and 'we must go to these if we would know what was the state and character of the religion of their day' (p. 87 sq.). But how are we to determine what was 'legitimate' religion? Wellhausen is blamed for placing the worship of the northern kingdom on a level with that of the south (p. 84); but while Kegel accepts the one-sided Judaean condemnation of Ephraim, he ignores the evidence for the

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unorthodox religion of Judah and Jerusalem to the time of Josiah. Not in this way can O. T. problems be simplified, much less solved: we are merely brought to the point where we encounter the very difficulties which scholars set out to handle at the close of the eighteenth century.

Of course it might be replied that the 'new orientation' will handle them upon a broader basis. Indeed, we are rightly told that more attention must be paid to the antiquity of civilization in Egypt, Sinai, Midian, Palestine, &c. Here Kegel is in agreement with what is perhaps the most conspicuous trend in O. T. criticism. The Wellhausen school has been too much under the influence of Arabian analogies (p. 106 sq.). But while no one was more vehement and uncompromising in his onslaught upon the 'School' than Hugo Winckler, it goes without saying that those to whom Kegel appeals will find small comfort in the writings of that brilliant though unequal scholar.[1] It is perfectly true that we have to reconsider our ideas of the early history of Israel, and we may agree with various other scholars that Wellhausen's picture of the pre-prophetic religion of ancient Israel is incorrect (p. 109 sq.). But those who endeavour to utilize the data that have come to light do not by any means reach conservative results, and Kegel seems to confuse the *literary* theory, which they usually maintain, with the *historical* reconstruction, which the internal and external evidence demands.[2] At present there are widely divergent views as regards the reconstruction of the history; but in one respect is there unanimity among 'critics' and their opponents, namely, that external evidence, the evidence of archaeology, the monuments, and comparative religion, will have to play a controlling part in the future.

In another direction, too, new tendencies are making themselves felt. It is being widely recognized that more heed must be paid both to the influence of personality upon religion and history, and to the more spiritual aspects of the O. T. Criticism is becoming more psychological. One might almost say that to textual, literary, and historical criticism, we have to add 'psychological' or, perhaps, 'religious' criticism. Upon this Kegel has little helpful to offer, and for the present it must suffice to refer to (*a*) the readiness to recognize that a personality—like Moses—must always be postulated to explain the initial step in the religion of Israel, and (*b*) the new interest in the problem of the Servant of the Lord, and even the recognition of a majestic personality who gave new life to the old religion.[3] Finally, when Dr Kegel

[1] See especially his striking brochure, *Religionsgeschichtler und geschichtlicher Orient* (Leipzig 1906).

[2] Compare *Cambridge Biblical Essays* pp. 76 sqq.

[3] See the *Expository Times* July 1923 pp. 440 sqq.

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declares that for the newer criticism for which he writes it is necessary, in the first instance, to deal mainly with isolated problems in order to clear the ground (p. 125), we must again dissent. When one considers how, from the *literary-critical standpoint*, every major problem of the O. T. must be, to a greater or less degree, bound up with the whole, it is not surprising that the efforts of those writers who adopt a conservative point of view invariably suffer through their failure to recognize the complexity of the particular problem they take up. But since it might be said that the words italicized beg the whole question, it is fortunate that in the second of the books mentioned at the head of this article we have an illuminating example of the result of the isolation of problems in the work of an impartial scholar who can by no means be called a blind devotee of the Wellhausen school.

That Prof. Welch was feeling his way to new views on O. T. criticism was already manifest from an article in *The Expositor* (May 1923, pp. 344–370) which should be taken in conjunction with his theory of the origin of Deuteronomy. Briefly, his view is that D, like the Book of the Covenant, did not inculcate a single, central sanctuary (Exod. xx 24). What we have in Deut. xii 8–xxvi are the usages, perhaps at leading sanctuaries, or perhaps rather at Bethel (pp. 46, 186, and especially, p. 191). On the whole the laws are very early, and may be dated shortly before and after the rise of the monarchy. But xii 1–7, which unquestionably does demand a single sanctuary, is an easily separable unit of demonstrably late date, and was prefixed to shew how the other laws were to be understood. Our mistake—and it is the mistake of more than a century of criticism—has been to read the older regulations through the eyes of the post-exilic generation to whom there was only one sanctuary where the holy name dwelt permanently, and from the first (p. 30, cf. pp. 193 sqq.). Such a theory is of extreme interest to those who, like the present writer, agree with Prof. Kennett that D in its present form is exilic; and since it departs so strikingly both from the strictly conservative position, which still has its upholders, and from the Wellhausen position, and later developements (Kennett, Hölscher, Torrey, &c.), it is well to see how the theory, if accepted, would affect ordinary ideas of the history of Israel. For it is the religious and historical problem which led to the Josianic and later dates proposed for D, and Prof. Welch's arguments, if sound, lead to conclusions the bearing of which upon the task of criticism should be clearly understood. We have to ask ourselves along what lines would criticism run if Prof. Welch is right, and for present purposes, therefore, it is not necessary to enter upon detailed discussion of premises or technicalities.[1]

[1] Accordingly it must suffice to say that Prof. Welch makes a rigid distinction

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We gather that when the Israelite tribes entered Palestine united by a faith which they were resolute to defend, they found other Israelite tribes who had never gone down into Egypt, and were naturally on a lower level (pp. 210 sqq.). Canaanite sanctuaries abounded, with ritual differing little in outward form from the Israelite (p. 47). The settlement was a gradual one, and Central Palestine was at first severed from the northern and southern tribes by lines of Canaanite cities (pp. 36, 207). (We know that intermarriage and syncretism followed [Judges iii 5 sq.], and the Amarna Letters prove that there existed long established beliefs and practices.[1]) Prof. Welch recognizes, naturally enough, that the Israelites were influenced by Canaanite practices (pp. 31, 199); but he ventures upon the extraordinarily vital statement that 'they never adopted as their own any of the Canaanite shrines' (p. 211 sq.). Later, in the days of Samuel and David, a new movement arose, a unification: Israelite religion was to be separated from Baalism, Canaanite sanctuaries shunned, heathen customs avoided. Distinctive Israelite practices were encouraged (p. 201 sq.), and the movement was directed as much against private 'casual' shrines—like Micah's—as against those of the Canaanites (p. 211). Not unity of cult, but the character of the cult was the aim. Care was taken, accordingly, that at all the sanctuaries which Yahweh had chosen the ritual should be correct. The Levite priests know the true ritual, they are the exponents of a pure Yahwism, and a guarantee that nothing heathenish will be tolerated (p. 151).[2] The Levites, previously scattered among the people, are to be permitted to join freely and officiate at these legitimate sanctuaries (p. 90 sq.); there are landless Levites who 'seem to perform no peculiarly priestly functions' (p. 99), but they have a reputation for their knowledge of the sacrificial ritual (p. 199 sq.). Some of them were poor men, glad to hire themselves out as priests: Prof. Welch is referring, of course, to 1 Sam. ii 36 (p. 100).

No one can expect Prof. Welch to solve the vexed problem of the Levites, but we may justly question whether he has improved upon the critical views. Nor is it easy to follow his theory of the 'legitimate' sanctuaries which Yahweh had chosen. We are to understand that even before the settlement the Israelites had field-altars sacred to

between the (legitimate) sanctuaries among the tribes (xii 14), and the single one chosen from among them all (*v.* 5; p. 48). Are the versions important here?

[1] For the Amarna evidence, reference may be made to the *Cambridge Ancient History* vol. ii ch. xiii, especially pp. 336–351.

[2] Prof. Welch interprets 'answer and say' (xxi 6, xxvi 5) to mean a solemn repetition of the priest's words by the worshipper (pp. 25 sqq., 98, 150); but in xxvii 14 and 15 the words are used both of the declaration by the Levites and of the ceremonial 'Amen' of the people.

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Yahweh, where sacrifices could be offered.[1] After the settlement each clan of Israel had its own sanctuary within comparatively easy reach of all its members (p. 36)—not to mention the numerous Canaanite shrines. But apparently there was only one city of refuge for Israel, separated though it was by the Canaanite districts (p. 141). In such districts there were no Yahweh-sanctuaries, and when the Israelites began to absorb their forerunners and extend their territory, we are told that they would find it more difficult to journey to a legitimate sanctuary (p. 36). Legitimate holy places, evidently, had already been chosen, because Prof. Welch speaks as though an Israelite in the once Canaanite plain of Esdraelon, along the vale of Dothan, or on the southern slopes of Galilee, would find his nearest sanctuary at Shechem or Dan (p. 36 sq.). Would there be no nearer legitimate sanctuaries? Naturally, when the clan-sanctuaries were being weeded out the legitimate ones would be relatively few; but they would be the leading centres of national life and religion (p. 161). Prof. Welch refers to Dan, Shechem, Shiloh, and Beersheba (p. 37), also Mt. Ebal (p. 184 sq.). Would he not add Issachar's sacred mountain (Deut. xxxiii 19), Hebron (2 Sam. xv 7), Gibeon (1 Kings iii 4), and (after 1 Sam. vii 15–17) Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah? But what shall we say of the character of their Yahwism? Shechem and Jerusalem were old pre-Israelite centres, at both of which pre-Israelite or Canaanite usage must have prevailed.[2] Shiloh can hardly be considered a good case for pure ritual (cf. p. 96); and the evidence for the poor priests in 1 Sam. ii 36 (above) foreshadows the downfall of the Elidae and the rise of the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem. But Prof. Welch leaves this undiscussed. And if Micah's shrine is considered reprehensible (pp. 101, 211), do the theft of the sacred objects and the presence of a Levite priest make Dan a legitimate sanctuary? Is it the *Levite* priest and not the character of the images and idols which constitutes pure Yahwism? Is *this* what Deuteronomy has to teach us? At all events Prof. Welch condemns Gideon's private shrine (p. 101), and here he agrees with the author of Judges viii 27, and not with the story as a whole, which tells how Israel was saved by Gideon's piety, and after his death returned to Baalism and forgot its

[1] Page 51. One would have thought that no one could suppose that Yahweh's altars were set up haphazard (Exod. xx 24, xxi 13 sq.); and it is therefore difficult to see how Prof. Welch can countenance the extraordinary notion that any murderer could collect a few stones, offer sacrifice, call the place an altar, and claim its protection (p. 138).

[2] Prof. Albright holds that Bethel, Ai, and Jericho date back before the fourteenth century (*Journal of the Palest. Oriental Soc.* iv p. 136 n.); but Mizpah, also on archaeological grounds, is an Israelite foundation (*ib.* iii p. 112). I mention this merely to indicate the sort of questions that arise when we propose to distinguish Canaanite and Israelite shrines.

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debt to him. It is impossible to see how this sort of criticism is destined to facilitate our enquiries, the more particularly when we observe how the great prophets denounce the culture at the great—and 'legitimate'—sanctuaries.[1]

Prof. Welch finds that the laws of D as a whole reflect primitive conditions and a simple age: the difficulties of a complex society have not yet dawned (pp. 38, 45, 203). But it must be objected that primitive ideas are not necessarily (as on p. 152) to be regarded as criteria of antiquity, and it is noteworthy that he himself is half-prepared to recognize 'a revival of primitive custom' during and after the exile (p. 154 n.). In point of fact, the social-political conditions after the fall of the monarchies would favour the prominence of the simpler life and thought that one is ready to find in the pre-monarchical age. The absence in D of technical terms need not be a mark of antiquity (as on p. 163), seeing that the legislators might have been 'content to employ terms which are capable of being readily understood by the people they address' (p. 188). With all due caution Prof. Welch makes the fertile remark that D reminds one of the decisions of a mediaeval ecclesiastical synod (p. 189). He well notes that the authority is moral; it is not that of a state, or of a central government. There is appeal to public opinion; a community, self-controlled, is being guided (p. 205), *it* is the executive, carrying out penalties (p. 187). In a word, the conditions are held to be mainly those before a monarchy; it is instructive to see how frequently recent studies are leading to a date either *before* or *after*.[2] Now, a monarchy, as he truly observes, would make for a centralized authority as against local authority—conditions that would begin with the reign of David and would be in force in that of Josiah (pp. 143, 155). If we ask if and how the monarchy modified D, it is suggested that to the Levites and elders, as the earlier judicial authorities, were added the judges. They were probably appointed by the king, and were apparently new to the task.[3] On the other hand, the court of final appeal is not, as one might expect, the king, but the priests and the judge at the legitimate sanctuary

[1] Upon the common fallacy of starting with the postulate of 'legitimate' sanctuaries it is useless to enlarge. (Another recent writer takes his stand upon what he calls 'the considered and authoritative teaching of the O. T.', as though the determination of this were not a fundamental problem of criticism.)

[2] A pre-monarchical Israel would react against the culture of the Amarna age, and a sixth-century Israel would react against that of the monarchy—the significance of the prophets will be the crucial test when it comes to a decision.

[3] Deut. xvi 18–20, &c.; see pp. 152 sqq., 210. Prof. Welch does not seem to notice Samuel's judgeship (1 Sam. vii 15–17), or the important account of the appointment of judges in Exod. xviii. (The index of biblical passages is confined to Deuteronomy.)

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(xvii 8 sqq.). It is held that the insistence upon the authority of the priest (*v.* 12) confirms priestly authority at a time when the community 'was hardly organized at all for the first needs of settled social existence' (p. 93 sq.). 'The decisions of the priests were not being received quite so submissively as had once been the case', and 'the unreadiness to accept clerical jurisdiction may have been one of the reasons which led to the appointment of new judges' (p. 164). Thus, it is a rather disorganized, monarchical *milieu*; the king appoints judges, but priestly authority is strengthened. When we turn to the (later) law of the monarchy the king's function is practically ignored; the Levitical priests seem to have supreme religious authority (note xvii 18 p. 94) and 'Israel is already within sight of the perennial question of Church and State' (p. 210).[1] And all this is pre-prophetic, centuries before Ezekiel's attitude to the monarchy, before the 'judges' of the sixth century (in Phoenicia), and before the new monarchy of Zerubbabel.

What, then, of the prophets? In D priests and prophets work together, and the latter have a recognized place (p. 203). The position of the prophets recalls the period of Samuel (p. 107), the laws concerning them may be a deposit of the period when the stories of Elisha circulated (p. 116).[2] Later, however, prophet and priest were opposed (p. 219 sq.), though this, however, is not the case in the time of Josiah (2 Kings xxii 14). But Prof. Welch's treatment of the teaching of the great prophets is unfortunately so brief that it seems hardly fair to dwell upon it, save only that he evidently does not consider them an important factor for the problem of the date of D. We understand that in D 'the entire ritual is dealt with as the divinely appointed way of approaching Yahweh acceptably'. The legislators separated Yahweh from other gods—before 1000 B.C.—and went no further; it was left for the great prophets—centuries later—to explain the difference between them and to point out that the cult, as it existed, was not the essential and distinctive thing in the faith of Israel (pp. 217 sqq.). We may all agree that the Yahwism at the 'legitimate' sanctuaries was sincere—perhaps even orthodox; but how we are to pass from the Book of Deuteronomy to the prophets is simply inconceivable, and Prof. Welch's book only makes us feel how necessary it may be for O. T. criticism to restate their fundamental importance for the history of Israelite religion.[3] So, to take only one point, even though the cleavage within the religion—prophet

[1] Prof. Welch tentatively concludes that the law of the monarchy is after the schism and before Hosea (p. 130 sq.).

[2] On p. 208 it is observed that the documents sometimes call Samuel a priest, sometimes a prophet; also that Saul received his first tribute from three prophets.

[3] Especially as in 1912 Prof. Welch in an admirable chapter shewed how 'D was seeking to fulfil the work of the prophets' (*The Religion of Israel* p. 227)

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versus priest—certainly turned, partly at least, upon questions of cult and ritual, is it enough to say that the opposing trends were never reconciled, and to end the book with Jeremiah's repudiation of the temple (p. 219 sq.), when in due course Haggai, Isa. xl–lxvi, and Malachi shew how later prophets could uphold the priestly ritual? The problem of D is one part only of the larger problem of Israelite history, and by isolating it as is done here, the ordinary reader gains a very imperfect notion of the place of D in that history, and even of the very nature of the problem itself.

It is quite true that Prof. Welch does not entirely ignore the larger problem. He states that when the priests and prophets parted, 'the priesthood, as was natural, maintained the position of D after the need for it had passed away' (p. 220). But what this means is not quite clear. We understand that not only the laws of D (except xii 1–7), but even the very framework, the introductory and final chapters, do not lead up to the law of a single sanctuary or of a single legitimate priesthood.[1] All are pre-Josianic. At Josiah's reform 'it was decreed that one form of cult at one holy place through one official priesthood was alone legitimate' (p. 220). The Levites (i. e. of the old legitimate shrines) were degraded.[2] Elsewhere we are told that D 'fell aside as a working system since its purpose was served. The new world brought its new conditions and the legislation which was required to meet them. Israel became a church at Jerusalem with a diaspora scattered in heathenism. . . . The whole outlook was changed and so were the conditions. . . . Israel now conceived itself to have always been a Church gathered around a wilderness tabernacle. . . . The older law which had served the earlier time was not capable of being adapted to serve a new age . . .' (p. 205 sq.). Here we seem to be passing at a stroke from D and Josiah (*c.* 620 B. C.) to P and the age of Ezra–Nehemiah (*c.* 450 or later).[3] When, however, we come to details we find that Leviticus, or rather a nucleus of it, may represent the 'use' which grew

[1] Page 176 sq. Indeed xxvii 1–8, as he points out, actually justifies the sanctity of Mt. Ebal (p. 181 sq.).

[2] A reference to the single altar and 'the Zadokite clergy, the only legitimate priesthood' (p. 89) is rather perplexing because we have no discussion of Ezekiel and the elevation of the Zadokites over the other Levites. On p. 1 Josiah's reform is said to make the Aaronic priesthood alone legitimate. But can this question be so easily settled?

[3] So, on p. 19, he speaks of D being (in Hölscher's view) 'the deposit instead of the programme of the reforms, and therefore post-exilic'. But one cannot pass so quickly over the last years of Judah, and one asks whether 'post-exilic' begins with the age of Zerubbabel or the introduction of Ezra's law-book. The whole period bristles with problems; but we are entitled to know what Prof. Welch, after protesting against the 'critical theory' in his *Expositor* article, would have us believe.

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up around the temple of Jerusalem. This may explain why D 'dropped out of use', and Prof. Welch thinks it natural that the returned exiles, mostly Judaeans, should take over the law with which they were familiar and should develope it (p. 191 sq.). So, while the priesthood 'as was natural maintained the position of D . . .' (p. 220, see above), some part of P is pre-exilic: the last a natural and familiar view. But it is noteworthy that he can say, 'Eerdmans seems to me to ignore the presence of modifications in the law of Leviticus and to carry back too much' (*ib.*). Further, while D, he thinks, may have been the 'use' at Bethel or some other Ephraimite sanctuary, in *The Expositor* (*l.c.* p. 365 sq.) he conjectures that at the restoration of the temple *by the natives of Judah*[1] the priestly usage of Bêthel, the 'priestly code of northern Israel' was taken over, amalgamated with the 'use' of Jerusalem which the Babylonian exiles brought back with them, finally to form part of our Pentateuch.

Such speculations are entirely in place, and Prof. Welch evidently assumes (*a*) 'D' and 'P' tendencies in the north (Bethel?), (*b*) relations between Bethel and Jerusalem, and (*c*) ultimately the transmission of ritual *at or about the sixth century* B. C.[2] But when we look more closely, the results become perplexing. It is essential to his view of D that the laws (except xii 1–7) were practicable. They are for 'one particular period, in order to meet one definite set of conditions' (p. 205). We are told that 'a law which is actually guiding a living community can never be left without additions to make it applicable to new conditions . . .'; but D is so singularly free from glosses, explanations, and additions, and yet so specially stood in need of them to bring its regulations into conformity with other and later laws, that Prof. Welch is forced to conclude that 'the conditions were so different that it could not be adapted' (p. 205 sq.). The difference between the conditions when D could guide a living community and those when it was no longer serviceable is essential to his theory. Consequently we have to suppose that D reigned supreme from shortly before the rise of the monarchy, through the stormy history of north Israel, after the fall of Samaria, until the time of Josiah. But is it credible that during those stormy centuries, D, undergoing only slight changes such as have been mentioned above (concerning judges, kingship, &c.), could remain the code of a 'living community', and that it was unaffected by the great political and social cataclysms that were shaking south-west Asia? Again, since

[1] Accordingly, 'post-exilic' evidently begins *c.* 450 B. C. (see note 3 p. 167 *supra*).

[2] Although Prof. Welch is far from accepting Prof. Kennett's view of the course of events in the seventh–fifth century B. C., it is significant how he is forced to approximate to the sort of theory that was put forth by the latter in *J. T. S.* Jan. 1905, and July 1906.

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the practicability of D is essential to the theory, does it not admittedly contain laws which, though magnificent, were scarcely capable of being put into practice (p. 215)?

To Prof. Welch it seems unnatural to suppose that men living at periods of stress and crisis, viz. in the sixth century, should make impracticable laws (p. 18 sq., &c.). But is it so strange? Is it not at such periods that reformers, idealist and doctrinaire, might promulgate religious, ethical, and economic ideas that prove impracticable? Need one do more than point to economic and other enactments in Bolshevist Russia? Prof. Welch seeks to maintain the practicability of D by the view, not unreasonable in itself, that we have laws applicable to *any* legitimate sanctuary; but this granted, we have to understand that with the later insertion of Deut. xxi 1–7 ('the one law which unquestionably demands centralization'), the whole of D becomes impracticable.[1] The difficulties which he has sought to remove (e.g. pp. 55, 73, 81 sq.) come back again when we reach the age of Josiah, and we have to be content with the fact that the legislator in xii 1–7 sets high store upon the new regulation, and is indifferent to the consequences, 'if only he can lodge the principle itself in the prominence it merits before the minds of his people' (p. 60). We thus come back to our old position. D *in its present form* is intended to inculcate the law of the single, central sanctuary; and even though xii 1–7 and 8–12 and 13–19 should prove to reflect three different periods (pp. 55 sqq.), O.T. critics rightly interpret the intention of xii 1–7. 'Definitely and uncompromisingly it orders the centralization of the cult. . . . This is the principle which the legislators have in mind, and they make it central and dominant' (p. 58 sq.). It lays down 'a general caveat as to the principle in the light of which all the rest must be read . . . the legislators . . . are enunciating the fundamental principle which is to govern Israel's entire sacrificial system . . .' (p. 194 sq.). What avails it, then, to make the 'practicability' of D the centre of a theory when the responsibility for its 'impracticability' is shifted from the earlier to the later legislators?[2] So, we begin the book with the impracticability of an exilic D, and end

[1] He points out that this passage is entirely silent on the question of the Levites (p. 98 sq.; cf. 58 sq.), but what of Ezekiel's Zadokite and other Levites? He has not resolved the difficulties. Further, it is not easy to see why on p. 60 sq. he emphasizes the difference between the worshipper's 'house' (i.e. household, xii 7; cf. xv 20) and the members of his family (*v.* 12).

[2] After all, Exod. xxxiv 24 shews how the attempt could be made to calm natural fears: 'no one will try to seize thy land when thou goest to the sanctuary'. Compare also D's laws of war with the spirit of the story of Gideon's victory (Judges vii 2). See also 1 Macc. ii 34–38 as an illustration of the spirit that could account for 'impracticable' laws.

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with a very just appreciation of the splendid spirit inspiring the impracticable laws of a pre- (or early) monarchical D (p. 215).

However impracticable D in its present form may seem, and however probable Prof. Welch's view that primarily northern sanctuaries were intended,[1] the late Deuteronomic historians are a proof that the doctrine of a single, central sanctuary was deliberately maintained. Consequently O. T. criticism is justified in recognizing the fundamental importance of that doctrine. Not only that, but Prof. Welch has advanced no good reason why our D should be *before* the monarchy rather than *after*. Indeed, he does not deal with the bearing of Deuteronomic histories or redactions upon the date of D, nor does he touch upon the extent to which D and not P lies behind the books Ezra, Nehemiah, and Malachi. This is, to say the least, unfortunate. The problem of D cannot be isolated as in this book, and we are unable to correlate the outline of history and religion which he explicitly or implicitly proposes with the biblical and external evidence as a whole.[2]

The danger of isolating problems, common to all intensive and specialist work, is that one is apt to ignore external facts material to the particular problem in hand, and to build up and elaborate conclusions before testing them in the other problems which they affect. The best view of the O. T. must be that which most does justice to the many departments of O. T. study. The two books to which these pages have been devoted at least prevent O. T. criticism from settling on its lees, but an analysis of them does not suggest that the course of criticism has been an erroneous one, though every one must admit that errors have been made. If the books do not directly point to some 'new orientation' or to far-reaching developements, indirectly they are of no little service; it is at least encouraging to find that the most that can be brought against the critical theory is not so bad after all, and that the mistakes are remediable. Further, when, for example, Prof. Welch speaks of the 'theological temper' which lies behind the later unhistorical view of the conquest (p. 58), or of the 'theological theory' that accounts for P's conception of Israel's early history and religion (p. 176), or when we recall his legislator 'indifferent . . . to the consequences' (p. 60; see above), we may perhaps recognize more clearly than before, that what the writers *thought* was not only more important often than the history they recorded, but itself belongs to history. In other words, we have to trace out and unravel old theories, standpoints, and tendencies, and to construct a history of Israel in which they shall

[1] The evidence for the Samaritan passover is especially useful (p. 74 sq.).

[2] In spite of his strong protests against the excisions of Hempel and others (pp. 39 sq., 68, 170 sq.), Prof. Welch himself is obliged—we all are—to recognize addition or retouching (pp. 109, 117, 152, 160).

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find their proper place.[1] The history of the Israelite treatment of their past is one with the history of the religion of Israel itself, and it is exceedingly instructive to note at once the failure of these attacks upon modern criticism to do justice to the prophets, and the diverse straws that are pointing us to the middle centuries of the first millennium B. C.

In conclusion, so far from starting from isolated problems which often require excessively detailed arguments, it would be a sounder principle to concentrate upon those broader enquiries which are, in reality, making for a 'new orientation'. It is possible here to offer only the most general remarks. (1) From the Amarna Letters and other monumental material, and from the archaeological data, we can determine something of the religious life and thought of early Palestine. (2) From the prophets, and from various *membra disiecta*, we can form an idea of the character of early Yahwism; and this, indeed, proves to be more in accordance with what external evidence leads us to expect than with the biblical narratives which *describe* the pre-prophetic period. The distinctively spiritual religion which characterizes the O. T., and seems to begin in the patriarchal age—if not earlier—cannot be placed early in history. (3) There were two or more occasions after the entrance and settlement of Israel, when tribes from the surrounding deserts entered Palestine and could influence internal conditions. (4) The prophets' teaching of Yahweh's righteousness, and of the divine *Tōrah* which Israel must not disobey, takes us, not so much to Israelite tribes from the desert, but rather to the great ideas of truth, order, and righteousness which can be traced in Egypt and south-west Asia even in the Amarna age, that is, before the Israelite period.[2] (5) From Jeremiah and Ezekiel it is quite clear that a new Israel was coming into existence. Samaria was no foreign land, it was Yahweh's possession, like Judah; and internally it was probably more stable than was Judah, shaken as that land was by the great changes during and after the decline of its monarchy. (6) The seventh–fifth centuries B. C. are a period of far-reaching social and political disintegration in south-west Asia: we pass from the old world of Sumerians, Minoans, Hittites, Babylonians, Assyrians, Egyptians, to an Indo-European age, where the Persian and Greek ages lead up to the world of Christianity. (7) We have to ask how much is prior to the

[1] Mr Wiener, too, in his *Early Hebrew History*, speaks of a 'mistaken philosophy of history on the part of the narrator' (p. 94); an editor works up historical material 'in accordance with his philosophy of history' (p. 97), 'a later philosophy of history is misinterpreting the events' (p. 102), and so forth. Thus, there are far-reaching modes of treatment, tendencies, and the like which lie behind the narratives. These are of undoubted significance for the history of Israelite thought *of the later periods*, and they naturally compel us, sooner or later, to form our own theory of Israelite developement, if not our own philosophy of history.

[2] See *Cambridge Ancient History* ii 398 sqq.

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seventh–fifth century, how much is contemporary, and how much later. It proves easier to understand the later developements from the great prophets onward, than those which preceded; and whatever be the earliest date for the constituent portions of the biblical narratives, in their present form they are of exilic and later date.[1] The principle is a recognized one (see the note), and therefore JE and other relatively old literature must be approached from an exilic or later standpoint. The convenient formula, the Prophets precede the Law, should be extended to, the Prophets precede both the History and the Law, meaning that the great individualistic reformers who on the critical theory gave a new spirit to the religion of Israel, lie behind the simple and impressive treatment of the history of Israel, which shewed each and every Israelite his place in Yahweh's dispensation. Not that the formula is to be interpreted too literally, but that such a spirit as that of Jeremiah's New Covenant seems best to explain the democratic character of the popular narratives, and that through him and other reformers the local sanctuaries became the centre of a cult purer, more harmless, and more ethical, than ever before. The great prophets were the spiritual 'experts' or 'specialists'; intermediaries and compromisers and popularizers were necessary in order to bridge the gulf between them and P, and that which in the popular narratives strikes us as anti- or pre-prophetic can be better explained as due to compromise and adjustment, such as we can find in modern times in Roman Catholic and Mohammedan lands where the higher religion of the few must needs be 'accommodated' to the practical needs and simpler mentality of the many.

Finally (8), the seventh–fifth centuries B. C. are a period of remarkable religious significance in China (Lao-tse, Confucius), India (Gautama and Mahavira, the founders of Buddhism and of Jainism), Persia (Zoroaster, probably), Greece (Orphic cults, &c.). In Palestine Israelite religion reached its highest point in the Deutero-Isaiah, and especially in the conception of the Servant of the Lord. So lofty was the height reached that we are entitled to regard the literature as evidence for a movement of supreme importance for both religion and history. So exalted is the spirituality of the leading ideas (especially in Isa. liii), that

[1] Cf. G. B. Gray *Isaiah* p. xxxii 'the fact that the Book of Isaiah is not the work of the prophet Isaiah, but a post-exilic compilation, ought to be the starting-point in all detailed criticism, or interpretation of the Book . . . the Book is a post-exilic compilation: nor is it wise to minimize the significance of this conclusion'. Similarly Driver (*Lit. of the O. T.* p. 386): 'the Psalter, in all its parts, is a compilation of the post-exilic age . . . the proper method of inquiry is to make this our starting-point, and arguing back from it to endeavour so to determine what Psalms in it may be of *pre*-exilic origin'. But the same principle must also be applied to JE and other old literature now preserved by exilic or post-exilic writers (DP).

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it is legitimate to find therein the culminating point of the developement of the religion, and to recognize that O. T. criticism must do justice to both the religious and the historical significance of the facts that lie beneath the ideas. The present writer is of those who believe that a supreme and unique personality can here be recognized—one certainly not inferior to those who changed the course of religion in other parts of the old world and, roughly, at about the same period. Here, if anywhere, we may find the chief factor in the spiritual regeneration of the Israelite community, and our theories of the marvellous reconstruction of Israel, amid the decay and downfall of the surrounding empires, will be incomplete if Isa. xl sqq. are left out of the question.

Not the straightforward and progressive developement of a people from the desert south of Palestine, to the settlement, the monarchy, JE, D and P, but rather the downfall of one régime and the rise of another, the end of one order and the birth of a new one—this is what O. T. criticism and the external evidence combine to suggest, and no words are necessary to indicate how 'topical', how much more significant the study of such a developement must be at an age of unrest and disintegration like the present. Needless to say, the O. T. problems are not less serious, the technical details not less complicated, but progress in criticism lies in restating problems, and in finding what seem to be better avenues of approach. Whatever may be thought of the preceding paragraphs it can safely be said that the course of O. T. criticism, the facts of ancient history, and what is known of the great creative stages in the history of the world's religions unite to urge us to concentrate upon the middle centuries of the first millennium B. C., as our starting-point.

STANLEY A. COOK.

TWO NOTES ON THE ASCLEPIUS.

I. *Date.* It is usually held that the *Asclepius*, wrongly ascribed to Apuleius, is a translation of the Λόγος τέλειος mentioned in *Corp. Herm.* ix 1, and in the *Institutio diuina* of Lactantius.[1] The Greek original in the form in which the latter used it cannot be put later than the beginning of the fourth century of our era, and should probably be assigned to the latter part of the third: the Mimaut Magical Papyrus, which contains the concluding prayer, is dated *circa* A. D. 300.[2]

[1] J. Bernays *Monatsberichte d. Berl. Ak.* 1871 p. 500 ff = *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* i p. 327 ff. Against Zielinski's scepticism (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* viii p. 335$_1$) cf. J. M. Creed *J. T. S.* xv p. 516.

[2] R. Reitzenstein *A. R. W.* vii p. 393 ff, Fahz *ap.* Kroll Pauly-Wissowa viii p. 821. 58. Zeller *Phil. d. Gr.* iii 2^4, p. 244 has shewn (against Bernays) that chapters xii and xiv are incompatible with a date early in the third century.

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Accepting this view, due to Bernays, we must accept his further contention that ch. xxiv p. 61. 10 (ed. Thomas) *alienigenis enim regionem istam complentibus non solum †neglectum religionum sed, quod est durius, quasi de legibus a religione pietate cultuque diuino statuetur praescripta poena prohibitio*; and ch. xxv p. 63. 1 *sed, mihi credite, et capitale periculum constituetur in eum qui se mentis religioni dederit*, are later insertions in a passage known to Lactantius and quoted by him.[1] They add a further point to what was a description of an ἀποκατάστασις. It is unlikely that the addition was made before there was any serious possibility of Christian suppression of paganism, and impossible that it should be later than the beginning of the fifth century (St Augustine quotes this 'anticipation' in *Ciu. Dei* viii 23). It may indeed be that the insertions date from the time of Constantius, who closed temples and forbade human sacrifices on pain of death. At the same time it may then have seemed to many that the doom of paganism was far from sealed: a writer who must be dated after 350 says of Alexandria *dii coluntur eminenter*.[2] To those who regarded the Christian ascendancy as a temporary phase the failure of Julian's reaction brought disillusionment, if their vision was not dimmed by their belief. We suggest, therefore, that the forecast comes from that period of the reign of Theodosius when Cynegius was busy suppressing heathen worship in Egypt (384 and later), before the rescripts of 391 and 392 and before the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 391, after which paganism was reduced to a shadowy existence in Philae and such places.[3] Such a prophecy was natural at a time when the end was obvious but had not come.

We can perhaps approach a little nearer to the source of this addition. Eunapius, in his life of Aedesius, relates that one of that sophist's three sons, Antoninus by name, devoted himself to the ritual of a small shrine at the Canopic mouth of the Nile: he was surrounded by a band of devoted youths.[4] This Antoninus, 'while yet appearing to be a man

[1] Bernays suggests with reason (p. 344) that the proper place for the first insertion would be after *uicina barbaria*, p. 61. 20, and remarks that *quasi* clearly corresponds to δῆθεν in the original.

[2] *Expositio totius mundi* § 35 (*Geogr. gr. min.* ii p. 520 *B* text): for its date cf. M. Schanz *Gesch. röm. Litt.* iv 2 p. 126 § 1062. V. Schultze (*Gesch. d. Untergangs d. griech.-röm. Heidentums* ii p. 218 ff) gives good reason for disbelieving this statement. For the legislation of this period cf. *Cod. Theod.* xvi 10. 1 (341: no sacrifices), 5 (Nov. 23, 353: the concession of Maxentius withdrawn), § 4 (†354), § 6 (Feb. 19, 356: more stringent): yet Symmach. *Rel.* 3. 7 contrasts C.'s moderation favourably with that of Gratian.

[3] For this phrase cf. U. Wilcken *Arch. f. Papyrusforschung* i p. 398 ff.

[4] p. 41 Boissonade (1822): ἡ νεότης τῶν ὑγιαινόντων τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἐπιθυμούντων ἐφοίτων πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν νεανίσκων ἱερεῶν μεστὸν ἦν, which shews the esoteric nature of this cult. Geffcken's sketch of these conditions is admirable

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and associating with men, warned all his associates that the temple would not survive him, nay, even the great and holy shrine of Serapis would pass and be changed to shadow and formlessness, and fabulous and foul darkness would hold in thrall the fairest things on earth. And time proved all this true, and the saying attained the force of an oracle.'[1] Antoninus or some similar Egyptian pagan[2] may well have inserted the parallel prophecy here; or again, its origin may be in one of those forgeries of which the *Oracula Sibyllina* are the most familiar. They contain anticipations of the end of Egyptian idolatry[3]; in the same way, in the Christian Χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν, Apollo and Artemis are made to prophesy their coming downfall.[4] Some more developed oracle, foretelling impending pains and penalties, may well have been produced by a Christian in the fourth century and then fathered on a prominent pagan by his adherents as a proof of his prescience.

The insertion (we must not say interpolation[5]) was clearly made in the Greek, and the Λόγος τέλειος, thus enlarged, was given a Latin dress at or about the close of the fourth century.[6]

II. *View of images.* A little earlier Hermes states that man makes gods in his likeness.[7] Do you refer to statues? says Asclepius. Yes, says Hermes: *uidesne quantum tu ipse diffidas: statuas animatas sensu et spiritu plenas tantaque facientes et talia, statuas futurorum praescias*

(*Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* 1920, p. 178 ff): he, too, quotes the prophecy of Antoninus side by side with that in the *Asclepius*.

[1] Antoninus died shortly before the destruction of the Serapeum.

[2] The *Asclepius* is throughout Egyptian in feeling; with the depreciation of Greek philosophy ch. xiii p. 48. 20 ff cf. *C. H.* xvi 2 p. 349 Reitzenstein.

[3] iii 618 (p. 80, Geffcken) ἔργα δὲ χειροποίητα πυρὸς φλογὶ πάντα πεσεῖται, v 53 (p. 106) †Ἴσιδος ἡ γνωστὴ† καὶ χρησμῶν ἔνθεον ὕμνον | πρῶτον μὲν περὶ σεῖο βάσιν ναοῦ πολυκλαύστου | μαινάδες ἀίξουσι καὶ ἐν παλάμῃσι κακῇσιν | ἔσσεαι ἤματι τῷδε ὅταν ποτὲ Νείλος ὀδεύσῃ | γαῖαν ὅλην Αἴγυπτον ἔως πηχῶν δέκα καὶ ἓξ (88 gives merely war and a failure of the Nile), 484 (p. 127) Ἴσι θεὰ τριτάλαινα, μενεῖς ἐπὶ χείμασι Νείλου | μούνη μαινὰς ἄνανδος ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις Ἀχέροντος | κοὐκέτι σοῦ μνεία γε μενεῖ κατὰ γαῖαν ἅπασαν. | καὶ σὺ Σάραπι λίθους ἀργοὺς ἐπειμένε πολλοὺς | κείσῃ πτῶμα μέγιστον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τριταλαίνῃ (Rzach *P. W.* ii A p. 2138. 56 attributes these last lines to a Jew living in Egypt during the principate of Domitian; they are quoted by Clem. Al. *Protr.* iv 50).

[4] § 16 (K. Buresch *Klaros* p. 99), § 51 (*ib.* p. 110).

[5] Cf. Reitzenstein *Poimandres* p. 195. The threat in *Apoc. Ioh.* xxii 18 was not unwanted.

[6] For its mistranslations cf. Bernays p. 332, and add xxvi p. 63. 20 *errorem reuocans* for *ἀνακαλεσάμενος τὴν πλάνην* (*ap.* Lactant. *I. D.* vii 18), where *errore reuocans* would have been preferable. The translation was probably made in Africa (cf. J. Carcopino *Rev. Arch.* 1922 xv p. 280 ff).

[7] Cf. Hor. *Sat.* i 8. 2 *scamnum faceretne Priapum*; in ch. xxxviii p. 78. 7 a definite inducement of the spirit to enter the image is imagined (as in the view mentioned by Arnob. vi 17).

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eaque sorte uate somniis multisque aliis rebus praedicentes, imbecillitates hominum facientes easque curantes, tristitiam laetitiamque pro meritis (ch. xxiii p. 60. 12). Here popular belief has been directly incorporated in the Hermetic system, which rejected (for instance) animal sacrifice. The prophetic, punitive, and medicinal activities of idols are familiar,[1] and the notion that the god or his spirit inhabits his image is common in Greece, in Egypt, and elsewhere.[2] The Neoplatonists spiritualized this conception,[3] and contemporary Christians held that pagan cult statues were tenanted by devils.[4]

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The papyrus text is *ποίησον με γενέσθαι ἐν ὀνόμασι πάντων κτισμάτων λύκον κύνα λέοντα πῦρ δένδρον γῦπα τεῖχος ὕδωρ ἢ ὃ θέλεις, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ.*[5] Dieterich emends *ὀνόμασι* to *ὁμοίωμασι* (*Abraxas* p. 190). No change is, however, necessary: *γίγνεσθαι ἐν* is a Hebraism for *γίγνεσθαι*,[6] and

[1] For prophecy cf. Th. Hopfner *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* i p. 219 § 814, p. 216 § 808, Gruppe *Griech. Myth. und Rel.* p. 1295: for *sorte* cf. Gruppe p. 982$_4$, Macrob. *Sat.* i 23. 13; the general belief is accepted by Procl. *In Tim.* 40 D, Δ p. 287 C (iii p. 155. 20 Diehl), *διά τινων συμβόλων ἐπιτήδεια ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ μερικῆς ὕλης γενόμενα καὶ φθαρτῆς εἰς τὸ μετέχειν θεοῦ καὶ κινεῖσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ προλέγειν τὸ μέλλον.* For healing cf. Lucian *Philops.* 19 [image of Pellichos of Corinth: Rohde (*Psyche* ii^3 p. 352) calls the story 'sehr nett und im richtigen Volkston gehalten'], *Deor. conc.* 12 (Polydamas); for punishment, *Philops.* 20, Pausan. vi 11. 2 ff, Rohde *op. cit.* i p. 194. 2. The idol of Eunostos was said to go of itself on occasions to the sea to bathe (Plut. *Quaest. gr.* 40, p. 301 A: so also the *Mater deum* at Rome once, Dio Cass. xlviii 43).

[2] For Greece cf. Gruppe p. 980 ff (and Radermacher's excellent remarks, *Festschrift Gomperz* p. 197 ff on the identification of a thing and its representation: primitive man sometimes fears that, if represented, he will die: cf. R. Andree *Ethnographische Parallelen* ii p. 18 ff, J. G. Frazer *Golden Bough*^{3} iii p. 96 ff), C. Clerc *Les théories relatives aux cultes des images chez les auteurs grecs du IIme siècle après J. C.* (1915) *passim*; J. Geffcken *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* xix p. 286 ff; for Egypt, Hopfner *op. cit.* i p. 172 § 678, 217 § 808, also *G. B.*^{3} i p. 67, *G. B.*^{3} iv p. 199 (soul of dead man enters idol: Malay Isles), viii p. 123 (Dutch E. Indies), ix p. 172 (S. Indies), p. 203 (Tibet, Guinea).

[3] Cf. Zeller iii 2 p. 681 f (Plotinus), p. 755 (Iamblichus), Iambl. *De Myst.* i 9 p. 30. 14 *θείας μετουσίας ἀνάπλεα*: and note *C. H.* xvii p. 354. 20 R *διὼ προσκύνει τὰ ἀγάλματα ὡς καὶ αὐτὰ ἰδέας ἔχοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου*, Geffcken *l. c.* p. 304.

[4] Cf. S. Cypr. *Quod idola non sunt dii* 7 (i p. 24, Hartel), *hi ergo spiritus ut statuis atque imaginibus delitescunt, Acta S. Symphoriosae* p. 23, Ruinart.^{2} *sacrificiis idolorum ac daemonum qui in idolis habitant*, and Diels *Elementum* p. 55.

[5] Leemans *Pap. Mus. Lugd.* ii p. 103. 11.

[6] Cf. E. Moering *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* lxxxxii (1919) p. 148 ff for his explanation of *ἐγενόμην ἐν πνεύματι* (*Rev.* i 10, iv 2) as equivalent to *ἐγενόμην πνεῦμα*, *ib.* p. 153 for the Hebraic origin of this use of the preposition (also for its wide range of meaning in the *koinè* J. H. Moulton *Grammar of New Testament Greek* i p. 103, A. T. Robertson *Grammar of the Greek N.T.*^{3} p. 584 ff).

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Hebraisms are not out of place in a work professing to be Βίβλος ἱερὰ ἐπικαλουμένη Μονὰς ἢ ὀγδόη Μωύσεως περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ ἁγίου[1]: further, ὀνόμασι πάντων κτισμάτων hardly differs from πᾶσι κτίσμασι.[2]

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THE BOBBIO MISSAL.[3]

'A LITTLE over twelve hundred years ago, in an obscure village somewhere on this side of the Alps, in a district where French was the spoken language, near a convent of nuns, an old cleric once copied a service-book. His hand was not very steady, but he wrote with a will, and meant to do a good job. His parchment was not of the best, and his penmanship shewed that he was no master of the craft. He had two kinds of ink: ordinary dark for the text, and red for the rubrics. He used the red as unskilfully as the black. He had little time, busy priest that he was, for over-care or refinements to bestow on titles and rubrics. But he could not deny himself the pleasure of some ornamentation, so when he could he copied a decorative initial, with results pathetic in their crudity. The old scribe was trying to follow his original page for page. When he came to passages he knew by heart, such as lessons from the gospels or prophets, he often cast a mere glance at his copy, and trusted his memory for the rest. He was a simple, downright man—no purist in spelling or grammar. He wrote as he spoke, with *ci* for *ti*, soft *g* for *j*, and vice versa; and he had small regard for case or verb endings. Coming from a modest place, he could not afford many books, so he crowded into his Missal much more than properly belonged there. And when his parchment went back on him, he borrowed fortuitous scraps.

'In the centuries that elapsed between the writing of the Missal and its discovery by Mabillon, many a priceless manuscript treasure has been destroyed and lost to us for ever. By some strange freak of fate, this homely copy by an obscure, unnamed cleric has survived to puzzle and edify us.'

[1] Cf. Dieterich *op. cit.* p. 137 ff.

[2] Cf. Reitzenstein *Poimandres* p. 176 (Πνεῦμα τὸ διῆκον ἀπὸ οὐρανοῦ ~ ὄνομα τὸ διῆκον), and for identification of name and thing, Th. Hopfner *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* i p. 177 § 693, 180 § 703, J. G. Frazer *G. B.*[3] iii p. 319, also the coins on which the king's name is represented as being crowned by a deity [coins of Lysimachus, Head *Coins of the Ancients*[2] pl. xxviii 19, 20; *Historia Numorum*[2] p. 284 fig. 170; of the Bithynian kings, *H. N.*[2] p. 519; of the Pergamene kings, *H. N.*[2] p. 533].

[3] Henry Bradshaw Society's Publications: No. liii, *The Bobbio Missal* (Facsimile); No. lviii (Text); No. lxi (Notes and Studies by Dom André Wilmart, Dr E. A. Lowe and the Rev. H. A. Wilson), 1924.

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In these lively paragraphs Dr Lowe (p. 105 f) sums up the result of more than two centuries of investigation into the origin of what is perhaps the oldest Mass-book that survives entire. And even here he does not carry every vote, for Dom Wilmart, agreeing with Edmund Bishop, would place it 'aux environs de Bobbio' (p. 58). Who shall decide? In one sense, of course, it does not matter, because *Bobiense*, even if most of it be a direct copy of another codex, is not the representative of a definite edition of the Service-book, but rather a specimen of the kind of book that was current in the Merovingian period. It is a mixture of true Roman, Gallican, and Irish elements: 'le Missel de Bobbio est, quoi qu'on pense pour le reste, un témoin gallican. Un autre fait important, maintes fois relevé, est la trace d'influences irlandaises'. So Dom Wilmart (p. 39), but he goes on to say, very frankly: 'Mais la difficulté est de savoir quelle portée il faut donner à ce fait'.

We are dealing with events of the Dark Ages, when the only civilization there was was the memory of Rome. There was no organic developement during this period, no conscious change of system. The scribe of *Bobiense* called his Mass 'Missa Romensis'. But to the 'Roman' form variations were continually made, giving expression to the various barbarian—Irish, Gallo-Frankish, Visigothic—tendencies in the expression of their worship. From time to time, notably under Charlemagne, reforms were made by bringing in the true, authentic, Roman use, which then in turn becomes infected by non-Roman elements and interpolated with supplements, too much endeared by familiarity and manner to be let go.

Meanwhile Rome itself changed somewhat from century to century. What the liturgical arrangements were in the time of Leo (†461) is, strictly speaking, a matter of conjecture. There may still have been a certain amount of spontaneity left to the minister in various parts of the services, though S. Leo himself no doubt had a decisive share in fixing the form of that peculiarly Roman prayer which we know as the Collect. It is likely that Gelasius (†496) drew up or approved a form for all Services, perhaps (as Edmund Bishop suggested somewhere in his Notes to the *Book of Cerne*) as a kind of protest against barbarian forms and phraseology. But this Gelasian book was the Roman standard only during the sixth century: Gregory the Great (†604) revised all parts of the liturgy, including even the musical portions: from 600 onwards it is S. Gregory's book, not that of S. Gelasius, that is used at Rome, and those who send to Rome for a standard liturgy will be given Gregory's book and not the *Gelasianum*.

But some churches during the sixth century had taken pains to be up to date: we know there was at least one place in France which had

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adopted the Roman *Gelasianum*, and it was certainly done at Coire. Once adopted in these semi-barbarian lands the process of change began, and though our oldest copy was written before 650 (*Vat. Reg.* 316, Wilson's V) it is already not quite the true *Gelasianum*, but has taken up elements of Gallican origin. Still more changed are the later MSS which reflect the use of some parts of the districts to the north-east of Switzerland in the generation that preceded the reforms of Charlemagne.

The districts in which we can trace the use of the *Gelasianum* (progressively un-Romanized, it is true, but still clearly a form of the *Gelasianum*), are German districts, districts of missionary enterprise, newly-Christianized districts. Gaul, Spain, and Ireland, where Christianity had been at home for generations, had no need to adopt the new Service-book *en bloc*. Roman fashions were not without influence in these lands, but they were adopted one by one, if adopted at all. At a much later period, indeed, after two more centuries of general confusion, the genius of Charlemagne saw the need for uniformity (or, at least, a good deal more uniformity), and a general reform was made by the imposition of Pope Hadrian's *Gregorianum*, with or without its supplement. But in the sixth century the contemporary Roman influence was sporadic, and much that was current, if Roman at all, was Roman of a yet earlier period.

So it comes to pass that the perhaps Burgundian *Bobiense*, the Irish *Stowe* Missal, and the *Missale Francorum* contain elements which may be older even than the *Gelasianum*.[1] Readers of the JOURNAL will remember the noteworthy examination of the text of the Canon in all these MSS by Edmund Bishop (vol. iv, 555–577). In the same article, p. 576, Mr Bishop brought forward a striking instance of the *ingenium* of the Bobbio text, concerning its treatment of the recitation of the names of the departed. Bishop's article, indeed, might well be added as an Introduction to *Bobiense*, in addition to the admirable essays of Dom Wilmart and Dr Lowe, and the invaluable series of Notes on parallel liturgical forms contributed by Mr Wilson. In any case, even if all the problems have not yet been solved, the Henry Bradshaw Society has now put into the hands of the liturgical student in a convenient form all that is necessary for the study of this ancient Book.

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[1] It is a pity that the *Missale Gothicum*, which seems to be the best example of a 'Gallican' Sacramentary, contains only a fragment of its *Missa cotidiana Rominsis.*

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A FURTHER NOTE ON AARON'S HEAD-DRESS.

WHILE the interesting interpretation of Exod. xxviii 36 proposed by Mr J. E. Hogg is still fresh in the minds of readers of this JOURNAL (*J. T. S.* for last October, p. 75), it may be well to shew that it was also held by Bar Hebraeus, who must ultimately have derived it from Origen. Mr Hogg, it will be remembered, understands the text to mean 'thou shalt inscribe on it (the Head-dress) a sacred symbol signifying "Jahve"', i. e. the Tetragrammaton itself and nothing more.

Bar Hebraeus (quoted in 1828 by Wiseman *Horae Syriacae* p. 25, from Cod. Vat. clxxi) says: '"And carve upon it the carving of a seal Holiness to the LORD", that is, the name of the LORD in this figure ΠΡΠΡ, which is *Yahyah*.'

Origen (on Ps. ii 2) says ἔστι δέ τι τετραγράμματον ἀνεκφωνητὸν παρ' αὐτοῖσ ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πετάλου τοῦ ἀρχιερέωσ ἀναγέγραπται. It is possible that Origen only derived his ideas from the passage in Philo quoted by Mr Hogg, but in any case he evidently held the view that the only writing on the Head-dress was the one sacred Name.

F. C. BURKITT.

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REVIEWS

The Apocryphal New Testament, newly translated by MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, Litt.D., F.B.A., F.S.A., Provost of Eton; sometime Provost of King's College, Cambridge. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.)

THE present volume is a great stride forward in our knowledge of what is comprehensively termed the New Testament Apocrypha. It is marked throughout by the learning which we are accustomed to look for in the Author, whose range, directly or indirectly, covers all the Oriental languages and descends occasionally even to Mediaeval English. Wherever, in fact, a document can be found that belongs to the evangelical tradition, Ethiopic, Coptic, Armenian, Syriac, Dr James takes toll of them all, with the view, not only of providing scholars with a hand-book and hand-literature of the subject, but also with a care for the man in the street, for whom Apocrypha may be hurtful if not properly handled. No such work, for range or accuracy, has before been available in English, and its appearance will ensure for the writer the new title, over and above his other ornaments, of the English Fabricius.

The importance of the book, as well as the excellence of its workmanship, makes it possible for me to offer a few criticisms without detraction, I trust, from its obvious and abiding merits.

Dr James has run the risk which is common to the man who tries to ride two horses, either alternatively or at once. He faces the requirements of scholars (at least up to a certain point), but he is at the same time 'taking thought' for non-scholarly readers. This leads him to an unnecessary disquisition on the demerits of the *Apocryphal New Testament* of his own immediate predecessor, William Hone, who published his volume in 1820. The book had an irritating and inaccurate preface, of which Dr James is naturally contemptuous, and he intimates that Mr Hone deserved even more severe treatment than he has actually received. Now this was entirely unnecessary; Hone was a very useful person in his day, and was almost the father of modern folk-lore. If he failed to distinguish accurately between the Apostolic Fathers and Apocryphal writers, the fault was not wholly his own; for (as Dr James points out), in his translation of the one he was following Archbishop Wake, and Jeremiah Jones in his rendering of the other. From which it is easy to see that Jones is the real and lineal ancestor of Dr James, and that he came near to being an English Fabricius on his own

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account. Indeed, Hone might have been left out if Jones had been put in. He did not deserve either the greatness thrust upon him or the blame he has been made to bear. If he was not himself a scholar, yet in view of the influence which he exerted on Dr James in his early years, it may be said of him that he 'begot' one—as with Banquo, 'Thou shalt get kings, though thou be none'.

Setting Hone, then, on one side, we come to the general plan and fabric of the work, which is the collecting and arranging of the Apocryphal writings belonging to and arising out of the New Testament. Here I think it strange that the author has made his classification by the titles of the Apocryphal books and not by their contents. We should have expected an A. D. and B. C. classification, or a Jewish and Christian division; the *Gospel of the Infancy* is, of course, New Testament Apocrypha, but no reason is given, nor can be, why such a book as, let us say, the *Ascension of Isaiah*, which tells of the Mission of the Twelve Apostles and of the Resurrection of the Lord, should be rejected from the New Testament Apocrypha and consigned to the Old, or left, hanging in the air, between the two. Dr James makes an apology for his division of the writings. He says (Preface, p. xxvi), 'It is, I hope, obvious, that I ought not to have included in an Apocryphal *New* Testament the Christian or Christianized books which bear the names of *Old* Testament Worthies, but I shall be right in recording that there are such books'. Amongst the books thus dismissed are several which are of the highest importance for New Testament study, and are themselves pendants to the New Testament. Certainly it is not by any means obvious that the author was justified in limiting the works which he translates to those which do not happen to have, in their titles, a link with the Old Testament.

However, I do concede that the chief difficulty in producing this admirable volume lay in the selection of material. A similar problem presented itself even within the limits chosen by the author, and here also the selection is, at times, disappointing. For instance, when Dr James comes to the book called the *Acts of John* as interpreted by his disciple Prochorus, an interesting Apocryphon in its own way, he sets it on one side. He tells me privately that he has done so on account of the lateness of the composition. In the printed reference he says that 'it is not supposed to be earlier than the fifth century', and that 'Prochorus . . . stories are not very interesting'. To this I reply that the author does not generally limit himself to works prior to the fifth century, and that there is matter in these *Acts* which is both interesting and important. For example, the narrative of the conflict between St John in Patmos and a magician named Dog-face may be an intimation that Christianity itself came up against the survival of

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an Egyptian cult in the island. For that reason alone we should have liked some parts, at least, of the Prochorus Acts included in the volume.

One of the most important sections into which the book is divided has the title *Agrapha*, that is, the unrecorded 'Sayings of our Lord'. For all readers this section will be of the highest value. Amongst the well-known matter is the story which Irenaeus tells from Papias, of a conversation between our Lord and His disciples on the fertility of the regenerated earth (a new earth wherein dwells righteousness in the form of fertility) in the times of the Messiah. We need not repeat in detail the story of the vines with ten thousand shoots and the shoots with ten thousand clusters, &c. It is one of the very early discourses of our Lord, outside the pages of the New Testament. Dr James shews that it was known to Hippolytus, and that we can trace it in the Jewish *Apocalypse of Baruch*, but he fails to note that it is also implied in the tenth chapter of *Enoch*. This is very important, (i) because it may place our Lord in a direct line of dependence upon Enoch; (ii) because the origin of the whole parabolic account lies in a Midrash upon the blessing of Isaac, where the promise is made that there shall be abundance of corn and wine ('abundance' being read in Hebrew as 10,000). This is the most striking instance of the dependence of our Lord's teaching upon a Jewish Midrash. So we think that in a future edition (may there be many!) there should be a reference both to *Enoch* and to the *Blessing of Isaac*.

Coming to the *Infancy Gospels* and such other matter as is extant in Tischendorf's *Evangelia Apocrypha*, we find that Dr James elects to follow the text of Tischendorf, with reserved liberty for occasional divergence. But in thus attaching himself so closely to Tischendorf's badly edited texts, he has sometimes done injustice to his subject, and obscured important points. For example, in the treatment of the *Protevangelium* or *Book of James*, we have the traditional story, dear to mediaeval artists and writers, of the marriage relations of Joachim and Anna who are said to be the parents of the Virgin. As they have no children before the birth of Mary, Joachim leaves his wife in temporary widowhood, and betakes himself to his flocks and the wilderness. Here he has an angelic visitant who tells him to go home, 'for behold thy wife Anna shall conceive'. A glance at the textual apparatus will shew that it ought to be 'thy wife Anna *hath conceived*', i. e. miraculously and *in absentia*. When Joachim reaches home, Anna meets him with the exultant cry, 'I am no more a widow; she that was childless shall conceive'; clearly this should read, 'I that was childless *have conceived*'; it was a case of what we may call 'telegamy'. As the interpretation has some theological value, it is a pity that Dr James has not re-edited his Tischendorf.

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Scholars may need to be reminded, in judging of the new translation, that delicacy has often compelled the writer to modify (I do not like the word Bowdlerize) the texts upon which he is engaged. An illustration of this occurs in ch. 19 and ch. 20 of the *Protevangelium*, where a parallel to St Thomas's experience in the Gospel of John is obscured by translating the word for 'nature' literally. In the twenty-fourth chapter of the same book we have the story of the murder of Zacharias in the Temple. It is said that 'the panels of the temple did wail; and they rent *their clothes* from the top to the bottom', with a various reading 'and (*the panels*) were split &c.'. Surely a reference to Amos viii 3 should have been added: καὶ ὀλολύξει τὰ φατνώματα τοῦ ναοῦ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, which is taken bodily into the text, and shews the footnote to be the better reading.

Coming to the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* we find an interesting instance where Dr James alters the text of Tischendorf, and alters it for the worse. It is in ch. 30 where Jesus is explaining to schoolmaster Zacchaeus and to Joseph His own pre-existence. 'I will tell you more', He says; 'I have seen Abraham and he has seen me.' This is corrected by our author to 'I have seen Abraham', in which form it corresponds to the question of the Jews in John viii 57, 'Hast thou seen Abraham?' Dr James has taken the wrong half of Tischendorf's conflated text: it should have run, 'Has Abraham seen thee?' in accordance with the Lewis Syriac in John.

Perhaps I may be excused, in making suggestions for the reform of Dr James's chosen texts, if I refer to a point in the *Acts of Philip*, on which I made some comment in the *Expository Times* for December 1924. In these Acts Dr James is working from the text of Bonnet, which he has severely abbreviated. In ch. 39 we have as follows:

'Philip said to Bartholomew in Hebrew: Here is John the son of Barĕga (*or*, he that is in Barek), that is (*or*, where is) the living water.'

What this really means is that John has the title 'Son of Barqa', or 'Son of Lightning', and although the reference in the *Acts of Philip* is confused, it is important because it confirms and furnishes a parallel to the *Boanerges* or 'Sons of Thunder' in the Gospel of Mark.

With regard to the *Acts of Thomas*, one of the most important (perhaps the most important) of all Apocryphal Acts, I am seriously disappointed in the text which Dr James chooses for translation. It is well known to Syriac scholars that these *Acts* were written in Syriac, and Dr James does not seriously contest this. 'My version', he says, 'is made from the Greek text (Bonnet, 1903) with an eye on the Syriac as rendered by Wright, and by Mrs Lewis and Bevan.' Bonnet's Greek text, as far as I have been able to see, is a fusion of two separate trans-

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lations out of Syriac into Greek, and ought not to have been made the foundation of the new translator's edifice. Nor will an occasional glance at the Syriac translations make amends for this initial error, or suffice to insure an accurate interpretation. It may be that this part of the volume will prove the least satisfactory. But, when all criticisms are made, what a volume it is, by how masterly a hand! We sometimes look back to what appear to be the great ages of scholarship, when a folio seemed produced with as much ease as a four-paged tract, and wonder how these historical colossi lived and worked. But while generous to the past, let us be just to the present. To-day we look round and find that, so far from scholarship being decadent or obsolescent, it is greatly alive; and that the race of scholars is not at all like the Hebrew Nephilim—a product of the days before the Flood.

RENDEL HARRIS.

The Study of the New Testament: 1883 *and* 1920. An Inaugural Lecture by C. H. TURNER, Oxford, October 1920, Second Edition 1924.

The Early Printed Editions of the Greek Testament, by C. H. TURNER, Oxford, 1924.

IT speaks well for the interest still maintained at Oxford in the study of the New Testament that Professor Turner's Inaugural Lecture has reached a second edition. He has added to it six pages of additional Notes (pp. 67–72), which substantially augment its value without taking from the freshness of the original publication. In a sense it is a memorial, and a worthy memorial, to Professor Turner's predecessor Dr Sanday, who came back to Oxford as Ireland Professor in 1883 and, it is not too much to say, thereby started the modern study of the New Testament in that great but hitherto conservative University. His immediate predecessors had been Hawkins of Oriel, Scott of the Lexicon, and Liddon: what a different world these names call up!

Professor Turner arranges his survey by subjects. In Canon he names the discovery of the Didache (1883) and the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter (1892) as first in importance. In the literature of the Apostolic Fathers he pays due homage to Lightfoot's great work (1885–1890), and calls for a new critical edition of Hermas. In Chronology he gives a clear account of the inscription at Delphi which mentions Gallio: the space given to this on p. 16 is well spent, for it is the pivot of all dates that concern St Paul. In matters concerning the Pauline

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Epistles due emphasis is given to the great changes in our views due to the South-Galatian theory, so ably championed by Sir William Ramsay, which enables us to put 'Galatians' before the Apostolic Conference. But when Prof. Turner says 'the date of the Roman epistle is fixed' (p. 23), I think he must have forgotten Prof. Lake's discussion of the 'Short Recension' of the Epistle (i. e. Rom. i–xiv) in his *Earlier Epistles of St Paul* p. 335 ff. I note with interest that Prof. Turner adopts an early date for 1 Peter.

On the Apocalypse attention should be drawn to a notable criticism of Dr Charles in the Additional Notes (pp. 67–69). On Acts, Prof. Turner decides (p. 30) that the Western text is right in leaving out 'things strangled' in Acts xv 20, 28. Here he actually agrees with what Lake wrote in 1911, but not even this conjunction appears to me decisive.

'If the vindication of the book of Acts represents the chief achievement for the modern period of conservative reaction, the Fourth Gospel is undoubtedly the book, out of the whole New Testament, in regard to which during the same epoch criticism has succeeded in effecting among us the most serious breaches in the bulwarks of tradition' (p. 32) —this is surely a notable pronouncement, which sums up the tendency of forty years of intensive study. On the Synoptic Problem Prof. Turner discusses the reasons that prevented scholars for so long from regarding Mark as an actual source for Matthew and Luke. This is a very interesting problem, to which justice has not even yet been done. What is certain is that it is during the period surveyed by Turner (i. e. from 1883 onward) that the primary position of the Gospel of Mark has come into general recognition. Yet no less a scholar than Lachmann had laid down the main lines by which it is demonstrated so long ago as 1835! This was a greater achievement even than his edition of the Greek Testament, which Turner duly mentions on p. 48.

On p. 47 Prof. Turner follows Hort in pleading for a temperate use of conjecture in the text of the New Testament, and he gives several suggestions, all of them interesting and sober, if not quite convincing. In Mk. iv 29 he would read καιρόσ for καρπόσ, translating 'when the season allows'. In Mk. ix 9–13 he puts *ver.* 12b ('and how . . . set at nought?') between *vv.* 10 and 11, so that it is part of the disciples' puzzled questioning. And in Mk. x 32 he suggests ἐθαμβεῖτο for ἐθαμβοῦντο: certainly the story that immediately follows shews that James and John were then not too much but too little 'amazed' at the situation. On p. 71 f, in the Additional Notes, Turner suggests that in Heb. xiii 9 διδαχαῖσ should be δοχαῖσ, i. e. the readers should be 'stablished by grace not by meats', as the following clause phrases it.

The Lecture on the Early Printed Editions is a full and readable

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summary. It differs from most similar accounts in the fact that Prof. Turner very well realizes that as an 'authority' for constituting a critical text the Vulgate, even as printed in Erasmus's day, is a better witness than the so-called *Textus Receptus*: it is a merit, as we now know, not a defect, that the Doxology should be absent from the *Pater noster*. But that was hardly the question at issue between Erasmus and his critics. It was the new rendering by Erasmus into Latin, still the *lingua franca* of book readers, that was exciting. It diverted attention from the familiar cadences to the meaning, making Scripture dangerously fresh and arresting.

On p. 9 I think *l* ought not to be quoted where it agrees with the Vulgate *in Mark*, and syr.*S.* should be added to the Armenian and the Sahidic.

F. C. BURKITT.

PAUL OF SAMOSATA.

Paul de Samosate: Étude historique, by GUSTAVE BARDY. (E. Champion, Paris, 1923.)

Paulus von Samosata, by FRIEDRICH LOOFS. (J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1924.)

IT must probably be counted among the results of the cleavage in European Society due to the war that two such scholars as M. Gustave Bardy, of the Facultés Catholiques at Lille, and Dr Friedrich Loofs, Professor at Halle, could be each at work on an important study of Paul of Samosata without either discovering that the other was so employed.

It has so fallen out.

M. Bardy published his book in the series 'Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense', dating his preface September 30, 1923. Dr Loofs published his in the Third Series of 'Texte und Untersuchungen', and his preface, after a last minute re-drafting due to his having just received two English productions[1] dealing with his subject, was signed on April 26, 1924.

Both of these works belong to the first order of importance as dogmatic-historical studies. That of Dr Loofs offers the more convenient starting-point, because it sets out to give a new view of the position of Paul in the developement of Christian doctrine. Dr Harnack

[1] Dr Raven's *Apollinarianism* and Dr Lawlor's article in *J. T. S.*, October 1917, entitled 'The Sayings of Paul of Samosata'.

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has just characterized it[1] as the freshest and most stimulating work on the history of dogma in the last decade.

The title of the book is *Paulus von Samosata*. Its thesis is that Paul was no deliberate Dynamic-Monarchian, or Adoptionist heretic, but simply a prominent exponent of an archaic traditional form of theology and Christology somewhat exaggerated by motives of reaction against the rising tide of Origenistic metaphysical theology.

Dr Loofs labels the line of tradition which he believes Paul to represent 'Monotheist-Dyophysite', as emphasizing the unity of Godhead, and the distinction of divine and human elements in Christ. With it he contrasts another line of ancient tradition, characterized as 'Pluralistic-Monophysite', as tending to complicate the doctrine of the nature of Godhead for the sake of securing the unity and dignity of the Person of Christ.

These two lines of tradition he traces back into the first half of the second century. There he thinks he sees signs of the 'Pluralistic-Monophysite' line being a new and tentative thing, with the consequence that he gives priority to the 'Monotheist-Dyophysite'.

He acknowledges that from the first the two lines cross and interlace. Both are present in Hermas and 'Barnabas'. But the special aim of the Apologists caused them to give new impetus to the 'Pluralistic' line of developement, which thenceforward became dominant in all who were influenced by them. Where the two traditions were in equipoise (as in Tertullian) the theology that results is Economic-Trinitarian. But where the 'Pluralistic-Monophysite' line is in excess, there follows an increasing hypostatic distinction in the Godhead, and a corresponding obliteration of distinction of the natures in the Person of Christ. Origen gave overwhelming preponderance to the 'Pluralistic-Monophysite' motive, and so speeded on its way the doctrinal movement whose appointed end is virtual tritheism, with explicit monophysite Christology. In this picture of doctrinal developements, Paul of Samosata appears as a champion of the tradition that was losing ground. Dr Loofs sees represented in him the Monotheist-Dyophysite tradition very slightly modified by the other. He thinks that Paul deserves the name of Economic-Trinitarian almost as much as Tertullian, and that it is a slander to call him Psilanthropist.

That Paul has been the victim of slander is more than likely. We have no certain information about him that does not reach us through his enemies. Dr Loofs shews that it is probable that the whole of the

[1] *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, June 19, 1924, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, pp. 130–151, 'Die Reden Pauls von Samosata an Sabinus (Zenobia?) und seine Christologie'. The article is partly of the nature of a first review of Dr Loofs's book.

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surviving material for the history of Paul is to be traced back to one documentary source. This is the Synodal letter sent out by the bishops who condemned Paul. It embodied minutes, made by shorthand-writers, of a disputation between Paul and the Antiochene presbyter Malchion. Impartiality could hardly be expected of it. For its purpose is to justify the bishops in synod (barely representative of the Orient even) in declaring Paul out of Catholic communion, and in consecrating Domnus in his place.

But if one document is the source of all, it has not survived whole; nor are its surviving fragments to be collected and their text established without much labour. It is this labour that Dr Loofs has given so unstintingly in his book.

The nucleus-fragment is in Eusebius *H. E.* Book vii ch. 27–30. It is chiefly concerned with Paul's public conduct. But it yields four fragments of Paul's teaching, such as are the primary object of Dr Loofs's search. We are told that Paul entertained low and degrading notions of Christ, to the extent of saying that he was in nature mere man. Therefore bishops from all round hurried to Antioch, and frequent meetings were held in which Paul was challenged to give account of his teaching. The visiting bishops felt that he was heretical, but could not disclose any heresy, and for the time nothing was effected. At a later date, bishops were convened again, and a disputation took place in which Malchion, formerly 'head of the Sophists Greek School of Sciences at Antioch', and now a presbyter, drew Paul into utterances that could be represented as unmistakeably heretical.

Armed with this evidence the bishops deposed Paul, and put the matter beyond question by attacking his morals. But though they could condemn they could not unseat Paul, who was in the heyday of his temporal power. And he remained in practical possession at Antioch until Aurelian drove him out. So much for Eusebius. The Synodal letter[1] appears next as known to the Homoiousian group associated with Basil of Ancyra. Next it provides Eusebius of Dorylaeum with the materials for his 'Contestatio' against Nestorius. Finally it was used by Leontius of Byzantium and the Scythian monks in the sixth century. These Dr Loofs took to exhaust the surviving direct witness to the contents of the Synodal letter. (But see later.)

Between them these authors provide a considerable series of well-authenticated fragments of Paul. Unfortunately they had their own axes to grind, and it is necessary in each case to consider whether it is likely to have led them to distort their material so as to increase its effectiveness for their own purpose.

[1] 'The Synodal letter' is here and hereafter used to designate the whole document, including the minutes of the disputation.

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Dr Loofs numbers twenty-three 'fragments of Paul' of the first order of reliability from the sources already mentioned; and twenty-six more in descending order of value from Justinian,[1] a Syriac Catena,[2] three pseudo-Athanasian works,[3] the Λόγοι πρὸς Σαβῖνον[4] attributed to Paul, and Epiphanius.[5]

The fragments are, of course, the first evidence for the doctrinal position of Paul. But questions of historical circumstance affect the general result.

The first that Dr Loofs discusses is the temper of the synod towards Paul as shewn by their attack on his morals. He regards this as very disingenuous. For example, capital is made of his bad behaviour in church, and the incautious reader would assume that the time of Divine Service was in question. But on closer scrutiny, the occasion appears to be the church assembly at which the attempt was being made to call Paul to account for heterodox teaching, and even to entrap him into compromising himself. In such circumstances the conduct described is not scandalous.

It is again more than possible that the 'two women in the flower of their age' who provide such effective scandal were respectable, not to say venerable, consecrated virgins, employed in ministration to women. The matter is well discussed. And the moral is that some misunderstanding and not a little malice must be allowed for in everything that is told us to Paul's disadvantage.

The traditional idea of Paul's doctrine has been much coloured by the word 'Judaizing'. This was connected with a tale of Zenobia being a Jewess, or a convert to Judaism. And so a motive was given for Paul's supposed Adoptionism, or 'Ebionism', in the desire to win favour with a Jewish or Judaeophile queen.

Consequently, Dr Loofs is interested to prove that Zenobia had nothing to do with Judaism, or, in religious matters, with Paul. He thinks the whole story can be traced back to a piece of Antiochene local tradition, such as is expressed in the Sermon of Chrysostom on Jn. i 9, where Paul is compared to the Jews in the Gospel who would not confess Christ for fear of the rulers. 'So it is said that he, to gratify a certain woman, sold his own salvation.'

Dr Loofs would have us believe that the origin of the whole story is in some such sneer as that 'Paul is no better than a faithless Jew who will not confess Christ'. Add to this another such saying as that

[1] *Tractatus contra Monophysitas*, Mai vii 292.
[2] Pitra *Analecta* tom. v p. 46.
[3] *Oratio IV contra Arianos*, and the two books *contra Apollinarem*.
[4] In Diekamp's *Doctrina Patrum de verbi incarnatione*, Münster, 1907, p. 303.
[5] *Haereses* lxv (Migne *P. G.* xlii 12).

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'Paul cared for his Queen more than his Saviour', and Chrysostom's parallel between Zenobia and the Jewish rulers can be made. Therefore Zenobia comes to be represented as a Jewess, and Paul as 'Judaizing' to please her.

This all puts rather a strain on belief. But when Dr Loofs goes on to complete the case by destroying the value of all the evidence connecting Zenobia with Judaism, his case comes to grief on a piece of evidence produced by M. Bardy. This is the tablet, now in the Berlin Museum, coming from Egypt, and bearing the following inscription[1] (in Greek) 'By order of the Queen and King, in place of the tablet formerly dedicated with reference to the foundation of the oratory (προσευχή), let the under-written inscription be engraved: King Ptolemy Euergetes placed the oratory under protection. (In Latin) The Queen and King ordered this.'

Failing reason to the contrary, we must suppose this to be the dedication stone of a synagogue, founded by a Ptolemy Euergetes, and restored by Zenobia as regent for her son Wahballath. Zenobia, therefore, had a Judaeophile policy, and Athanasius is likely to have reason when he supposes that if she had acted in the spirit of Constantius, she would have handed over Christian churches to the Jews.[2] It is worthy of note that Dr Loofs uses his conclusion about Zenobia and Judaism to discredit anything said about Paul in the works in which the connexion between the two is asserted.[3]

Dr Loofs deals very carefully with the question of the number and nature of the 'synods' against Paul. He concludes that two synods are to be spoken of. But the first, in 264, consisted of a number of local church assemblies, of possibly changing personnel, at which neighbouring bishops were present.

No other synod took place until 268, when a more formal synod assembled, probably having some new ground to go upon. This deposed Paul as heretical on the strength of his replies in the disputation with Malchion.

It has been supposed that there were three synods. Part of the argument for this view is that in one place Eusebius says that Firmilian came twice to Antioch, and in another, that he died on his way to the synod of 268. To avoid the conclusion that this means two synods before 268 Dr Loofs goes to what seems an unnecessary degree of complication. He makes Firmilian come in 264, go away, and return again after a short absence. As he calculates that the first synod began in the autumn, he is thus driven to suppose that Firmilian travelled across

[1] Dittenberger *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*, no. 129.
[2] *Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* 71 (Migne *P. G.* xxv 777).
[3] e. g. Philastrius.

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the sea and through the Cilician Gates and back during the winter. But the whole assumption of an absence from the first synod seems unnecessary. In the Synodal letter, the bishops were claiming as much as they could of the support of the two great leaders now dead, Dionysius and Firmilian. Dionysius, they say, did not come, it is true, but he wrote. Firmilian's attitude when he was at Antioch left something to be desired, but he came again. (It is not said that he reached Antioch again. The journey on which he died is good enough to serve their purpose, and justify the words δὶς ἀφικόμενος.) We may suppose that Firmilian came in 264, hoping to do in the case of Paul what Origen had done in the case of Beryllus. He went away uneasy, but hoping that he had succeeded. When the second summons reached him in 268, he answered it at once; whence the synod deduced that his sympathies were completely with them. And so they assert that all through κατέγνω . . . τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου καινοτομουμένων. Had he come again at an earlier date and expressed his condemnation of Paul, it is hardly to be believed that the synodal bishops would have left us in doubt about it.

The fate of Paul made a deep impression in the East. He became the legendary type of heretic who blasphemously degraded our Lord to the level of common man. The individuality of his teaching was forgotten. And his name became a reproach to fasten upon any whose Christology fell below the orthodox standards. The Homoiousians flung it at Marcellus, and the Apollinarians at Diodore and Theodore. It served pre-eminently to belabour Nestorius. And at last Monophysites hurled it at Chalcedonians.

'The heresy of Paul' became synonymous with Psilanthropism. And his sayings were quoted, if they served to affix that stigma to controversial opponents.

A more subtle appreciation of the case must be allowed for, however, in the case of the 'Contestatio', and of Leontius. The latter, particularly, saw that he had to do with a 'tainted' line of tradition at Antioch, and that Paul was part of it. He recognized that a Logos-conception formed part of Paul's Christology. But he says that he held the indwelling to be κατὰ ποίοτητα and not οὐσιωδῶς. And he indicates that Paul's interest was to safeguard προκοπή and the fluctuating manifestation of superhuman qualities as he found them in the Gospel story, while avoiding what seemed the materializing conception of the Logos that would give him a share in the sufferings of Jesus. But this is not pure Monarchianism and Psilanthropism. Paul acknowledged a Trinity of Father-Creator, Jesus Christ his Son, and the Pentecostal Spirit. The man Jesus is distinct from the heavenly Wisdom. But this does not mean duality of Sons. The person Christ Jesus became the Son of God, and might, if the point were pressed, have been ever present to the

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mind of God as such. Paul would even allow him to have been Son from all eternity by predestination. And he stood among the sons of men as the possessor of unique grace. It is a very fine line that is to be drawn between an Economic-Trinitarian and a Dynamic-Monarchian conception. One of the useful results of Dr Loofs's study is to shew how near the two things lie together. But Dr Loofs is not content to stop at that. He goes on to debateable ground to prove that Paul was on the Economic-Trinitarian side of the line. How debateable, may be seen from the last of his arguments.

We have a Trinitarian Confession[1] embodied in a legendary life of Gregory Thaumaturgus written by Gregory of Nyssa. Its obvious objective is to exclude Economic-Trinitarianism. Suppose it genuine, and it may be assumed that Gregory was more likely than not to have Paul in view. This carries the further assumption that although he only came to Antioch in 264, when the matter was still cloudy, he realized that the danger was Economic-Trinitarianism and not Dynamic-Monarchianism. Make these assumptions and the Confession is corroborative evidence for Dr Loofs.

But *is* it genuine? Caspari inclined to think so, though it took a very complicated discussion to arrive at that. He did not, however, consider the possibility that the Confession was another Apollinarian anti-Marcellist production, launched on the world under the great name of the Thaumaturge, and eagerly snapped up by Gregory Nyssen for his uncritical collection of stories about the Apostle of his native land. Arguments woven of such fine threads will be cut right through if Dr Harnack makes good his case[2] for the authenticity of the Λόγοι πρὸς Σαβῖνον. For the Λόγοι will not fit any kind of Economic-Trinitarianism at all.

Dr Loofs decides (M. Bardy agreeing) with show of reason that the fragments are the work of a forger 'improving' material from old sources to serve against the Monothelites. But Dr Harnack is not convinced. He finds the Λόγοι impressive. He suggests that the anti-Monothelite catenist picked out passages without altering them, wherever he found terms and phrases that were technical for his controversy.

It is hard to feel that Dr Harnack is not just being provocative when he puts '(Zenobia?)' against 'Sabinus' in his title.

There seems no great difficulty about the name Sabinus, if Paul ever did write such a treatise. It is not an uncommon name. The new[3]

[1] Caspari *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols* c. 1, Anhang i, Christiania, 1879.

[2] *Sitzungsberichte des P. Akad. der Wissensch.* loc. cit.

[3] See Feltoe *St Dionysius of Alexandria* p. 35 and footnote. Dionysius calls him the *prophet* of evil to the church, in 250.

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governor at Alexandria in 250 was called by that name. And he could be the addressee of such a work a dozen years later, when Alexandria was in the Palmyrene empire. But it is hardly necessary to make hypotheses. The real difficulty of Dr Harnack's view lies in the question 'Why did the Origenistic bishops have to wait for Malchion to unmask Paul if their enemy had written a book?' The only answer possible would be that the Λόγοι represent Paul's *unmasking* after his condemnation. But it is all very hypothetical.

Certainly a feature of Paul's Christology was that he feared ἕνωσις φυσική, as involving degradation of the divine σοφία. This implies his distinction of the human person Jesus from the Logos. Now it was their view of the person Christ Jesus that, in the case of the Apologists, reacted upon their metaphysical conception of the Godhead, and induced the marking of hypostatic distinctions in it. And in the crude and ultimate stages of the 'Pluralistic' movement, tritheism resulted from the placing of two theological Beings, Father and Spirit, beside the exalted person of Jesus Christ.

On the other hand, a Monarchian conception of Godhead has to be held 'against' the influence of the exalting of the person of Jesus Christ, and this is done by means of an Adoption-Dyophysite scheme of doctrine. Since Paul was evidently striving against such an influence exerted by the thought of the person of Christ in the field of theology, it follows that any hypostatic distinction in Godhead would be, at best, wrung from him. A further complication in the case arises from Marcellus of Ancyra. He certainly did refuse to call the Pre-existent Logos, Son. And he was called a follower of Paul. The question is whether the enemies of Marcellus were justified in saying that what he taught, Paul had taught, or whether expressions belonging to the doctrine of Marcellus have been credited to Paul. In the latter case, what Dr Loofs would call our best and truest sources (as shewing Paul to be Economic-Trinitarian) would be merely those that favoured the confusion. But it is not easy to believe that Paul was theologically quite the injured innocent that Dr Loofs's argument would make him, seeing that the bishops attacked him while his star was still in the ascendant. It must have called for strong feeling to 'depose' Paul of Samosata in 268.

A question to which special discussion is given is that of the asserted condemnation of the word ὁμοούσιος by the synod. The assertion rests on the authority of the Homoiousians at the third synod of Sirmium in 358, and neither Hilary nor Athanasius questioned its truth, though both were eager to question the conclusion drawn from it.

Dr Loofs reconstructs the history as follows. Malchion asserted that whereas the utterances of God were ὄντες, the Logos himself is ὢν οὐσία. Paul, seeing in this the threat of tritheism, would only agree with the

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condition that the Logos was ὁμοούσιος with the Father. This the synod refused, believing him to mean that the Logos was ἀννπόστατος and ἀνύπαρκτος. They, on the contrary, οὐσίαν ἐκάλεσαν τόν υἱόν.

Another interesting discussion is that of the subsequent history of Paul's adherents, in the light of Canon 19 of Nicea. The Canon lays down conditions for the reconciliation of παυλιανίζοντες at Antioch. Dr Loofs reconstructs as follows. At some time between 272 and 325 the successors of Domnus took the offensive against the Paulists. They set a ὅρος against all who had had anything to do with them. But in 324 numbers of persons so excluded were, like the Meletians at the same period, ready for wholesale reconciliation. Terms were settled locally for the reception of whole congregations back into Catholic communion. And the Canon confirmed these terms.

A more precarious suggestion is the one which Dr Loofs makes to explain how the reconciliation came about; which is that the Paulists being without a bishop received an expelled Dacian bishop named Paulinus. With him, Dr Loofs suggests, Hosius, on his Eastern journey, arrived at an understanding, with the result that the schism practically disappeared. There follows the vexed question of Lucian. Alexander of Alexandria writing to his namesake of Byzantium at the beginning of the Arian trouble recalls that the affair at Antioch had outlasted Paul, ὃν διαδεξάμενος Λουκιανὸς ἀποσυνάγωγος ἔμεινε τριῶν ἐπισκόπων πολυετεῖς χρόνους. The usual assumption has been that this person is the same as Lucian the martyr, boasted master of the 'Collucianists', who suffered at Nicomedia in 303. But there is no evidence for this identification. The above passage does not imply that Lucian was finally reconciled. The point is that there were three Catholic elections in his lifetime, and on each occasion Lucian's claims to be bishop in Antioch were ignored.

It seems unlikely, also, that the 'Collucianists' would have escaped being twitted on such a passage in the history of their master had it existed. Dr Loofs urges that it is more reasonable to suppose the existence of an older Lucian, consecrated as Paul's successor in 272, and remaining as head of the schism until death. And the younger Lucian he regards rather as the successor of Malchion, and as unconscious progenitor of Arianism by fusion of the theology of Origen with the realist exegesis of Antiochene tradition.

Vexed and important also is the question of the authenticity of the letter which purports to be written to Paul by Hymenaeus of Jerusalem and five other bishops. It is coldly polite, so that, if genuine, it must be dated before 268. And it sets out a confession, with scriptural proofs, of the pre-existence of Christ, as divine Son and Logos, so that it should be of the nature of an ultimatum to Paul. Under circum-

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stances which afford a pleasing example of the unity of scholarship triumphing over the cleavages caused by the war, Dr Loofs obtained a copy of the Coislin MS of the letter at Paris, with the aid of which he improved the text. And he believes the letter to be authentic.

The above notes may serve to give some idea of the wealth of matter in the book. The reader will wish for a grumble or two about the manner. It is hard to believe that Dr Loofs could not have written more lucidly, at least for the foreign reader. And if he had sacrificed the appearance of impartiality by indicating, at the beginning of an argument, the conclusion towards which he was drawn, he would have made it easier going.

Also there might have been a reduction of labour for the reader by the simple expedient of reprinting the 'fragments' at the end of the book in the order of the marginal reference numbers with which they are marked as they appear scattered through the book. As it is, the reader is liable at any stage in an argument to be referred to the text of a fragment by its number in Dr Loofs's series. To find it, he then has to turn to a 'Register' at the back of the book, where, against the number of the fragment, are set the pages on which it is mentioned. After that it must be turned up in the body of the book, anywhere in the first 163 pages.

Light relief is afforded by the observation, on p. 62, that the learned author can be caught out on the numbering of the Ten Commandments!

M. Bardy's book is called *Paul de Samosate: Étude historique.* It is in four sections, Sources, History, Doctrine, and Later Survivals. Dr Loofs has now reviewed it in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of October 18. He expresses warm admiration of its wide range and characteristic French lucidity. And he pays M. Bardy the simple and generous tribute of saying that his learning is 'umfangreicher als die meinige'. Accordingly he proceeds to note passages unknown to him which M. Bardy has collected from Chrysostom, Eulogius, Marouta, Severus of Antioch,[1] and Timothy Aelurus.[2] The last two he acknowledges to provide seven further fragments of high value.

But in praising the wealth of material collected, Dr Loofs feels that he has to criticize the way in which it is used. He complains of the admission to the 'fragment' list of passages from Simeon of Beit-Arsam and the spurious (Apollinarian) letter of Dionysius of Alexandria to

[1] Severus of Antioch *Contra Grammaticum* iii. M. Bardy has used the yet unpublished translation by Professor Le Bon, of Louvain, made from the MS. Syr. Add. 12157 in the British Museum.

[2] Timotheus Aelurus *Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre.* Armenian text ed. Karapet Ter-Mekerttschian und Erwand Ter-Minassiantz, Leipzig 1908.

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Paul; and of the lack of discrimination of value between the pseudo-Athanasian and Epiphanian fragments and those from the sources of better standing.

On the other hand, where M. Bardy seems to depreciate Timothy Aelurus because he calls Leo the Great a follower of Paul, Dr Loofs regards him as a first-hand witness for the text of the disputation minutes.

Dr Loofs thinks that M. Bardy would have seen the doctrinal material with different eyes if he had not started with the *a priori* belief that Paul was an Adoptionist-Monarchian, sophist, and rationalist. And he collects very skilfully a series of sentences from the book so as to make a complete summary account of Paul, for none of which any authority could be adduced.

An example is to be seen on p. 197, where M. Bardy says that the Jews were far from unanimous in their support of the Palmyrene empire 'malgré les advances que multipliaient la reine et l'évêque nommé par elle'. The one sentence contains three theses. And nothing in the book, or out of it, appears to substantiate any of them.

One is led to suspect that, for M. Bardy, a man whose condemnation as a fellow-heretic to Artemon Rome accepted *must be* the replica of Artemon, a Dynamic-Monarchian with a penchant for sophistry. For he consistently assumes this, in spite of the fact that he is in agreement with Dr Loofs to a surprising degree (in view of their complete independence of one another) in the detailed work from which the decision should presumably be reached. The only point in the book where he notices the possibility that Paul was not exactly the person he was condemned as being is in the last section of the Third Part (that on Paul's doctrine). There he refers to the thesis of Hagemann[1] that Paul represented a reaction against Origenism in the interests of an archaic form of Christianity that sounded like Adoptionism, although not really so. To this M. Bardy replies that Paul was too clever and cultivated a person not to know that when he called Christ ἄνθρωπον ἡμῖν ἴσον, or ἄνθρωπον ἐντεῦθεν, he was using expressions which had no support from Church tradition. For a moment, however, M. Bardy seems on the point of admitting that the view represented by Dr Loofs is to be considered. But it is only for a moment. Throughout the book, otherwise, Paul is a modern Unitarian, suddenly appearing in the middle of the third century, 'un isolé presque sans ancêtres et sans disciples'. And so this Catholic scholar finds himself in greatest agreement with Réville! He rejects the suggestion that Paul was in reaction against Origen. But he naïvely remarks, as with surprise, that all the bishops who led the attack on Paul were of one school with Dionysius.

[1] *Die römische Kirche*, Fribourg 1864.

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But M. Bardy's book is pre-eminently what its sub-title describes it. It is a study of Church history, almost more than of history of doctrine. And in this aspect it is magnificent. Its great contribution in this respect is its clear shewing of the way in which the episcopate of Paul is bound up with the pan-Syrian movement that followed the successes of Odenaethus.

Dr Loofs, in the review above cited, notes with approval M. Bardy's treatment of the history of Paul's accession. His suggestion is that Demetrianus, his predecessor, was a Romanophile citizen of good standing (cf. his contemporaries Cyprian, Gregory Thaumaturgus, Firmilian), and was carried off by the Persians in 260 in company with a number of Antiochene officials.[1] When Odenaethus had driven the invaders off and established himself overlord of the Orient, the time was ripe for the election of a representative Syrian to succeed Demetrianus. Paul was chosen. And the king shewed his understanding of Oriental statesmanship by making him his 'ducenarius' in Antioch.

M. Bardy's discussion of the 'ruling of Aurelian' on the subject of the bishop's house is of special interest. Aurelian came to Syria as liberator of the Orient. He took no pillage of the Greek cities, but only of the 'barbarian' countryside. Antioch, despite its immense fortification, fell into his hands without a blow. Aurelian had cause to feel indebted to his friends within the walls. And he took the remarkable step of presenting the ecclesiastical leaders of Western sympathy with valuable property that he might have confiscated. It would appear that Aurelian also appreciated the political importance of ecclesiastical persons in Antioch.

Notice must be drawn to the misleading way in which on p. 380 Vincent of Lerins is quoted. By leaving out a string of names (without even the usual sign that something has been left out) M. Bardy makes Vincent speak of several *opuscula* of Paul. And this in spite of the fact that the passage is correctly quoted on p. 4, and that on p. 6 it has been said that Paul knew better ways of popularizing his heresy than that of writing books.

On p. 381, again, the assumption is made that because Eusebius says that the Artemonites falsified the Scriptures to square them with the results of their logic-mongering, the same may be supposed of Paul,[2] and that he doubtless read ἐν θεῷ ἦν ὁ λόγος for πρὸς θεὸν at the beginning of

[1] This theme is treated at length in an article in *Analecta Bollandiana* tom. xlii p. 288 (1924) by Père Paulus Peeters, in which it is argued from documentary evidence quite independent of anything treated in the books under review, that news came back by escaped captives of the death of Demetrianus in Persia. Hence the accession of Paul.

[2] On the general question of Paul as a 'sophist', note may be made of the support given to M. Bardy's view by Norden *Antike Kunstprosa*, 1918, p. 550 note.

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the Fourth Gospel. In short, M. Bardy sometimes writes sentences of which he can never have asked himself whether they were true.

In spite, therefore, of the many excellences of his book one returns to Dr Loofs with the feeling of greater security. And there are more worthy results to be gathered at the end of his laboured work. It is worth while to have led up to such a sentence as

'the transference of the conception of Sonship to the *pre-existent* Christ became the most fateful influence for the pluralistic trend of Christian theology' (p. 315);

or even the saying about Paul, that

'he withstood the flood of neo-Platonism which, with Origen as its way in, burst upon the Church and drowned the old tradition. And it was his title to honour' (p. 322);

or, on the same page, the generalization

'if once philosophical Metaphysic is allowed to come into the teaching of the Faith, the most up-to-date form is always held superior to one that is becoming old-fashioned'.

What Dr Loofs seems to lack, on the other hand, is an appreciation of the weakness of the type of Christology which he represents as Paul's, from the point of view of religious sentiment; and of the corresponding appeal of what he calls 'the monstrosity of Monophysitism'. The Christology of Paul afforded a poor foundation for an objective soteriology. It was offensive, also, to a form of sentiment that finds admirable expression in the words of a representative of modern Catholicism [1] who writes, in a devotional study,

'Voir Jésus notre frère séparé de son Père en dehors de sa divinité m'a toujours été une peine. Je ne veux désormais les voir que réunis'.

W. TELFER.

The Sacraments, by the Rev. FRANCIS J. HALL, D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1921.)

Eschatology, Indexes (the concluding volume of the series 'Dogmatic Theology'), by the Rev. FRANCIS J. HALL, D.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1922.)

The Goodness and the Severity of God. Hulsean Lectures (1917–1918), by the Rev. J. O. F. MURRAY, D.D., Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge. (London, Student Christian Movement, 1924.)

THESE two volumes provide ample illustration of the industry and the care with which Dr Hall has devoted himself to his great purpose

[1] M. le Chanoine Beaudenom *Méditations affectives et pratiques sur l'Évangile* tom. iii p. 228, Paris, 1915.

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of a work covering the whole field of dogmatics. Dr Hall writes from the definite standpoint of an Anglicanism which at points of controversy accepts 'Catholic' not 'Protestant' conclusions, and the student whose beliefs are of a different character will need to make allowance for that fact. Nevertheless, it would be a great mistake to suppose that only the like-minded will profit from a reading of these pages. The application of Christian principles and ideals to the various problems of life, which is a true religious need of our time, and one of its most powerful religious impulses, cannot rationally be dissociated from the apprehension of Christian theology, as it gives positive content to the idea of God and of His dealings with the world and purposes which shape its destiny. The first volume of the 'Copec' reports is, or should be, determinative of those that follow.

Dr Hall had already treated of the Sacramental system; here he takes each sacrament in turn, combining historical with dogmatic method. A few of his more important conclusions may be noted. Baptism he interprets along the lines of spiritual biology. This is analogically attractive, but the danger of a confusion of metaphor with reality is never far away, and I do not think that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration need be construed as 'the infusion of a new germ or seed'. And I much doubt the legitimacy of attributing to the New Testament the idea that all grace which comes to Christians quâ Christians is an effect of baptism, which thus becomes the *vera causa* of the new life, whereas it would more properly be described as its beginning and as containing the promise of the future. On Confirmation he adopts the view that not till that ordinance is the Holy Spirit given as a formal and objective gift. There is support for this in the New Testament, but the difficulty is that, as Dr Hall allows, it is impossible not to affirm some connexion of the Holy Spirit with baptism. In his treatment of Eucharistic doctrine Dr Hall seems to me to be quite at his best, though here, as elsewhere, he reveals certain limitations in exegesis; for instance, he keeps the 'shall be' in Malachi i 11 without referring to the alternative 'is'. He argues, rightly as I think, that the original language of identification is determinative of the character of the Eucharistic mystery rather than such phrases as 'presence in' or 'under', which, however appropriate, are inferential. His warning as to the care needed in the use of adjectives such as 'natural' and 'corporeal', and corresponding adverbs, which as adverbs may be quite illegitimate, is important. When he comes to the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice Dr Hall finds the link between Calvary and the Eucharist in our Lord's heavenly priesthood. Popular though this view has become in some Anglican quarters, and Dr Hall claims patristic support for it, it is neither vital to the doctrine in question, nor do our Lord's words at the Last Supper and

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St Paul's interpretation suggest it; and it would have been well to balance the Apocalyptic imagery of the Lamb standing as having been slain by a reference to the vision of the Priest-King as described in the Epistle to the Hebrews. There is nothing in the chapters on Penance, Holy Orders, Holy Matrimony, and Unction of the Sick, to which I wish to call special attention. Believers in the value of 'establishment' will not gain much comfort from Dr Hall's diagnosis of the present situation in respect of marriage and divorce and its relation to Christian principles, while the balanced treatment of Unction steers a safe *via media* between those who would emphasize too exclusively, on the one hand the spiritual, on the other the physical, value of the rite.

The most striking feature of the final volume is the author's fidelity to the New Testament. This emerges most clearly in the section on Future Punishment. One could wish that Dr Hall had had the Master of Selwyn's Hulsean Lectures before him; but even if Dr Murray's conception of the mediatorial kingdom be allowed, anything like dogmatic universalism remains, at best, a speculative hypothesis which cannot be derived from the New Testament as a whole, though I think Dr Hall dismisses too easily the Pauline texts which seem to point in that direction. Where Dr Hall is on very strong ground is in emphasizing the 'abiding wickedness' of any who may be lost. Dr Leckie in his Kerr Lectures, *The World to come and Final Destiny*, was inclined to reject as irrational the idea of everlasting evil, of a soul's eternal continuance in sin. But a state of sin unrepented of can hardly be described otherwise than as a state of abiding sin, and it is against this background that we must seek for an understanding of eternal punishment.

Death, Judgement, Prayers for the Dead, Invocation of Saints, the Resurrection Body, are among the other subjects which Dr Hall discusses. He maintains the ending of the time of probation at death, the lawfulness, where it springs from the motive of sincere devotion to God, of invocation, the identity of the pre- and post-resurrection body by virtue of 'a mysterious individuating principle and law which preserves the uninterrupted identity and distinctive properties of each σῶμα through all changes of substantial content and form'. Where matters of keen controversy are involved, Dr Hall has the double merit of not over-pressing his own point of view and never writing with any acerbity.

He, and the American communion to which he belongs, deserve cordial thanks and congratulations on the production and completion of this Dogmatic Theology.

Dr Murray's Hulsean Lectures are an attempt, induced in part by the strain upon faith of the war, to justify belief in universal salvation as the everlasting purpose of God, to which the only obstacle whether

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before or after death is the recalcitrant will of man, on the basis of the biblical belief in the perfect triumph of Good and by means of an investigation of the New Testament teaching as to the Judgement, the Messianic kingdom, and the contrast between Life and Death. The distinction between the saved and the lost is, he argues, absolute within the mediatorial Messianic kingdom, the 'new age' in which we are now living, but not necessarily final, and it is clearly his opinion that a true grasp of what is involved in a morally adequate theodicy will refuse to accept that finality. The biblical difficulty in Dr Murray's position is that, if his interpretation is right, then, despite strong appearances to the contrary, the New Testament never gives us any certain presentation of final consequences and issues; we must conceive of it as leaving room for an indefinitely protracted probation. For such a view there is very little direct evidence. Dr Murray makes use of 1 Cor. xv, and that is the chapter which does leave some room for his conception (the Apocalypse, to which he appeals, seems to me far less adaptable for his purpose): and St Paul has other passages, such as Romans xi 32, Col. i 20, Phil. ii 9–11, which suggest some kind of universal reconciliation, but further than that I do not think it safe to go.

While Dr Murray does not convince me that he has made out his case, and, on the ethical side, his confidence in what he calls 'the validity of the veto of the conscience' gives the impression of an excessive individualism, there is a freshness and even originality in these lectures in the method of treatment and in the points of special emphasis which make of them a contribution of no little interest to the discussion of eschatology.

J. K. MOZLEY.

ST THOMAS AQUINAS.

St Thomas Aquinas as a Philosopher, by A. E. TAYLOR, M.A.
Veritas: The Theology of St Thomas Aquinas, by A. WHITACRE, O.P., S.T. Praes.
St Thomas Aquinas as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture, by HUGH POPE, O.P.
The Mysticism of St Thomas Aquinas, by VINCENT MCNABB, O.P.
(All published by Basil Blackwell, 1924.)

THESE four pamphlets, dealing with the work of Aquinas from different points of view, were written in honour of the Sexcentenary of the saint's canonization, and read at Manchester University in May 1924. To most readers Professor Taylor's paper is likely to be the most interesting. In a very short space he succeeds in stating the

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reasons for regarding Aquinas as one of the greatest and (in a true sense) most original of philosophers. He dwells with justice on the courage and independence of the work which used to be dismissed as a mere appeal to the authority of Aristotle. In point of fact, the task of St Thomas was to maintain, in the face of strong opposition, the freedom of philosophy. True as it is that his argument was bound up with the controversy about Aristotle's writings, he did not treat Aristotle as sacrosanct, but differed freely from him whenever he believed his teaching to be wrong. Professor Taylor is also right in warning us against making a crude antithesis between Plato and Aristotle. To disentangle the two philosophies was hard enough in antiquity, while after the appearance of Neo-Platonism it became almost impossible. Father Pope's account of St Thomas as interpreter of Scripture is also interesting, but it is a pity he allowed himself to assert that all doubts about St Thomas's knowledge of Greek can be dispelled. The evidence adduced in support of this contention amounts to very little: at the most it proves only that St Thomas could get correct information from William of Moerbeke or some other Greek scholar. Father Whitacre describes the Thomist theory of the relation of faith to reason, but finds it unnecessary to submit it to criticism. Yet it is rash to assume that a division of provinces which satisfied the thirteenth century will be accepted in the twentieth without hesitation. Father Vincent McNabb is too impressed with the omniscience of St Thomas, and too inclined to rush into superlatives, which in truth are no great compliment to so great a thinker. Ribet's definition of mysticism as 'a science which groups and formulates as a body of doctrine the facts and the laws regarding supernatural communications' is an unpromising point of departure. It suggests only that dull and mechanical view of mysticism which we find mainly in theologians devoid of real sympathy with the mystical temper.

W. H. V. READE.

Was Holy Communion Instituted by Jesus?: a candid enquiry, by DOUGLAS S. GUY, B.D. (Student Christian Movement, 1924.)

THE definition of 'Institution' in Webster's dictionary as 'what is appointed, prescribed, or founded by authority, and intended to be permanent' forms the starting-point of Mr Guy's enquiry. He invites thoughtful students of Theology who are at present fighting shy of institutional religion to consider the historical evidence for the institution of Holy Communion by Jesus. The thesis developed in the book is that Holy Communion is fellowship; and that Jesus, as a Jewish house-father, having during constant table fellowship familiarized His disciples

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with the spirit of the common meal, on the night before He died, in a peculiarly impressive way and with unique utterances blessed bread and wine, imparting to them sacramental value and using them to bear witness to fellowship. After His death His disciples continued these common meals which helped to deepen and hallow this fellowship, and were naturally reminiscent of meals Jesus had shared with them.

St Paul, impelled by the spirit of Jesus, feeling that the growing church needed sacraments, and realizing that what had been done in the upper room was capable of infinite expansion, like a wise builder matched the sacraments to the requirements of his converts.

With the help of this thesis Mr Guy is able to treat as inadequate those theories in which the Eucharist is regarded as independent of the teaching of Jesus. But he does not test his thesis by a careful exegesis of the relevant texts in the New Testament. Hence he never deals with the real problem of the origin of the Eucharist which is normally regarded in the New Testament as a fellowship based upon the sacrificial death of the Christ, rather than upon a continuation and intensification of the fellowship of a common meal. The exegesis of the covenant saying in the narrative of the institution of the Eucharist is therefore of prime importance. Mr Guy, however, dismisses it with the words: 'It may be noticed that in the foregoing pages little has been said about our Lord's Covenant words at the Last Supper. This saying attributed to Jesus is doubtless of great interest, but it does not seem to influence the argument of this book.' But surely the whole problem of the significance of the Last Supper is bound up with the authenticity and meaning of the covenant saying.

Some of the writer's notes, particularly those on *Eastern Thought* and on *St John and Christian Art*, ought not to have been included in the book, for they are not more than attached remarks.

E. C. HOSKYNS.

The Cathedral Church of Hereford, by A. T. BANNISTER. (S.P.C.K., London, 1924.)

CANON BANNISTER has written a book of great value for all students of our cathedral institutions. Hereford is his text, but in his exposition he adduces examples from the usage of other cathedrals, and no better introduction could be wished to the history of those of the Old Foundation. His work reminds us of that which has issued from the Greifswald Seminar of Professor Bernheim, where the constitution and history of so many of the great churches of North Germany have been explored and where so many resemblances to English practice have

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come to light. This, indeed, was natural, since Willehad and other founders were countrymen of ours; and Hereford has in common with Verden the close control which the chapter maintained over the proceedings of the bishop. As for our own institutions, Canon Bannister gives a full account, comparing Hereford with other cathedrals, of the origin and functions of the dignitaries; a matter in which Hereford varied from the normal type of Bayeux, which York and Lincoln and Sarum copied. Among other topics he dwells, when the occasion arises, on papal provisions, and on the rise and temporary vogue of cults as illustrated by those of St Ethelbert and Bishop Cantelupe. Here the author is entertaining as well as instructive in his analysis of the attested evidence for miracles in the former case, and in the latter from his very reasonable suggestion that Thomas Cantelupe would never have been canonized had not his faithful secretary been his successor. On a few points more might have been said. It would have been worth while to give the reason why the abbots of Lyre and Cormeilles, the chief alien houses endowed within the diocese, were made *ex officio* prebendaries of the Cathedral. It put them in that position of dependence on the bishop against which the abbots of Glastonbury, when the attempt was made to force them into membership of the church of Wells, successfully struggled. And for many readers a more exact treatment of the nature of parochial endowments would have been of value, for the discoveries of Stutz and Imbart de la Tour are not as familiar as they ought to be in England. When Canon Bannister cites from Domesday the luminous equation for the parish of Ross, where eighteen villeins, six bordars, and a priest hold between them twenty-three *carucae*, we fear there are readers who will miss the point that the sum is made up by the priest having twice the share of a villein; and it might have been well to mention the bull and the boar. But Canon Bannister has been so judicious and so liberal in the gift of his treasures that it is ungenerous to criticize. 'Peythevyn' should apparently be read on p. 172; and we should have been grateful to learn what change, if any, was made in the constitution of the cathedral, for instance in the status of the prebendaries, by the Ecclesiastical Commission and the Cathedrals' Act of the last century.

Robert Sanderson, by the Rev. GEORGE LEWIS. (S.P.C.K., London, 1924.)

THE new series of 'English Theologians', edited by Messrs Ollard and Spens, is a hopeful venture. Its purpose is to give an account of our principal divines and of their characteristic thought. In the latter

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respect, Mr Lewis, an ardent and perhaps uncritical admirer of Sanderson, deserves our thanks for ample extracts from his hero's writings. They are adequate and well chosen. But he tells us little about his intellectual antecedents or the reasons why in Sanderson's generation there should have sprung up an English casuistry. Nor does he account for the subsequent decay of interest in this side of religious enquiry. For him Sanderson is an isolated phenomenon, whom it is sufficient to illustrate from the life of his own day. As to that life Mr Lewis has not informed himself as fully as he might. For instance he speaks of the last year of Sanderson's proctorship at Oxford. The office has always been annual; and this is but one symptom of a certain lack of sureness in touch. Mr Lewis is not inquisitive, or he might surely have added to the somewhat scanty store of definite information that has hitherto been collected. Unhappily the evidence for Sanderson's tenure of the Regius Professorship of Divinity at Oxford is necessarily meagre through the imperfection of the Christ Church records. He was appointed in 1642, and his stipend duly appears in the College expenditure for the Michaelmas term. But it is very doubtful whether his allowance reached him, and it is certain that he did not reach Oxford till the siege was over. Then, we are told, the Puritans being in possession, he ventured to take up his residence and to begin lecturing, which he continued to do till he fell a victim to the general ejection. But he was with Charles at Hampton Court in August 1647 as one of his chaplains. This does not seem congruous with the exercise of his professorship under Puritan rule at Oxford. But the question rises as to Sanderson's own ecclesiastical position. He was no Malignant in the eyes of the dominant party, for he was allowed to retain his Lincolnshire benefice of Boothby Pagnell; and here Mr Lewis has missed a point of singular interest. The *Dictionary of National Biography* tells us that the Dean and Chapter of Windsor preserve the copy of the Book of Common Prayer which Sanderson so modified as to keep within the law that forbade its use. Mr Lewis should have studied the volume, and told us how near the wind Sanderson ventured to sail. The future Bishop Bull, we know, solved the difficulty by repeating the service without book. In any case, Sanderson was doing nothing exceptional in conforming to Parliamentary law in order to hold his benefice. But the fact that he was offered a Puritan lectureship in Grantham Church in 1653 shews that he was held in esteem; he did not accept the offer. Perhaps, as in most cases where ejection was escaped, the comparative poverty of Boothby may have been the protection of Sanderson; he had resigned a second, and better, living on becoming canon of Christ Church, and he had means of his own. It is clear that if the same zeal were devoted to our Caroline divines as to

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the Pilgrim Fathers many gaps would be filled in our knowledge. We must hope that other writers in this series will shew more antiquarian fervour without neglecting those graver topics where Mr Lewis is at his best. We must also hope that, unlike him, they will take Macaulay's account of a plebeian clergy *cum grano salis*.

E. W. WATSON.

Ezechiel, übersetzt und erklärt von D. Johannes Herrmann, Professor der Theologie an der Universität Münster. (Band xi, in the series of O.T. Commentaries edited by Dr Ernst Sellin. A. Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Leipzig–Erlangen, 1924.)

IT is well known that the text of Ezekiel is among the worst preserved in the Old Testament. Since Cornill's great commentary appeared in 1888 we have learned, at any rate, to recognize the facts, and to handle the evidence of G and the other versions systematically; good progress has been made in dealing with the problems of the lower criticism. But now the higher criticism of Ezekiel is receiving its due amount of attention. Not so very long ago Cornill himself, in his *Einleitung in das A.T.* (1896), could maintain that if any book of the Old Testament bears on its front the stamp of authenticity, and lies before us in the form in which it left the writer's hand, it is the Book of Ezekiel. Few scholars would venture on such a statement at the present day. Of course it is true that the Book shews signs of deliberate arrangement, which may safely be put down to the prophet himself; for example, we can distinguish four main divisions, i–xxiv, xxv–xxxii, xxxiii–xxxix, xl–xlviii, and they follow more or less in chronological order; but, on analysis, it is found that the scheme does not go far below the surface; i [iv]–xxiv and xxxiii–xxxix are in fact collections of oracles largely independent of each other in time and contents. The same may be said even of xl–xlviii, which forms a well-marked section: the impression of unity gives way upon investigation; the plan is the prophet's own, but it has been enlarged by other hands.

The elucidation of the text entered a new stage when Kraetzschmar put forward, in 1900, his opinion that two versions of many passages were current at an early period, and that both have been incorporated by the editors who gave the Book its present form. Kraetzschmar detected about twenty-three chief instances of such duplications; and although further study has modified the number, yet in principle his theory is now widely accepted, and by such authorities as Budde, Gressmann, and Steuernagel. Among those who have interested themselves in the newer problems, no one has done better work than Prof. J. Herrmann. His first contribution was the *Ezechielstudien* published in

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1908; then came in 1913 his treatise on *Die Gottesnamen im Ezechieltexte*, noteworthy for its thorough examination of the Hebrew and Greek material, and also for the fact that he arrived independently at much the same conclusions as Dr St J. Thackeray published in this JOURNAL (iv 398–411). And now, in the Commentary which has lately appeared, he gathers up the results of his prolonged study. The design of the work is happily conceived. He gives first of all a fresh translation of each subdivision or group of chapters, with a minimum of notes below, and then, at the end of the section, a discussion of the literary and higher problems. The analysis is carried out at the same time as the translation, and it is chiefly upon these that we have to depend for the interpretation of the text, while the editor concentrates himself upon matters usually dealt with under the heading of 'Einleitung'. Thus the ordinary plan of a commentary is abandoned in favour of a broader treatment, concerned more with the issues than with the exact meaning of the text. It is a 'theologisch Kommentar' (p. 181), to quote the editor's own description, and necessarily excludes a good deal that we might otherwise expect. One omission is to be regretted, though we are told that it was made deliberately: there is no discussion, no recognition even, of the lyrical element in Ezekiel's writings. Yet they contain some fine specimens of the *Ḳînâ* measure (e. g. xix, xxvi 17 f, xxxii 2–8); and the finest specimen of all, the Lament over Tyre (xxvii), can only be seen in all its splendour when the *Ḳînâ* verses (3–10, 25 b–36) are printed as poetry to distinguish them from the prose insertion (11–25 a). Or take xxi 14–22. It is unthinkable that Wagner would have allowed Siegfried's incantation at the forging of *Nothung* to appear in prose: Ezekiel's Sword-Song is even finer; but what notion of it can we gain from the form in which it is presented here?

A few instances will illustrate Prof. Herrmann's skilful handling of problems. He has succeeded, I think, in finding a solution of some of the difficulties of ch. i. There is a solemn mystery about the Inaugural Vision, but the impressiveness of the climax is marred by the intervention of a crowd of details. Herrmann points out that the main features of the Vision, the Living Creatures and the man-like Form above them (reading עליהן *v.* 5 with **G** for להנה **M**), are first briefly described in *vv.* 4 and 5, then enlarged upon in *vv.* 6–26, and finally brought to their culmination in *vv.* 27 and 28. At *v.* 26 the narrative arrives at the point already reached in *v.* 5: the intervening verses being occupied with the subordinate features or accompaniments of the Vision. We may conclude, then, that *vv.* 4, 5, 27, 28 formed the original draft of the narrative, which the prophet afterwards expanded by the addition of *vv.* 6–26, as he recalled, and would not permit his

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readers to lose, each particular of that memorable experience. The suggestion has the merit of accounting for the structure of this chapter, and for the unmistakeable connexion between *vv.* 4, 5 and *vv.* 27, 28.

Another passage which raises many questions is the Vision of Guilt, chs. viii–xi. Herrmann treats it in a way which gives us a good idea of the process by which he believes the Book to have reached its present form. There is the main narrative, describing the heathenish rites in the Temple, and the inevitable punishment: the ungodly are put to the sword, and the city is reduced to ashes (viii, ix, x 2, 7). Herrmann agrees with several modern scholars that x 1, 3–6, 8–17 is merely a repetition of ch. i; he would call them fragmentary annotations, the work of more than one hand; Ezekiel's own 'redaktionelle Thätigkeit' can be traced in x 20, which, in naïve fashion, identifies the ζῷα of chs. i–iii with the Cherubim. The vision proper ends with the departure of Jahveh by the Eastern Gate, x 19. What follows in xi 1–13, 14–16, 17–21 is Ezekiel's own composition, but has nothing to do with the Vision of Guilt; it contains three stray oracles which have been inserted here owing to superficial points of contact; and another account of the divine departure (xi 22, 23), rendered necessary by the insertion, has been appended. The movements of *the Glory of Jahveh* in viii 4, x 4, 18, 19, are clearly explained by singling out ix 3 as the cause of all the trouble, and therefore no part of the original conception.

Passing over many points of interest, we come to the problem of the final section, chs. xl–xlviii. Here I am inclined to think that Steuernagel (*Einleitung in d. A. T.* § 125) offers a more satisfactory clue to the perplexities, but it must be remembered that he started with the advantage of having Herrmann's analysis before him in the latter's *Ezechielstudien* pp. 50–58. Both agree that the bulk of these chapters comes from Ezekiel himself; the sketch-plan of the ideal temple (xl–xlii), the return of Jahveh to consecrate it (xliii 1–12), the momentous decrees on the temple-ministry (xliv 9–25), and the provision made for its support (xliv 28–30), ending with the sublime vision of the waters from the sanctuary (xlvii 1–12), which brings the 'prophecy' to a close. All that remains in xliii–xlviii is made up of later additions, the work of many hands. One set of fragments in particular, xlvii 13—xlviii 29 and xliii 13–27, is cast into a form which recalls the familiar technique of the Priestly School, and suggests that we can here detect the first essays of the movement which in the course of time led to the promulgation of the Priestly Code. It has long been guessed that there must have been some such experimental stage, when current practice was fixed by being gradually committed to writing: Herrmann has discovered actual traces of the movement going on between the end

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of Ezekiel's ministry, *c.* 571 B.C., and the final completion of P some two hundred years later.

The broad result of Herrmann's researches is to shew that the Book of Ezekiel is not the orderly treatise which was once imagined. The original plan was no doubt laid down by the prophet; it has been enlarged, however, in some places by Ezekiel himself, but also by later disciples and editors. Like other prophetic books, Ezekiel, at any rate in certain sections, has been compiled out of occasional oracles. On the question of the respective values of the Hebrew and Greek texts Herrmann declines to take sides; he has no doctrinaire preference for either; the line which he adopts is the sensible one of examining each case of variation or disagreement on its own merits. This gives to his treatment a sober and judicious quality, which contrasts favourably with the partisan methods of other commentators. The most influential of all the prophets, Ezekiel is also the most elusive; but the student, who takes the trouble to master this fresh and independent exposition, will find the truth beginning to dawn upon him, though he may have to own himself defeated in the end.

G. A. COOKE.

Grammar of Palestinian Jewish Aramaic, by WM. B. STEVENSON, D.Litt. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.)

PROFESSOR STEVENSON'S admirable grammar has at last filled a gap in the English literature on Aramaic; for hitherto there has been in our language no grammar of the Aramaic of the Old Testament, of the Targûmîm of Onqelos and Jonathon, of the Palestinian Talmûd and the Midrāshîm, while the great work of Dalman is inaccessible to young students, if not because of the language in which it is written, at least for its overwhelming fullness. Professor Stevenson's book is not only concise and generally clear, but also is provided throughout with the vowel-points of the sublinear system which, in spite of various defects, is the best suited to the use of beginners. Almost our only regret is that the Aramaic of the Egyptian *papyri*, owing to its great importance for the study of that of Ezra and Daniel, is not included; although the author modestly states that he has left this to Dr Cowley's promised grammar, a careful comparison of that dialect with the later Aramaic would undoubtedly have been productive of much valuable information, while the reason for certain facts of the later can only be found in the earlier language. The author, it may be remarked, is careful to notice the influence of Hebrew on Aramaic, an influence which can be traced as early as the Egyptian *papyri*.

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The explanation of the idiom whereby the preposition ל (§ 8, 9–10, p. 25) is used to introduce the direct object in Aramaic may perhaps be sought in one use of *ana* in Assyrian, which is not uncommon in the later period; there it seems to have originated from a desire (i) to distinguish the direct from the indirect object after verbs standing in the causative theme or after those which normally govern two accusatives, as in the *Old Assyrian Laws* § 26 l. 44: *ana riḫâte ilâni* (*ni*) *ušêtiqu* 'the rest they shall cause to pass before the gods', and (ii) to mark as the object a word which could hardly be otherwise so marked, e.g. the object of an infinitive when it preceded the verb, as in King *Magic* no. 1, l. 4: *ana nišê ṣalmat qaqqadi uššuru* 'guiding aright the black-headed people'. From this use of *ana* as marking the object when there might be any ambiguity, especially when it preceded the verb (as sometimes also in Arabic), it easily came to be employed as a mere *nota accusativi*; so it may well have happened in the case of ל in Aramaic.[1] It is further noticeable, in the first place, that just as in Assyrian *ana* seems primarily to have been used to introduce the direct and therefore generally determinate object, so in Hebrew the object introduced by ל is very often determinate; and, secondly, it occurs both in Babylonian and in Hebrew especially after the participle—e.g. *Code of Ḫammurabi* iv*a* 4–6: *mušeški nuḫšim ana Mišlam* 'causing M. to drink plenty' and Num. xxv 18 (P): צֹרְרִים הֵם לָכֶם בְּנִכְלֵיהֶם 'they vex you with their wiles'. It is at least interesting that the only case cited in the Hebrew lexicon from Ezra (vii 25) is after the participle. In the Aramaic *papyri*, as chiefly in Biblical Aramaic, ל introduces the determinate object, while the indeterminate object is unmarked; compare יהבת לכי לביתא זנה 'I give you this house' with לא השכחת כסף ונכסן 'I did not find money and goods' (Cowley *Aram. Pap.* 13. 5). These examples point possibly to a common Semitic origin: in the first place, to a desire to indicate a direct object which would not be immediately distinguishable as such, and secondly, arising out of this, to the need of marking the determinate object, a need increasingly felt as the ordinary sign of determination continued steadily to lose its force. But the theory of its Babylonian or Assyrian origin receives striking confirmation from the fact that there is no trace of this use of ל in the early Aramaic inscriptions, even where the verb governs two accusatives (e.g. Cooke *N. S. I.* 62. 4, where the verb is מלא; yet *mullû* in Babylonian seems to take *ana* to introduce the direct object at a very early date, as in *K. B.* iii 1, 122, *g*, i 14–16: *sirrissa ana qâtiya umalli* 'with the reins thereof he filled my hands', *sc.* of Ḫammurabi); in fact, as far as the evidence at present goes, the

[1] Brockelmann (*Vergleichende Grammatik* vol. ii § 211), dissociates the Aramaic from the Assyrian construction.

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construction first appears in the *papyri*, the vocabulary of which shews in other respects traces of considerable Babylonian influence.

On the imperfect with the *l*-prefix (§ 18. 6, p. 49) it would have been interesting if the occurrence of ל with a jussive force on the early Aramaic inscription of Panammu (Cooke *N. S. I.* no. 61) had been mentioned, even though the connexion of this ל, which can hardly be other than the Babylonian precative *lû* (as actually occurring in the letters from Syria found at Tell-el-'Amarnâ), with the later *l*- imperfect is open to some doubt.[1] The fact, however, that the *l*-prefix is characteristic chiefly of the Eastern dialects and is only found sporadically in Syria and Palestine, where Babylonian influence was a very varying and uncertain quantity, while it does not occur at all in the westernmost dialect—that of Egypt—speaks emphatically in favour of an Eastern origin for it.

There are some inaccurate or loose expressions which might have been more precisely given; for example, on p. 22 l. 27 'indefinite' should be 'undetermined'; on p. 27 l. 29 'penult' (*sic*) is an ugly abbreviation; on p. 28 § C it is not clear whether the writer wishes פּוּם to be regarded as derived from a root ע"ע or not; on pp. 45 and 52 the word ἐφφαθά receives two explanations, verbally if not essentially different. A very few misprints should also be corrected: on p. 17 l. 32 '*Grundriss* I, 113' should be 'I, 313'; on p. 57 l. 30 ידע should be ידע; and on p. 77 l. 18 הָקִימת should be הֲקִימת.

These are but small defects, especially since any attempt to compare the earlier with the later Aramaic lies definitely outside the limits fixed for himself by the author. The only serious drawback in the reviewer's opinion is the omission, in the paradigms of forms used in Biblical Aramaic (given on pp. 88–96), of any note to shew in which book they occur; important conclusions can be drawn by carefully noting the chronological developement of the various forms as exhibited, for instance, by the sibilants and dentals in the demonstrative and relative pronouns, or by the assimilation of the *n* in verbs פ"נ.

In conclusion, all teachers and students will give a warm welcome to Professor Stevenson's little book, not only because it is the only serviceable manual in English on the subject, but also for its own intrinsic worth. Both the writer and the printers are to be congratulated on an excellent piece of work.

G. R. DRIVER.

[1] See Brockelmann *op. cit.* vol. i § 260, 3 and Lowe *Pʿsachim* pp. 1–7.

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S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae, recensuit . . . AL. GOLDBACHER. Pars V: Praefatio Editoris et Indices. (Vienna-Leipzig, 1923.) (= *Corpus Scriptorum Eccl. Latinorum* vol. lviii.)

THIS volume had practically reached completion before the War; its appearance early in 1924 was followed by the death of its editor, on April 28. Alois Goldbacher spent a long life in the cause of learning; he had deserved well of students of Apuleius by providing, for some of the minor works, a text which, though now superseded, marked a considerable advance on anything before his day; his criticisms of Latin texts, continued over a long span in the *Wiener Studien*, were nearly always acute and, even when unnecessary, shewed a sound knowledge of classical Latinity and width of reading. At the time of his death he was engaged on a bulky volume of *Plautiniana*, on which he set, I think, greater store than on his Augustine; it was near enough to completion to require little to make it ready for publication. Born in 1837, Goldbacher began his edition of the *Letters* in 1872; even allowing for the delay caused by the War, it has been a lifetime's work, and we may well offer our tribute of gratitude to one who undertook it and carried it through with such laboriousness, patience, and, on the whole, success.

This fifth part completes the edition of the *Letters*, though Goldbacher certainly intended to add a sixth volume, containing the *spuria*. Among these, the Letter of Pelagius *ad Demetriadem* would have been very welcome. Portions of this sixth part I saw last year, but I am not sure that it had proceeded far enough to be available for publication, and, in any case, the financial condition of the Vienna *Corpus* precludes publication without assistance. This present part would not have seen the light but for a very generous gift from Professor James H. Ropes, to whom all users of this volume will join Goldbacher in expressing gratitude.

The first hundred pages of the work are taken up with the discussion and tabulation of the MSS employed, but owing to their great number and their variety it is impossible to say anything of them here. The first index gives the names of those to whom and by whom the Letters are written; the second gives a list of the Letters in their old and their new numeration. In the third, Goldbacher discusses in some detail the date of each; on the whole he follows and adheres to the Maurine dating. Recent studies of St Jerome's *Epistulae* have provided material for a new and more thorough examination of the chronology of some, at least, of the Augustinian *Letters*, and it is to be hoped that before long they may receive a fuller and more detailed study than hitherto; it ought too to be possible to place some of those Letters which were

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thrown into the last part of the Maurine edition as undated. One point in this chronological list of Goldbacher's I may briefly mention: he would seem to have anticipated some criticism of his reading in *Ep.* 211. 4, *Deo natis* for *Donatistis*, which is the emendation of the Maurist editors and which I have tried in the *Journal* to restore and justify. He alleges for *Deo natis* the testimony of all his manuscripts, which is a strong enough argument, but after all not final or conclusive; and he charges the Maurists with failing to observe that *Deo natis* is Scriptural, as if this settled the question. The fact is entirely irrelevant, and, in spite of some criticisms my own arguments have received, I still feel convinced that, in face of the manuscript evidence, we must reject *Deo natis* and return to *Donatistis*.

The fourth index contains the citations from Scripture and from non-Scriptural writings; both are fairly full, but not quite complete. In *Ep.* 21. 6, for example, the editor has not recognized *bonitatem et seueritatem*, or *misericordiam et iudicium* as Biblical; or *Ep.* 29. 11 *si gustassent quam suauis est Dominus*; in *Ep.* 21. 2 he has overlooked that *hinc erant illae lacrimae* is Terentian. With the fifth index, *nominum et rerum*, we come upon what is probably the most complete of the six; it is not, I think, a mere excerpt from the large Index of the Benedictines, but an independent and carefully made compendium. Here again, however, one cannot rely upon it to prove a negative. For example, the insufficiency of the *Thesaurus* for the expression *Africana ecclesia* (it quotes Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 7. 2 as the only occurrence before the sixth century) makes it all the more desirable that all the Augustinian references should be registered; Goldbacher gives only *Ep.* 22. 2 and 28. 2, though it is found again in *Ep.* 43. 26 and 100. 1 and possibly elsewhere; nor are the references to *Italia* complete—one misses an important mention like *Ep.* 22. 4, the statement of the entire cessation throughout Italy of the riotous *agapae*.

The last is the *Index Verborum*, which is probably the least satisfactory part. I do not think that Goldbacher had that consciousness of the subtle and peculiar differences which separate Christian Latin from classical so conspicuously noticeable in the *Indices* to the Donatist treatises, or so welcome and illuminating in the work of Turner, Souter, or Löfstedt. Whether or not the exigencies of space rendered compression necessary, as Goldbacher once hinted to me, there are many regrettable omissions, both of words and of occurrences. There is no mention, for example, of the rare adverb *commotius* (*Ep.* 29. 3), of the African use of *senex* in the sense of 'metropolitan' (*Epp.* 21. 5 and 6; 22. 9; 29. 7; 38. 2; 44. 12; 59. 2, &c.); of the adverb *adulatorie*, which seems to occur only in *Ep.* 21. 1 (and *Gest. Pelag.* 6. 16); of the use of *merito* = *propter* (e.g. *Ep.* 204. 2 *ignibus gehennarum merito . . . dissensionis ardebunt*, et al.); or of such phrases as *efficere absque peccato*

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(*Ep.* 186. 32). The articles *militare* and *deprecatio* are insufficient; *precem fundere* (which is both Virgilian, *Aen.* 5. 234, *al.*, and Scriptural, Lk. xxiii 34) should have many more examples added, e. g. 29. 1, 217. 6; s. v. *sereno* add *Ep.* 263. 1; s. v. *coalescere* (fairly often in Aug., as *Gen. ad Litt.* 4. 33, 6. 13, 9. 16. 29; *Music.* 6. 17. 57; *C. Cresc.* 3. 56. 62; *Serm.* 277. 11, &c.) add *Ep.* 22. 1; the rare word *obsecundatio* is absent (it occurs at least twice in Aug.: *Ep.* 22. 1 and *in Ps.* 134. 16; Lewis-Short quotes only '*Cod. Theod.* 12. 1. 92' = Cod. Just. 10. 32 (31), 34. 1, but it is to be found in Pacian *Sim. Carn.* p. 142. 7 ed. Morin, and Greg. Tur. *Vit. Patr.* 6).

Goldbacher's method of quotation will not suit any but users of his own edition, and there it is always necessary to look up the place mentioned in order to find the number of the letter; all his references are to his own volumes and page, which is awkward enough. P. 343 correct 'aporcryphus'; the first reference under *daemonia* should read p. 562. 1.

I hope the few additions and corrections I have given do not shew ingratitude towards the memory of my constant correspondent and much regretted friend, nor lack of appreciation of his long and laborious services to Augustinian studies. Truth is, I believe, that before this volume saw the light, he was past the stage of enthusiasm and regarded his work on Augustine as something over and done with. His ignorance of English kept all British contributions out of his ken, and he shewed himself most unwilling to admit to this volume even the *addenda* and *corrigenda* which the reviews of his earlier volumes provided. But, whatever be its faults, his edition of the *Letters* will long remain our standard text, partly because of the cost of printing, partly because whatever corrections are necessary, his *apparatus* is full. Such as this volume is, it is very welcome, and, for it as well as the text of the *Letters*, students of Augustine will be very grateful.

J. H. BAXTER.

The Book of the Himyarites, by AXEL MOBERG. (Lund, Sweden; Milford, London, 1924.)

PROFESSOR AXEL MOBERG, of the University of Lund, has earned the thanks of all those interested in the pre-Mohammedan history of Arabia by his publication of *The Book of the Himyarites*, a hitherto unknown Syriac work, large fragments of which Prof. Moberg discovered in the binding of a Syriac MS belonging to Mr and Mrs Wirén of Stocksund, Sweden. The MS itself was an ordinary collection of Jacobite Syriac liturgies, dated A.D. 1469, but the fragments in the binding were the remains of an old codex written in A.D. 932, containing an historical work called 'The Book of the Himyarites' (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܚܡܝܪܝܐ), which gave an extended account of the practical extermination of the

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'Himyaritic' Christians of Nejrán in S. Arabia by the Jewish King Masruḳ, and his subsequent overthrow by the Abyssinians under their King Caleb. All this happened in the year A.D. 523–524.

Prof. Moberg has published his book in English. It contains a full Introduction which treats in a both scientific and readable way the historical and critical questions connected with this notable find, a Translation of the fragments (pp. ci–cxlvi), Notes on the Syriac text with a good List of Persons and Places, Eight Facsimiles, and finally 107 columns of Syriac text.

The story of the Himyarite Christians of Nejrán and their grievous fate was already more or less known from three other sources. These are the *Acta S. Arethae*, a Greek martyrium, published in the Acta Sanctorum for Oct. 27 (vol. x, pp. 721–759); the Syriac *Letter* of Simeon of Beth Arsham, published by Guidi in *Atti della R. Accad. d. Lincei* for 1881, pp. 501–515; and the Syriac translation of the Greek *Hymn* of John Psaltes, published by E. W. Brooks in *Patrologia Orientalia* vii 613 from a MS written in A.D. 675. Dr Moberg shews that the Acta have been composed out of the Book of the Himyarites: the new text is the source, while the Acta present 'unmistakeable features of a secondary . . . compendium' (p. xxxvii). Unfortunately our new authority is only a collection of fragments; where they fail us the Acta may still be used to supply the substance of the missing portions. But the Acta have introduced some new and unhistorical features, notably the intervention of the Byzantine Emperor Justin. It should be pointed out that the fragments include a Table of 49 Chapters, so that we can have a good idea of the scale and contents of the complete work.

The Letter of Simeon and the Book of the Himyarites appear to be independent as literary works, though they shew dependence on a common source, viz. the accounts of the massacres that first reached Herta and the Euphrates Valley, whether in the form of an announcement by the persecuting king or the reports of fugitives. The Hymn of John Psaltes is of importance from its antiquity: the MS in which it is preserved is dated A.D. 675, and there is reason to believe that the Hymn itself was originally composed about 600, i.e. only three-quarters of a century after the events. This Hymn is too short and vague to tell us anything except that there were great numbers of victims, but the heading to it agrees with the Book of the Himyarites against the Acta by giving the name of the Jewish persecutor as 'Masruḳ[1] king of the Saracens', while the Acta call him Δουναάσ, i.e. Dhu Nowās (ذو نواس).[2]

[1] Greek margin, MACPOKIC.

[2] Dhu Nowās is in any case a nickname like 'Curlylocks'.

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A similar difference in nomenclature occurs for the Abyssinian king, called Caleb in the Book of the Himyarites but Elesbaan in the Acta. 'Elesbaan' has become a Saint of the Church *hoc nomine*, but Caleb is correct, as that is the name he bears in Ethiopic records (Lists of Kings, Ethiopic translation of the *Acta*). Elesbaan is a corruption of Ela-Aṣbeḥa, the name given to an earlier King of Axum, in whose days Christianity is said to have come to Abyssinia.[1]

A special point of interest is that Masruḳ swears not only by Adonai and the Ark and the Thora, but also by the Great God Raḥmāna, the name or attribute of God so familiar to later ages through the Koran, itself an Aramaicizing form. Another feature that strikes me as evidence that the Christianity of Nejran came from the Euphrates Valley is the prominence of the Sons and Daughters of the Covenant,[2] i. e. professed celibates living not in a community but in their own houses.

The discovery of the Book of the Himyarites appears to me to assure the historicity of the persecuting King Masruḳ and his Judaism. As Prof. Moberg well points out on p. lxix f, Halévy's theory that 'Jew' in the traditions of S. Arabia means 'Jewish Christian', i. e. Arian, is now untenable. Masruḳ's oaths are definitely Jewish, and there stand by his side (p. 7*a*) certain 'Jewish priests (*kāhnē*) from Tiberias'. Of course the expression is inaccurate, as we should expect from a Christian writer, and it would be unfair to saddle the Synagogue generally, and the Talmudists in particular, with the moral guilt for the brutality and violence of King Masruḳ. If Arab tradition may be trusted he must have been a self-reliant character who began his career by rivalling the exploit of Ehud. We also hear that he was called Joseph: he may have taken this name as a proselyte. But as Prof. Moberg points out (p. lxx) the fierce emotions that underlay this wild story of religious persecution were rather nationalistic and political than theological: the tale is an episode in the age-long rivalry of Persia and Byzantium, as represented here by Masruḳ and the Abyssinians respectively. And behind this we have perhaps a hint of the latent Arab national consciousness which was destined to burst out a century later and overwhelm both the Persian and the Christian civilizations of the East. 'Killed were the men of the Moat, the flaming fire that smote, yea it is God that takes note!' (Ḳ lxxxv 4, 5, 9).

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] The name appears to be an adaptation of the Arabic Dhu Aṣbaḥ, a legendary Himyaritic monarch.

[2] Pp. 4*a*, 15, 18; 16*b*, 12; 4*b*, 7 f; 5*b*, 13; 22*a*, 2. Prof. Moberg translates the expression 'brethren of the holy order', which is perhaps an even better English rendering.

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Palaeographia Latina, iii edited by W. M. LINDSAY. St Andrews University Publications, xix. (Milford, 1924; 8vo, 66 pp., xv Collotype plates.)

MOST of this part is devoted by Professor Lindsay to the Scriptorium of Lorsch: this abbey, founded in 764, practised during the eighth century a bold pre-Carolingian minuscule, and at the same time under the influence of an Englishman Dombercht, a favourite pupil of Boniface, an insular script. In the succeeding century it used its own type of Carolingian into which certain insular abbreviations had penetrated. These several scripts are discussed and illustrated by twelve plates: their abbreviations are tabulated in the way familiar from the author's *Notae Latinae* and certain habits of their scribes indicated, noticeably a use of *h l* to indicate an omission, peculiar it seems to Lorsch, but there existing side by side with many other methods. Most of the surviving Lorsch MSS found their way to the Heidelberg Library, and so to the Palatine collection in the Vatican, but the Uncial Livy at Vienna is the most important MS to which we can point—of course it was not written there: however the Pithoeanus of Juvenal and Persius, is hardly second to it, and is genuine Lorsch work. Identification of Lorsch MSS is aided by the survival of two ninth-century catalogues.

Three facsimiles are given to MSS of the 'Farfa' type: Mgr Carusi supplies a short account of the monasteries of Farfa (20 m. NNE. of Rome) and Subiaco and their books. The writing is a curious Carolingian which competed with Beneventan in the district about Rome. Important copies of the *Liber Pontificalis* come from Farfa. It must be admitted that this Part iii has little direct theological interest.

E. H. MINNS.

The Church of England, by the Rt. Rev. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, C.H., D.D., Bishop of Gloucester, with an appendix by the Rev. H. MAYNARD SMITH, D.D., Canon of Gloucester. (John Murray, 1924.)

THE Bishop of Gloucester's Primary Charge to his Diocese is an important document, for Dr Headlam is a scholar with an established reputation, as well as a Bishop. He is jealous for the traditional devotion of the Church of England to learning: 'Unless there continues a supply of learned clergy ready and able to grapple with the questions of the day, the Church, especially in a time of movement like the present, will inevitably be out of touch with modern thought' (p. 199). Archbishop Söderblom is quoted (p. 198) as saying: 'I am nowhere so keenly sensible of the beneficent value of dignified, enlightened piety, wide of heart, and open to reforms, as in the Church of England.' 'Dignified enlightened piety' happily describes the ideal

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which the Bishop here holds up to the National Church. It is not that he is blind to the defects of Anglicanism. Archbishop Söderblom is again quoted to the effect that 'the genius of Anglicanism is certainly more comprehensive, but less creative than the two other views of Christianity—that of Rome (enriched by the passionate Church ideal of the Spanish monk), and that of Wittenberg' (p. 204); and Dr Headlam endorses the criticism; but for all that he believes in the Church of England, expects loyalty to its principles, and is not ashamed to appeal to the authority of Anglican formularies. Thus General Councils, as we are taught in article XXI, may err, and there is no objection in principle to a revision of the Chalcedonian definition. 'But', he adds, 'there is not, I think, any necessity for this. What the Chalcedonian definition does is no more, it seems to me, than to guard by exact language the true divinity and the true humanity of Christ' (p. 58). While welcoming the revival during the last hundred years of respect for the sacraments of the Church as being 'in itself healthy', he complains that 'it has been accompanied by a good deal of most inadequate theology, and an attempt to revive something of the system which was discarded at the Reformation. The less satisfactory theology of the Mediaeval Church and the modern Roman Church is copied, and some rather unintelligent language of our own is introduced' (p. 66 f). He finds a safeguard against many of these aberrations in recognizing with St Thomas 'that the sacraments are performed not by the bishop or priest, but by the Church; and the minister of the Sacrament is Christ' (p. 67). He refuses to allow Reservation of the Sacrament except for Communion of the sick. He deprecates habitual confession. The use of vestments, as ordered in the 1549 Prayer Book, at the Holy Communion is enjoined by the law of the State, but 'by the law of the Church there is no authority for their use' (p. 84). Both vestment and surplice have become legal by prescription, but his own preference is 'quite decidedly in favour of the surplice' (p. 86). With regard to the Sunday morning service, he is sure that 'the traditional custom of the English Church is the best. The Morning Service has greater variety and conveys a larger element of instruction; it is simpler and easier of comprehension' (p. 93).

Present day controversies need to be placed in their historical setting. With this end in view Canon Maynard Smith has contributed an appendix of extracts from formularies of the English Church and leading Anglican Divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, illustrating the position of the English Church, especially in relation to the Church of Rome, and the Bishop himself prefaces his directions and advice with an illuminating sketch of the main stages in English Church history from St Augustine onwards. It was of course not possible for him to attempt more than a sketch, but one misses a

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reference to Rationalism and its influence on English theology at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Later on the Bishop alludes to German Biblical criticism as 'one of the most remarkable intellectual achievements of the past century', and estimates its influence upon the Church of England. It would have been very relevant to his theme to point out that Germany derived the first impulse to criticism from England in the middle of the eighteenth century. 'English theology was in Germany in those days', wrote Dr Oman in 1906, 'what German theology is in England to-day' (*Problem of Faith and Freedom* p. 160).

Dr Headlam's wide experience of English educational problems lends weight and interest to his treatment of the relations between Education and the Church. He is in full revolt against bureaucratic centralization. 'If education is to be free and spiritual, it must be organized on its own basis, independent of Church and State, uncontrolled by either, but working in the closest harmony with both. He frankly acknowledges that the Liberal revolt against clerical education was necessary and justifiable, but 'the interesting thing to notice is that the Liberal movement, when triumphant, has become just as intolerant, just as bigoted, as the old clerical system had been' (p. 142). 'One of the most fundamental causes of the social unrest which prevails in modern society is the irreligious tendency of education, and I fear that the result will ultimately be that the idea of religious liberty will be lost.' The true policy would have been 'to grant freedom to different types of schools, and different types of religious teaching'.

The last two chapters of the book contain the Bishop's Charge at the Visitation of his Cathedral, and in them he refers to the vexed question of the relations between the Bishop and the Dean and Chapter. He argues that the Bishop's relation to the Cathedral and his authority therein, depend upon the Charter of foundation. It had been argued that the Cathedral Statutes expound and limit 'the full jurisdiction, power and authority, ordinary and episcopal'. Dr Headlam has taken legal advice and he refuses to allow this. 'The Statutes do not deal with the position of the Bishop; they assume it. They are addressed, not to the Bishop, but to the Dean and Chapter, and in various places in them they presuppose the ordinary action of the Bishop.'

There is an apology in the Preface for 'the slovenliness of much of the writing'. It is certainly a pity that the Bishop was unable to remodel some very awkward sentences and to correct loose phraseology. There are also a few mistakes and misprints. P. 10 transpose ll. 3 and 4. P. 61 for 'imminent' (*bis*) read 'immanent'. P. 78 for 'geat' read 'great'. P. 120 for 'Reformation' read 'Restoration'. P. 222 for 'authority' read 'obedience'. Probably the Bishop of Gloucester felt that what he had to say should be said quickly. He has certainly

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made a vigorous contribution to the ecclesiastical statesmanship of the present century.

J. M. CREED.

Reality and Religion: Meditations on God, Man and Nature, by SADHU SUNDAR SINGH; with an Introduction by CANON STREETER. (Macmillan & Co., 1924.)

WHEN the Sadhu was in England five years ago, even while we listened delightedly to his simple teaching, we were filled with the fear that such a popularizing of his work would mean the spoiling of it. Canon Streeter is now able to give us proof that such has not been the case, and the Sadhu himself gives further proof in a series of meditations full of homely but arresting little similes. In the following story he lets us into the secret of influence such as his. 'A philosopher went to see a mystic. They were sitting together in silence for some time. Then said the mystic to the philosopher as he was about to go away, "I feel all you think". And the philosoper said, "I cannot even think all that you feel". It is clear that earthly wisdom is unable to feel and understand Reality. Only those who commune with God in prayer can really know Reality.'

The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, an Eirenicon, being Studies in Sacrifice, Memorial, Covenant, and Communion as set forth in Holy Scripture, with a sketch of the History of Eucharistic Doctrine in the Church, by the Rev. U. Z. RULE. (Elliot Stock, 1923.)

THIS is indeed a great and difficult subject, and everything must be welcomed which helps us towards a better understanding of each other's divergent views. A really sympathetic sketch of the history of Eucharistic doctrine would do much in this direction. But the present one is far too brief for the purpose, and we discover as we read the book that the result is after all only to set forth the particular view which commends itself to the author. It is doubtful whether any real mutual understanding is promoted by labelling as 'extremists' those who hold different views; and there is less enthusiasm than there used to be for the theory that 'our hope, our only hope, lies in the drawing together of "moderate" Churchmen'. The book will be read with pleasure by those who share Mr Rule's views, but there are 'extremists' of many different kinds nowadays who will not rest satisfied with his conclusion of the whole matter: 'Let us be true then to our Reformation.'

First Notions of Holy Writ, for Students, Readers, Enquirers, by CUTHBERT LATTEY, S.J., M.A. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1923.)

THE title of this book is somewhat misleading. Some of its essays contain summaries which students will find useful, particularly those on

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the 'Text of Holy Scripture' and 'The Vulgate Translation'. But perhaps its chief interest is in revealing the Romanist solution of one of the problems of present-day 'Study of Holy Scripture'. The student is told that the fourth gospel was written by St John, but he is set down to work out the question critically for himself. Suppose that he comes out on what, from the teacher's point of view, is the wrong side, and decides that St John was not the author, how has he made a mistake? 'The best answer seems to be, that he should have used his theological reasons as a negative criterion of truth, but not as a positive criterion.... He can use his knowledge to bar certain conclusions, since he knows them false; if he examines the matter carefully afresh, and be competent in other respects, he may be trusted to find out the fallacy. Otherwise he must, indeed, fall back upon his faith, and confess that without it he would go astray! And in the same way by patient study he will perceive the force of the arguments for the true conclusion; the fact that he has used his faith as a negative criterion still leaves it undeniably true that he reached his conclusion by the light of reason, and is satisfied by the light of reasoning that the argument is valid.' I have quoted Fr Lattey's exact words, lest his solution, which is evidently quite clear to him, should seem to be obscured by my failure to appreciate it. It is interesting to contrast the attitude of Professor Peake, who has written thus: 'Such an enquiry has obvious risks. If it be free, and any other type of investigation is worthless, then it must have an open mind with reference to its possible results. The chance of unfavourable decision must inevitably be taken.'

Aspects of the Way; being Meditations and Studies in the Life of Jesus Christ, by A. D. MARTIN. (Cambridge University Press, 1924.)

BOOKS have not been wanting of late years which treat of our Lord's life on earth with freshness and charm, and it is a bold thing to try to add to their number. But these Meditations have fully succeeded in doing so, and at the same time have shewn that deep reverence for the Person of God the Son, and that power of drawing a practical lesson in a few words, which have sometimes been lacking in other attempts. 'Books' (the author writes) 'which belittle our Lord—their authors would say that they actualize Jesus to us—are published every year by avowed Christians of unquestionable learning, while, on the other side, the conservative school has its able output in defence of the Incarnation as an historic fact.' But he sees the need of something more spiritual and personal than either, and helps to supply it for 'the general reader'.

T. W. CRAFER.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1924 (Vol. xcix, No. 197: S.P.C.K.). J. A. ROBINSON Bishop Gore on the Holy Spirit and the Church—W. LOCKTON The unction of the sick—H. F. B. COMPSTON Jewish humanism—H. B. SALMON The Judaean narratives in the Third Gospel—C. JENKINS Some thirteenth-century registers—K. T. HENDERSON Ethics and the control of history: a study of Troeltsch—C. E. WAGER Neo-Tübingenism and the Acts of the Apostles—Z. Dr Pullan's Bampton Lectures—The Cambridge Ancient History II—The Diary of a country Parson—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1924 (Vol. xxiii, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). K. LAKE Jesus—R. ROBERTS The doctrine of God—R. JONES George Fox: prophet and reformer—THE EDITOR The ethic of workmanship—J. W. SCOTT Towards breaking 'the vicious circle of mass-production'—G. HÜBENER The present mind of German Universities—E. HOLMES Our debt to the ancient wisdom of India—R. MACKINTOSH The theology of Copec—MRS W. K. CLIFFORD Victoria, Lady Welby: an ethical mystic—VISCOUNTESS GREY The meaning of some ancient symbols—J. S. MACKENZIE Time and eternity—G. D. H. COLE The educational ideas of Robert Owen—H. T. BURT Joseph Conrad: an appreciation—R. HART On the possibility of another great war—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, October 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 10: Hodder & Stoughton). THE EDITOR Current issues—W. D. NIVEN The ten best books on the Philosophy of Religion—H. H. ROWLEY The Belshazzar of Daniel and of history—S. TONKIN The preacher and the Transfiguration—F. R. M. HITCHCOCK Latin expressions in the Prison Epistles—Notes and notices of recent criticism—Reviews—Current Literature.

November 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 11). THE EDITOR Current issues—H. J. FLOWERS The Second Commandment—H. T. ANDREWS The ten best books on the life of Jesus—R. DUNKERLEY Early Christian reminiscences of Jesus—H. E. HILL The relation of Pentecost to the first Coming of Christ—Notes and notices of recent criticism—Reviews—Current Literature.

December 1924 (Ninth Series, No. 12). THE EDITOR Current issues—H. R. MACKINTOSH The ten best books on Miracle—H. J. FLOWERS The Second Commandment—H. J. CADBURY The ancient physiological notions underlying John i 13 and Hebrews xi 11—H. MICHAEL 'Work out your own salvation'—W. S. WOOD Simplicity toward Christ—J. R. HARRIS The Diatessaron and the Testimony Book—Notes and notices of recent criticism—Reviews.

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(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1924 (Vol. xxii, No. 4: Princeton University Press). C. W. HODGE The Person of Christ in recent religious philosophy—J. G. MACHEN The God of the early Christians—L. C. MACKINNEY Secular and regular canons during the middle ages—F. D. JENKINS Modern philosophical views of space in relation to Omnipresence—S. W. BEACH The General Assemblies of Scotland—Reviews of recent literature.

The Harvard Theological Review, October 1924 (Vol. xvii, No. 4: Harvard University Press). G. F. MOORE The rise of normative Judaism —F. R. TENNANT Theism and Laws of Nature—G. B. KING The mote and the beam.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, 1922–1923 (Third Series, Vol. iii, Nos. 3 and 4) S. B. LE PATRIARCHE IGNACE ÉPHREM II RAHMANI, MGR. TISSERANT, R. P. POWER S. J., R. DEVREESE L'Onomasticon d'Eusèbe dans une ancienne traduction syriaque—M. CHAINE Catéchèse attribuée à S. Basile de Césarée: une lettre apocryphe de S. Luc (*fin*)— L. GUERRIER & S. GRÉBAUT Les canons du concile de Gangres— K. J. BASMADJIAN Les inscriptions arméniennes d'Ani, de Bagnain et Marmachên (*suite*)—R. P. BLAKE Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem—Mélanges: I MGR. PETIT Note sur l'exil de Marc d'Éphèse à Lemnos; II A. ROMAN Une hymne du Nagara Maryam; III E. BARDY Les citations de S. Jean Chrysostome dans le florilège du Cod. Vatican. Graec. 1142— Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Theologische Quartalschrift, 1924 (Vol. civ, Nos. 1 and 2: Tübingen, H. Laupp). RIESSLER Zur Chronologie des Alten Testaments—OESTERLE Die öffentlichen und geheimen Ehehindernisse—ADAM Der Gewissheitsgrund des göttlichen Glaubens und P. Stuflers Kritik—EUGERT Religionspsychologie und religiöse Erkenntnislehre bei Rudolf Otto—Rezensionen.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, December 1924 (Vol. xxiii, Nos. 3 and 4: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). G. GOETZ Die literarhistorische Stellung des Octavius von Minucius Felix—V. SCHULTZE Orpheus in der frühchristlichen Kunst—L. v. SYBEL Die Salbungen—R. HARRIS The authorship of the so-called Second Epistle of Clement—P. GLAUE Die Vorlesung heiliger Schriften bei Cyprian—K. MÜLLER Kleine Beiträge zur alten Kirchengeschichte—E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ Zur Liste der Neutestamentlichen Handschriften—H. WINDISCH Das Problem des paulinischen Imperativs— EL. BICKERMANN Das leere Grab—E. PETERSON Alte Schulformeln und ihre Deutungen—H. PREISKER Die Vicariatstaufe 1 Cor. xv 29: ein eschatologischer, nicht sakramentaler Brauch—E. HOMMEL Ein uralter Hochzeitsgebrauch im N.T.—FISCHER Die Donnersöhne Mk. iii 17—E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ Neutestamentlertagung am 29. Okt. 1924 —Notizen.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

MARCAN USAGE: NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL, ON THE SECOND GOSPEL

(continued).

V. *The movements of Jesus and his disciples and the crowd.*

THE present instalment of these Notes on Marcan Usage deals with what seems to me a singularly interesting feature of the Second Gospel in comparison and contrast with the other two Synoptic Gospels, namely the position and relative prominence which in the structure of the narrative attaches to the disciples or the Twelve. This prominence is not to all appearance the result of a conscious attempt on the evangelist's part to emphasize it or in any way to advertise it: you might read the Gospel superficially without noticing it: but when once attention is drawn to it, it is seen to be there, and the natural and obvious explanation is that we have before us the experience of a disciple and apostle who tells the story from the point of view of an eyewitness and companion, who puts himself in the same group as the Master, who distinguishes the group of companions from the crowd at large. Matthew and Luke are Christian historians who stand away from the events, and concentrate their narrative on the central figure: in contrast with it other contrasts lose something of their importance, and on occasion the disciples and the crowd almost melt—as they never do in Mark—into one.

The first and perhaps of all the most significant distinction between the three Synoptists in this sphere is the distinction between the use of the plural and of the singular in the narrative of the movements of Jesus and his disciples. Twenty-one instances are enumerated in § 1 of these notes, in which the plural is used by Mark, denoting the coming and going of Jesus and his disciples—in fifteen of them the word is ἔρχεσθαι or one of its compounds—followed at once by the singular in reference to Jesus alone. Obviously it was simpler and saved space to construct

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the whole sentence in the singular, and this is what the other Synoptists, concentrating attention on the Master, tend to do: on five occasions both substitute the singular for the plural, and on three more occasions Luke does so, while Luke five times and Matthew three times omit the whole clause containing the plural verb. The net result is that the retention of Mark's plural is rare in Matthew, rarer still in Luke. And the scribes of Mark, whether affected by the presence of the singular in the Synoptic parallels, or influenced independently by the same motives as influenced Matthew and Luke, tend themselves too to get rid of the plural: and in one or two cases it is not unreasonable to allow 'Marcan usage' a decisive voice and to accept the plural on what is apparently the weaker body of witness.

Why then did our earliest Evangelist tell his story in the plural, not being himself one of the company who went about with Jesus, save because he is repeating the story of one to whom the plural came natural as being himself an actor in the events he relates? 'We went across, and as he left the boat there met him . . .' 'Next morning after we had left Bethany he was hungry . . .' 'We come again to Jerusalem: and as he was walking up and down in the Temple . . .' The mixture of nominatives is less glaring between the first person and the third—'we' and 'he', instead of 'they' and 'he': and that may perhaps be the reason why St Mark so rarely writes 'Jesus'. Peter would be content with 'He': there could be no question who was meant.[1]

In one passage in particular, i 29, 'they left the synagogue and came into the house of Simon and Andrew with James and John', the hypothesis that the third person plural of Mark represents a first person plural of Peter makes what as it stands is a curiously awkward phrase into a phrase which is quite easy and coherent. 'We left the synagogue and came into our house with our fellow-disciples James and John. My mother-in-law was in bed with fever, and he is told about her . . .'[2] So too, i 16, 'He saw me and Andrew my brother'.

The usages of which details are given in the other sections of this paper are all intended to re-inforce the conclusion that Mark's story is told as from a disciple and companion, while Matthew and Luke are less directly interested in that particular point of view.

[1] Mark very rarely writes ὁ Ἰησοῦς in narrative, not infrequently in the give and take of question and answer: though scribes have tried to insert it, e. g. xii 41. Matthew adds ὁ Ἰησοῦς not less than some forty times, especially at the beginning of a paragraph. Luke is even more sparing than Mark with ὁ Ἰησοῦς, and like Mark, but oftener, makes use of αὐτός, 'He himself', 'The Master', or better still a stressed 'He': it is almost equivalent to our use of the capital H.

[2] My colleague Mr Brightman points out to me that this suggestion was anticipated by Godet: see his *Biblical Studies: New Testament* ch. i § 2, p. 24.

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In § ii nine passages are enumerated where the sentence begins with a singular verb in reference to our Lord and goes on to mention the disciples: and more often than not this mention of the disciples falls out in one or both of the derivative accounts.

The passages collected in the following section (§ 3) differ only from these by the additional mention of the crowd. They witness to the more articulated conceptions of the Second Gospel: in later Gospels the lines become a little blurred and indistinct. Out of eleven passages there is practically none where something of the Marcan distinction of elements is not lost by both the other two evangelists.

This definite articulation, characteristic of Mark, is further brought out with regard to 'the crowd', ὄχλος, in § v. Alone among the three Synoptists he uses the word only in the singular—the one exception in x 1 refers to the gathering together of crowds from different quarters—because he or his informant visualizes as a single whole the body of people who came together to hear Jesus, and according to their numbers on each occasion describes them as 'a crowd' or 'a big crowd' or 'a considerable crowd' or 'a very big crowd'. Mark never uses the definite article in the nominative, ὁ ὄχλος, πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος (at any rate till the scene shifts to Jerusalem), except in relation to an indefinite 'crowd' mentioned just previously.[1] They are not a fixed quantity, so to say, not ὁ ὄχλος but ὄχλος, a necessary element in the picture but a variable and varying one. To the other evangelists, or at any rate to Matthew, they are a stereotyped but vague generality, 'the multitudes'.

A similar conclusion results from the study of the word ἀκολουθεῖν in § vi. In Mark this verb has ordinarily something still about it to suggest the literal sense: it is never used of the crowds—as it is in the other Synoptists—but only of the call to 'leave all and follow' Jesus. And more significant still are the changes which the two later Synoptists make by introducing ἀκολουθεῖν of the disciples 'following' Jesus, where Mark had spoken of Jesus and the disciples as a single group; see iv 36, ix 38.[2]

Finally, as to the terms used of the disciples themselves, St Mark's Gospel reveals its archaic and primitive character by its predominant

[1] ὁ ὄχλος in iii 20 (but note ὄχλος ℵ*C with W-H margin) would refer to the πλῆθος πολύ of iii 8: in ix 25 (but again ὄχλος ℵ^{c} B D Δ) to the ὄχλον πολύν of ix 14: πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος (ὄχλος D*) ii 13 to the πολλοί of ii 2 and the διὰ τὸν ὄχλον of ii 4: πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος of iv 1 *b* to ὄχλος πλεῖστος earlier in the same verse, and in ix 15 to ὄχλον πολύν of ix 14. In xv 8 D a k give, for 'the crowd', 'the whole crowd'. In oblique cases the article is of course essential, and implies nothing as between ὄχλος and ὁ ὄχλος: e.g. in ii 4 διὰ τὸν ὄχλον was the only possible phrase, just like 'because of the crowd' in English. You could not say δι' ὄχλον, 'because of a crowd'.

[2] Of the crowd Matt. iv 25, viii 1, xii 15, xiv 13, xix 2, xx 29; Lk. vii 9, ix 11: and of the disciples Matt. viii 23, Lk. ix 49, xxii 39.

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use of the phrase 'his disciples' (§ iv below); whereas the other Gospels tend to introduce the absolute statement 'the disciples', a usage which doubtless goes back to a very early stage in the separate history of the Christian Society but does not go back to the time of the Ministry itself. And St Mark's Gospel is distinguished again from the other two by its fondness, especially in the later chapters, for the phrase οἱ δώδεκα, which comes to all appearance to be practically a synonym, during the last journey to Jerusalem and at Jerusalem, for 'the disciples'.[1]

i. *The impersonal plural, followed by the singular.*

1. i 21 καὶ εἰσπορεύονται εἰς Καφαρναούμ. καὶ εὐθὺς τοῖς σάββασιν ἐδίδασκεν εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν.

The plural is found in all authorities save *fam.* 1 Origen and a very few others (*om.* syr-sin). Matthew omits the notice entirely: Luke gives the singular; but as the call of the first disciples comes at a later point in his story, he was naturally bound to do so.

2. i 29, 30 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς ἐξελθόντες ἦλθον εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Σίμωνος . . . καὶ εὐθὺς λέγουσιν αὐτῷ . . .

ἐξελθόντες . . . ἦλθον ℵ A C L Δ Vulg. with W-H text: B D W Θ *fam.* 1, *fam.* 13 and the Old Latins and Armenian ἐξελθὼν . . . ἦλθεν: syr-sin combines the two readings 'and he went forth . . . and they came', and so l 'et protinus egrediens de synagoga uenerunt': a and the Sahidic are defective. Matthew and Luke both have the singular. It is so much more probable that the singular would have been substituted for the plural by scribes of Mark than *vice versa*, that, in spite of the strong authority for ἐξελθὼν . . . ἦλθεν, I can feel little doubt that W-H are right in putting the plural in their text.[2]

3. v 1, 2 καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸ πέραν . . . καὶ ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθὺς ὑπήντησεν αὐτῷ . . .

ἦλθεν C L W Δ etc. syr-sin. Matthew omits the first clause altogether: Luke has the plural with Mark. External authority and intrinsic probability combined are decisive for ἦλθον.

4. v 38 καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἀρχισυναγώγου· καὶ θεωρεῖ θόρυβον . . .

ἔρχονται ℵ A B C D 1 33, the better half of Old Latin MSS (b e i) Vulg. and Sahidic: ἔρχεται L W Θ a c ff arm: def. syr-sin. Matthew and Luke both substitute the singular. There is no doubt about the

[1] I hope to recur in another number of the JOURNAL to this subject, and to examine the theory urged by Eduard Meyer in his important work *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, that οἱ μαθηταὶ (αὐτοῦ) and οἱ δώδεκα indicate two separate sources employed by St Mark. As far as I can see at present, this theory has no adequate basis at all.

[2] In Mk. ii 13 ℵ* gives ἐξῆλθον for ἐξῆλθεν: but though it may conceivably be right, the authority is too slight to justify the inclusion of the passage in this list.

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reading in Mark: exactly the same instinct which actuated the other two Synoptists accounts for the reading of the minority.

5. vi 53, 54 *καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἦλθον εἰς Γεννησαρὲτ καὶ προσωρμίσθησαν. καὶ ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου εὐθὺς ἐπιγνόντες αὐτὸν . . .*

Luke is now defective: Matthew retains the first plurals, *διαπεράσαντες ἦλθον*, but drops the other two as superfluous detail.[1]

6. viii 22 *καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Βηθσαϊδάν. καὶ φέρουσιν αὐτῷ . . .*

ἔρχονται ℵ c B C D L W Δ Θ *fam.* 13 Latins Sahidic Armenian: *ἔρχεται* ℵ* A syr-sin etc. Again no doubt at all: but again we note the persistent inclination by some or other witnesses to substitute the singular. There are no Synoptic parallels.

7. ix 14, 15 *καὶ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶδον ὄχλον πολὺν . . . καὶ εὐθὺς πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεθάμβησαν.*

ἐλθόντες . . . εἶδον ℵ B L W Δ k sah arm: *ἐλθὼν . . . εἶδεν* A C D Θ and all latins except k, etc.: syr-sin, as in no. 2, gives a conflate reading 'when he came to his disciples, they saw by them a great multitude'. Both Matthew and Luke keep the plural of Mark, though Matthew, as on some other occasions, omits all mention of the multitude. There are only eight witnesses (or nine, if we count syr-sin) for the plural in Mark, but their quality makes up for their quantity. Note that k is the only MS of the Westerns (in the literal sense) in the group: it preserves on not a few occasions a purer text than D.

8. ix 30 *κἀκεῖθεν ἐξελθόντες παρεπορεύοντο διὰ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἵνα τις γνοῖ.*

This time there is no variation in our witnesses, and Matthew, too, retains the plural: Luke omits the whole clause, perhaps because he is going a few verses later to introduce his special story of the ascent to Jerusalem.

9. ix 33 *καὶ ἦλθον εἰς Καφαρναούμ· καὶ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γενόμενος ἐπηρώτα αὐτούς . . .*

ἦλθον ℵ B D W *fam.* 1 the best Old Latins (a b i k) with Vulgate and Sahidic: *ἦλθεν* A C L Δ Θ etc. Matthew and Luke both omit the details of the arrival at Capernaum and entry into the house. Once more there is no doubt about the reading.

10. x 32 *ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ἀναβαίνοντες εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ἦν προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς . . . καὶ παραλαβὼν πάλιν τοὺς δώδεκα . . .*

The form of the sentence precluded any temptation to scribes of Mark to evade the plural: but Matthew changes *ἀναβαίνοντες* to *ἀναβαίνων* and goes straight on with *παρέλαβεν τοὺς δώδεκα*, while Luke omits

[1] From vii 24 to vii 37—the visit to Tyre, and return from Tyre to the sea of Galilee—the story is told throughout in the singular. May not our Lord have made this excursion alone and unaccompanied?

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everything which precedes *παραλαβών*. Thus in both of them the plural entirely disappears.

11. x 46 *καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἰερειχώ. καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἰερειχὼ . . .*

ἔρχεται D with most of the Old Latins (but not c k) syr-sin and Origen. Matthew keeps the plural: Luke replaces the plural by the singular.

12. xi 1 *καὶ ὅτε ἐγγίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα . . . ἀποστέλλει δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ.*

A very limited group, D and the Old Latins (with the exception of a), substitutes the singular, at the same time changing the present to a past tense: k, for the first time since it has come to our assistance (from no. **7** onwards), deserts the plural. As in no. **11**, Matthew retains the plural, while Luke gives *ἤγγισεν*.

13. xi 11 *καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν. καὶ περιβλεψάμενος πάντα . . .*

Here I read the plural with a very small group, Θ i (cum introissent) k (et introiuerunt): syr-sin as in nos. **2** and **7**, combines plural and singular 'and they entered Jerusalem, and he entered the Temple'. All our other authorities, with Matthew and Luke, have the singular. But, on the strength of 'Marcan usage', I venture to believe that the three authorities which give the plural are right.

14. xi 12 *καὶ τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ Βηθανίας ἐπείνασεν.*

The only recalcitrant witnesses here are D b c ff—not however a d i k. Thus the older Old Latins go with our Greek authorities: the ungrammatical *ἐξελθόντα* of D, where d has cum exissent, may safely be neglected. Matthew has the singular: Luke has no parallel.

15. xi 15 *καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἤρξατο ἐκβάλλειν . . .*

The singular is only offered by D (again against its Latin column intrauerunt) b i and syr-sin. Matthew and Luke both omit the first clause, and therewith the plural, entirely.

16. xi 19, 20, 21 *ἐξεπορεύοντο ἔξω τῆς πόλεως· καὶ παραπορευόμενοι πρωὶ εἶδον τὴν συκῆν . . . καὶ ἀναμνησθεὶς ὁ Πέτρος λέγει αὐτῷ . . .*

ἐξεπορεύοντο A B W Δ Ψ 124 565 c d arm W-H text: *ἐξεπορεύετο* the rest (with Θ k sah syr-sin). There is no parallel in the other Synoptists to account for the singular: and as *παραπορευόμενοι εἶδον* is quite certain, it is just possible that *ἐξεπορεύοντο* is a scribal assimilation to this following plural, and that *ἐξεπορεύετο* is original here. Decision is therefore less easy than usual.

17. xi 27 *καὶ ἔρχονται πάλιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ περιπατοῦντος αὐτοῦ . . .*

ἔρχεται only D with all the older Old Latins (b e ff i k) except a:

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compare no. 12 above. Matthew has the singular: Luke omits the first phrase, and so retains only the singular.

18. xiv 18 *καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσθιόντων ὁ Ἰησοῦς*[1] *εἶπεν . . .*

Matthew retains (omitting *ἀνακειμένων καί*), Luke puts *ἀνέπεσεν* (singular) into a previous verse, and thus gets rid again of the plural.

19. xiv 22 *καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον . . .*

Matthew retains plural and singular: Luke again omits the phrase containing the plural.

20. xiv 26, 27 *καὶ ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον . . . καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς . . .*

Matthew again retains unchanged: Luke again omits *ὑμνήσαντες* and, instead of 'they went out', writes 'he went out and they followed'.

21. xiv 32 *καὶ ἔρχονται εἰς τὸ χωρίον οὗ τὸ ὄνομα Γεθσημανεί· καὶ λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ . . .*

No variation in the text of Mark: but both Matthew and Luke change plural into singular.

Of the fourteen passages where our authorities differ, B is right in 12, ℵ in 11, W in 10, Θ in 9, sah in 11, a in 8, d in 8: k in six out of nine where it is extant. D and syr. sin have the worst record: on three occasions running, 14 15 16, d is right where D is wrong.

ii. *The singular followed by mention of the disciples (or the Twelve).*

1. i 35, 36 *καὶ πρωὶ ἔννυχα λίαν ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν . . . καὶ κατεδίωξεν αὐτὸν Σίμων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ.* They are not yet 'the disciples', still less 'the Twelve', but 'Simon and his companions'. Peter takes the first place—or it was Peter who told the story, 'I and my companions'. There is no parallel in Matthew, while in Luke (iv 42) *οἱ ὄχλοι* take the place of *Σίμων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ.*

2. ii 15 *καὶ γίνεται κατακεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ, καὶ πολλοὶ τελῶναι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ συνανέκειντο τῷ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ.*

Matthew repeats Mark's statement: Luke omits the mention of the disciples.

3. ii 23 *καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτὸν . . . παραπορεύεσθαι διὰ τῶν σπορίμων, καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο . . .*

The mention of the disciples at this point is necessary to the story, and is repeated by both the other Synoptists.

4. iii 7 *καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν . . .*

It is Matthew on this occasion who omits mention of the disciples, while Luke follows Mark by retaining it.

[1] *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* is omitted by a e ff syr-sin, and the place of the words varies in our other authorities: see p. 2 note 1 above.

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5. vi 1 *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκεῖθεν καὶ ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ.*

Matthew is wholly silent about the disciples here, because they play no part in the episode. Luke, too, omits them, and necessarily, for he transfers this visit to Nazareth to a point in his history (iv 16) before the call of any of the disciples.

6. viii 27 *καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰς κώμας Καισαρίας τῆς Φιλίππου.*

The question to the disciples 'Whom do men say that I am?' is of course an integral part of this story, and all three Evangelists mention them in that connexion: but in the introductory phrase Matthew drops the allusion to them.

7. x 13 *καὶ προσέφερον αὐτῷ παιδία . . . οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ ἐπετίμησαν αὐτοῖς . .*

The rebuke by the disciples being necessary to the episode, it is retained by both the derivative accounts.

8. xiv 12, 13 *καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων . . . λέγουσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ· Ποῦ θέλεις ἀπελθόντες ἑτοιμάσωμεν . . .*

Strictly speaking, this passage does not fulfil the requirement of singular before plural: but I include it here for purposes of comparison with St Luke, for it illustrates again the underlying principle that Mark tells the story from the point of view of the disciples. While Matthew exactly reproduces, Luke omits the initiative of the disciples, and writes (xxii 7, 8) *ἦλθεν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων . . . καὶ ἀπέστειλεν . . .*

9. xiv 17 *καὶ ὀψίας γενομένης ἔρχεται μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα . . .*

The other two Synoptists agree, save that for 'the Twelve' Matthew substitutes 'the twelve disciples', Luke 'the apostles'.

These variations are instructive. Mark uses *οἱ δώδεκα* ten times: iii 14, 16 *ἐποίησεν [τοὺς] δώδεκα*, iv 10 *οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα*, vi 7 *προσκαλεῖται τοὺς δώδεκα*, ix 35 *καθίσας ἐφώνησεν τοὺς δώδεκα*, x 32 *παραλαβὼν πάλιν τοὺς δώδεκα*, xi 11 *ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Βηθανίαν μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα*, xiv 10 *Ἰούδας Ἰσκαριὼθ ὁ εἷς τῶν δώδεκα*, xiv 17 (the passage under discussion), xiv 20 *εἷς τῶν δώδεκα ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ*, xiv 43 *παραγίνεται ὁ Ἰούδας, εἷς τῶν δώδεκα*—and only once[1] *οἱ ἀπόστολοι*, and that on the special occasion when they returned from the Missionary Journey, vi 30, where the noun corresponds to the *ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο* of vi 7 (cf. iii 15, of the purpose of the call of the Twelve, *ἵνα ἀποστέλλῃ αὐτοὺς κηρύσσειν . . .*): neither *οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί* nor *οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι* occurs in his Gospel. In other words *ἀπόστολος* has not lost with him its

[1] In Mk. iii 14 the words *οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν*, in spite of the strong authority for them (ℵ B Δ Θ 28 Ferrar group sah), are in my judgement nothing but an insertion borrowed from Lk. vi 13. They are omitted by Tischendorf with A D L W 1 33 all latins (O.L. and Vulg) syr-sin arm.

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original sense of 'missionary', and there were other qualified 'missionaries' in the early Church besides the Twelve, while οἱ δώδεκα 'the Twelve' is the special phrase which in the latter part of his Gospel (side by side with οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ) denotes the small company of those whom the Master had singled out for closest intimacy and training as his representatives. Here the Pauline epistles are the best commentary on Marcan usage. St Paul does not use οἱ δώδεκα himself: but we find the phrase in the Creed-summary of 1 Cor. xv 5, which he had 'received' from, and shared with, those who were in Christ before him. Similarly St Paul recognizes the original sense of ἀπόστολος as a 'missionary' 'one formally sent' (2 Cor. viii 23, Phil. ii 25), and can even write, in the additions which he makes in 1 Cor. xv 6–8 to the inherited Creed-form, τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν (verse 7) in contrast to τοῖς δώδεκα of verse 5.

On the other hand Matthew never uses the phrase οἱ δώδεκα (save in the phrase εἷς τῶν δώδεκα xxvi 14 = Mk. xiv 10, and xxvi 47 = Mk. xiv 43), but always οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί, Matt. x 1, xi 1, xx 17[1], xxvi 20, or οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι, Matt. x 2: in Matt. x 5 τούτους τοὺς δώδεκα may seem an exception, but it takes up οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι of verse 2. That is to say, though Matthew can say εἷς τῶν δώδεκα or οὗτοι οἱ δώδεκα, he never says οἱ δώδεκα *simpliciter*. Like Mark, he only uses ἀπόστολος once, but it is significant that on that one occasion (x 2) it is in reference to the call of 'the twelve apostles': cf. Apoc. xxi 14 'the twelve apostles of the Lamb'.

Luke does not share Matthew's avoidance of the phrase 'the Twelve': Lk. viii 1, ix 1[2], ix 12, xviii 31, xxii 3, xxii 47. But he is the first evangelist to introduce, as an alternative to 'the disciples' or 'the Twelve' the additional phrase 'the Apostles'—which in the Acts he uses of course quite regularly and consistently—Lk. ix 10 [= Mk. vi 30], xvii 5, xxii 14, xxiv 10. Like Matthew, but unlike Mark, he uses the noun 'apostles' in connexion with the Calling of the Twelve, vi 13.

Our passage, Mk. xiv 17 = Matt. xxvi 20 = Lk. xxii 14, is therefore of special interest as indicating characteristic usages of the three Synoptists, οἱ δώδεκα, οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί, οἱ ἀπόστολοι.

[1] τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητάς B C W 28 33 Ferrar group latins (O.L. and Vulg.) sah and W-H margin. The authority would be preponderant, even without the argument from Matthaean usage. Omission of μαθητάς is due to the influence of the parallel texts in Luke and Mark.

[2] There is good, and perhaps sufficient, authority for adding ἀποστόλους, ℵ C L Θ 33 Ferrar group a c e Vulg.

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iii. *The Lord, the disciples, and the multitude.*

1. iii 9 *καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα πλοιάριον προσκαρτερῇ αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ὄχλον, ἵνα μὴ θλίβωσιν αὐτόν.*

Mention of the disciples at this moment disappears entirely from Matthew and Luke. It had, in fact, no point save as a personal reminiscence.

2. iv 1, 2, 10 *καὶ συνάγεται πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄχλος πλεῖστος . . . καὶ πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἦσαν. καὶ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν παραβολαῖς πολλά . . . καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας, ἠρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα τὰς παραβολάς.*

Here in Mark we have four elements, the Lord, the Twelve, the disciples outside the Twelve, and lastly the multitude. The intermediate elements distinguished by Mark—the Twelve are now a group by themselves among the disciples, but they are not yet isolated into a separate company—are massed together both by Matthew ('the disciples') and Luke ('his disciples'). All three share mention of the 'crowd', but Luke suppresses all details, and even in Matthew the detail disappears that the crowd was unusually big, *πλεῖστος*. *Ὄχλοι πολλοί* is a sort of standing phrase with him (Matt. iv 25, viii 1, xiii 2 [our passage], xv 30, xix 2), though he does employ *ὁ πλεῖστος ὄχλος* in xxi 8.

3. iv 34 *χωρὶς δὲ παραβολῆς οὐκ ἐλάλει αὐτοῖς, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις μαθηταῖς ἐπέλυεν πάντα.*

Luke is not parallel here: Matthew retains the first or negative part of the sentence and caps it with a prophecy (Ps. lxxviii [lxxvii] 2), but says nothing of the interpretation to the disciples.

4. iv 35, 36 *καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς . . . Διέλθωμεν εἰς τὸ πέραν. καὶ ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἦν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ.*

Both Matthew and Luke are silent as to the action of the disciples; *ἀφέντες* and *παραλαμβάνουσιν* alike disappear. In Luke the 'crowd' drops out as well.

5. vii 17 *καὶ ὅτε εἰσῆλθεν εἰς [τὸν] οἶκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου, ἐπηρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν παραβολήν.*

We have reached the long lacuna in Luke: Matthew, who has inserted additional matter since the mention of the summoning of the crowd (Mk. vii 14 = Matt. xv 10) has no place here for the crowd, and loses the characteristic Marcan contrast of *ὄχλος* and *μαθηταί*.

6. viii 1 *πάλιν πολλοῦ ὄχλου ὄντος καὶ μὴ ἐχόντων τί φάγωσιν, προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς λέγει αὐτοῖς . . .*

There is, as before, no Luke: Matthew retains the substance, but by compressing misses Mark's juxtaposition of 'crowd' and 'disciples'.

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7. viii 9, 10 ἦσαν δὲ ὡς τετρακισχίλιοι· καὶ ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐμβὰς [αὐτὸς] εἰς τὸ πλοῖον μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ ἦλθεν . . .

Matthew for the rest copies Mark meticulously, but he omits the disciples altogether and emphasizes his concentration on the Lord and the multitude by repeating the noun ὄχλος (τοὺς ὄχλους for αὐτούς).

8. viii 34 καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον σὺν τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς . . .

Mark's characteristic combination of the crowd and the disciples fails as usual to find full echo in the other two Synoptists: for Matthew here omits the crowd, and Luke groups both elements together under the common heading πάντας.

9. ix 14 καὶ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶδον ὄχλον πολὺν περὶ αὐτούς . . .

Mark is careful to note that Jesus, who had selected three of the disciples to accompany him on the Mount of the Transfiguration, now once more reunited the company. That does not in itself interest the other Synoptists: both of them note the crowd, neither of them says anything at this stage of the disciples.

10. x 46 καὶ ἐκπορευομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ Ἰερειχὼ καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄχλου ἱκανοῦ . . .

Matthew (xx 29) avoids the separate mention of 'disciples' by the use of the plural participle ἐκπορευομένων αὐτῶν, and connects the 'crowd' by the expedient of his favourite word ἀκολουθέω.[1] Luke concentrates attention on the principal actors, Jesus and the blind beggar, leaves out the disciples altogether, but skilfully introduces the crowd when the blind man hears it passing by.

11. xii 41–43 καὶ καθίσας κατέναντι τοῦ γαζοφυλακίου ἐθεώρει πῶς ὁ ὄχλος βάλλει χαλκὸν . . . καὶ ἐλθοῦσα μία χήρα πτωχὴ ἔβαλεν . . . καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν . . .

Matthew omits the whole story. Luke tells it without any specific reference to the disciples.

iv. *'His disciples' 'the disciples'* (οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ, οἱ μαθηταί).

Very early in the history of the Christian Society, μαθητής, οἱ μαθηταί, became the regular term for an individual follower of Jesus of Nazareth or for the members of the Society generally: and it is so used throughout the Acts. It is earlier than the word 'Christian', which, being of Latin or Greek coinage, belongs only to the period when Christianity began to establish itself in Gentile centres: Acts xi 26 ἐγένετο . . . χρηματίσαι πρώτως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τοὺς μαθητὰς Χριστιανούς. As contrasted with 'Nazarene', it is the term which the followers of Jesus used of

[1] On ἀκολουθεῖν see below p. 238.

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themselves, while to the Jews they were 'the Nazarenes', Acts xxiv 5 *πρωτοστάτην τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων*[1] *αἱρέσεως*.

But originally, when 'disciples' collected first round Jesus of Nazareth, his were not the only disciples. There were 'disciples of John', there were 'disciples of the Pharisees', Mk. ii 18, Lk. v 33, vii 18, xi 1, Jo. i 35, iii 25; and therefore the followers of Jesus in his Ministry were not 'the disciples' but 'his disciples', not *οἱ μαθηταί* but *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ*.

This was of course the phraseology of the Jews[2]: 'Why are the disciples of John and the disciples of the Pharisees fasting, but thy disciples are not fasting?' 'Why do not thy disciples walk according to the tradition of the elders?' 'I said to thy disciples that they should cast it out'; Mk. ii 18, vii 5, ix 18. It is that of Jesus himself: 'Where is the guest-chamber where I may eat the passover with my disciples?' (Mk. xiv 14 and parallels): 'he cannot be my disciple,' Lk. xiv 26. But it is also the phraseology of the earliest stratum of the evangelic narrative. Mark writes *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* some thirty-two times out of about forty: Luke has *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* rather oftener than *οἱ μαθηταί*, of which the first independent occurrence is Lk. ix 18: Matthew too, though his divergence from Marcan usage is much greater, uses *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ* consistently until Matt. xiii 10: and even in the latest of the Gospels *οἱ μαθηταί* without *αὐτοῦ* is not found in St John till xi 7. That is to say, at one end of the evangelic tradition St Mark's Gospel distinguishes itself by its close adherence to the archaic phrase, at the other St Matthew's is the only Gospel where *οἱ μαθηταί* without *αὐτοῦ* becomes preponderant, especially in the nominative (Matt. xiii 10, xiv 15 19 (*bis*) 22, xv 12 33 36 (*bis*), xvi 5, xvii 6 10 13 19, xviii 1, xix 10 13 25, xxi 6 20, xxiv 3, xxvi 8 17 35 56).

It may be worth while just to examine the few exceptions in St Mark, for some of them are not really exceptions at all.

iv 34 *κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις μαθηταῖς ἐπέλυεν πάντα*. Here obviously *ἰδίοις* takes the place of *αὐτοῦ*.

vi 41 *ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς*. In the middle of the story of the Feeding

[1] *Ναζωραῖος* is the only form known to Matthew, John, and Acts: *Ναζαρηνός* the only form in Mark: Luke in his Gospel uses *Ναζαρηνός* iv 34 (= Mk. i 24), *Ναζωραῖος* xviii 37 (= *Ναζαρηνός* Mark x 47), while in xxiv 19 the authorities are divided between the two forms. As we know, *Ναζαρηνός* Nazarenus was the form which established itself in Greek and Latin usage. It looks as though *Ναζωραῖος* was the word used in the early period in Jewish circles, in place of which Mark, writing for Roman and Gentile readers, substituted the form intelligible to them.

[2] It is hardly credible that Matthew can have made the Jews say (xxvii 64) to Pilate 'lest *the* disciples come and steal him away', in spite of ℵ B (unsupported indeed here by any other authorities), Tischendorf and W-H text, though not their margin; and we must certainly read with all other witnesses *οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ*.

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of the Five Thousand, the full phrase occurring just before, vi 35, and just after, vi 45.

viii 1 *προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς μαθητάς*. Add probably *αὐτοῦ* with A B W Θ sah syr-sin (African Latin is defective).

ix 14 *ἐλθόντες πρὸς τοὺς μαθητάς*. Here the omission of *αὐτοῦ* is really natural, because three of the apostles were already with our Lord.

x 10, 13 are certainly exceptions to the ordinary usage. Like the other evangelists, Mark it would seem tired of the repetition of *αὐτοῦ*. Perhaps we may also take into account the consideration that *οἱ μαθηταί* at this point of the Gospel has become simply equivalent to 'the Twelve': Mark would never have written, like Luke at the Entry into Jerusalem (xix 37), *ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν μαθητῶν*.

x 24 *οἱ δὲ μαθηταί* may simply take up *τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ* of verse 23: but some good authorities actually add *αὐτοῦ*, D Θ 1 Old Latins (including k).

xiv 16 *ἐξῆλθον οἱ μαθηταὶ καὶ ἦλθον*. Not 'the disciples' generally, but the two particular disciples who had been commissioned for the purpose.

v. '*The crowd*', or '*the Multitudes*'.

ὄχλος (ὄχλοι) is found thirty-seven times in Mark, forty-eight times in Matthew, thirty-nine times in Luke. Allowing for the relative lengths of the three Gospels, the preponderance is clearly with Mark. Thus in the story of Jairus's daughter he uses ὄχλος five times (v 21–31): 'a big crowd gathered', 'a big crowd followed', the woman 'came in the crowd', Jesus 'turned about in the crowd', the disciples remonstrate 'You see the crowd, and yet . . .' Luke reduces the five occasions to three, Matthew (whose compression of the whole episode is unusual even for him) has the word only once.

In Mark the noun is with one exception used in the singular: the crowd is visualized as one, and an ascending scale of adjectives *πολύς*, *ἱκανός*, *πλεῖστος*, defines on occasion its size. The single exception, x 1 *συνπορεύονται πάλιν ὄχλοι*, perhaps emphasizes the numbers who collected from different directions on the journey through Peraea, where our Lord was known by report but not personally. Matthew, on the other hand, prefers the vaguer and more general plural (thirty-one plural to seventeen singular): Luke uses both indifferently.

Of Mark's adjectives *πολύς* is of course the commonest, 'a big crowd' (v 21, 24, vi 34, viii 1, ix 14). Matthew, too, has both ὄχλος *πολύς* and, more commonly, ὄχλοι *πολλοί*. Luke like Mark prefers the singular, having ὄχλοι *πολλοί* only with a *συν*-verb (v 15 *συνήρχοντο*, xiv 25 [= apparently Mk. x 1] *συνεπορεύοντο*).

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Mark has once ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος, xii 37, where the rendering 'the common people heard him gladly' (A.V.) is probably just what Mark meant.[1]

πλεῖστος ὄχλος once, iv 1, with ℵ B C L Δ: Matthew once (xxi 8) ὁ πλεῖστος ὄχλος.

ὄχλος ἱκανός once, x 46. It is a favourite epithet with Luke, and he employs it with ὄχλος Lk. vii 12, Acts xi 24, 26, xix 26.

πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος ii 13, iv 1, ix 15, xi 18. Matt. xiii 2 (= Mk. iv 1), Lk. vi 19, xiii 17. Note the idiom by which this phrase governs a plural verb, Mk. iv 1 ἦσαν ℵ B C L Δ Θ 33 d, ix 15 ἰδόντες ἐξεθάμβησαν ℵ B C D L W Δ (Θ ἰδὼν ἐξεθάμβησαν) *fam.* 1 and *fam.* 13, 28, 33, a b c d ff^{i} sah syr-sin, xi 18 ἐξεπλήσσοντο ℵ Δ c sah syr-sin, Lk. vi 19 ℵ B L W b e (l) vulg. sah: i. e. Mark 2 (3) out of 4, Luke 1 out of 2.

For other instances of the same idiom see iii 7, 8 καὶ πολὺ πλῆθος . . .[3] πλῆθος πολύ, ἀκούοντες ὅσα ἐποίει, ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν: and perhaps xv 1 where I suspect that a stop should be put after γραμματέων, and a fresh clause begin καὶ ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον δήσαντες τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀπήνεγκαν.

Luke can use ὄχλος or πλῆθος of disciples (Lk. vi 17, xix 37): Mark never does. 'Disciples' are always to Mark a limited company.

vi. *The word* 'to follow', ἀκολουθεῖν.

Ἀκολουθεῖν has of course in all the Gospels the possibility of a metaphorical or spiritual sense, in which the literal sense tends almost to be forgotten. Instances in St Mark are the call of the apostles Simon and Andrew i 18, the call of the rich young man x 21, the summons of Jesus to all who would 'follow him' that they should take up the cross viii 34, the profession of St Peter that he and his fellow-apostles had 'left all and followed him' x 28.

But the notable points about the 'Marcan usage' of ἀκολουθεῖν appear to be (i) that the literal sense is in some passages obviously the only one; (ii) that it is not obscurely present in the background in the instances of the metaphorical use—'to follow about'; (iii) that,

[1] L.S. quote ὁ λεὼς ὁ πολύς from Lucian *Rhet. Praec.* 17.

[2] Vulg. codd. opt. (A Ᵽ* F H* Y St Gall) 'stupefactus est expauerunt'. That is to say, either St Jerome had not made up his mind between the two alternatives, or more probably he meant to correct the O. L. expauerunt into the singular stupefactus est, and his amanuensis failed to make his intention clear.

[3] ἠκολούθησεν (-αν) in the editions is I think an insertion from Matthew iv 25 (xii 15): see immediately below, p. 239. But even if it is genuine, some of the oldest authorities who give the word (ℵ C, followed by Tischendorf) give it in the plural. Luke, who is fond of πλῆθος, rarely uses the plural with it (Lk. xix 37), though on two occasions he appears to combine plural and singular, Lk. xxiii 1 καὶ ἀναστὰν ἅπαν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἤγαγον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειλᾶτον, Acts xxi 36 ἠκολούθει τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ κράζοντες.

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with one possible exception in the earlier half of the Gospel, it is not used in narrative of or to the apostles, who did not 'follow' but rather accompanied their Master.

(i) In v 24 'a big crowd followed' Jesus: ollowed in the literal sense, and when the woman came in the crowd and touched him, she was behind, *ὄπισθεν*. In xi 9 part of the crowd 'goes in front', the other part 'follows behind', *οἱ προάγοντες καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες*. In xiv 54 Peter 'followed a long way behind' to the high priest's residence. The verb is once used of the apostles on the journey to Jerusalem, x 32, and there anything but a literal meaning is excluded. Jesus went on ahead, the disciples 'followed' at a distance, and then he took them up again into his company: *ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ . . . καὶ ἦν προάγων αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰησοῦς . . . οἱ δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐφοβοῦντο· καὶ παραλαβὼν πάλιν τοὺς δώδεκα . . .* That is to say, their normal position was at his side, he in the midst of them: it was exceptional that they should be behind him.

(ii) Even in the metaphorical use of 'following' Christ as his disciple, the literal sense is often, in St Mark, not far off. When Simon and Andrew are called to 'follow' in i 18, the parallel phrase in i 20 of James and John is *ἀπῆλθον ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ*. If in viii 34 *ὀπίσω μου ἀκολουθεῖν* (C* D W Θ a b i, against ℵ B c k syr-sin *ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν* with Matthew) is taken as the true text, Mark preserves an indication of the literal meaning in *ὀπίσω μου*. When Bartimaeus was healed of his blindness at the gates of Jericho, x 52, a similar touch of the literal sense is given in the addition 'on the road', *ἀνέβλεψεν καὶ ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ*, a touch omitted by both Matthew and Luke. Negatively it is most instructive to note that Mark never uses *ἀκολουθέω* in the intermediate sense of the crowds 'following' Jesus, more or less as his disciples: for in iii 7 the word *ἠκολούθησεν* (or *ἠκολούθησαν* or *ἠκολούθουν*—the very variations in form, and in the position of the word in the verse, are suspicious) is derived from Matt. iv 25 (xii 15) and is omitted by D 28 124 Old Latins and syr-sin. It was borrowed to ease the construction of the lengthy sentence. On the other hand, Matthew regularly uses *ἀκολουθεῖν* of the multitudes, iv 25, viii 1, (xii 15), xiv 13, xix 2, xx 29; Luke preserves something of the literal sense, vii 9, ix 11, xxiii 29.

(iii) As has been said above, Mark avoids the word *ἀκολουθεῖν* in relation to the apostolic company throughout the latter part of the Gospel: the disciples who were with Jesus were by that time not merely his followers but his companions and friends. *Ἀκολουθεῖν* is in fact only used twice of the disciples: in ii 15, on the first mention of *μαθηταί*, we are told that they were now many, and that they were beginning to 'follow him about', *ἦσαν γὰρ πολλοί, καὶ ἠκολούθουν αὐτῷ*; and in vi 1

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Jesus ἔρχεται εἰς τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθοῦσιν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ —though I do not feel sure that we should not rather here interpret literally, in the sense that they 'followed' at an interval. However that may be, certain it is that in the Gospel as a whole the disciples and their Master are treated as a unit much more definitely than in the other two Synoptists. Mk. iv 36 illustrates this in comparison with Matthew, Mk. ix 38 in comparison with Luke.

In iv 36 it is the disciples who leave (or dismiss) the crowd and take up Jesus into their boat, ἀφέντες τὸν ὄχλον παραλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν (the same verb as in x 33, 'take into company with them') ὡς ἦν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ. Matthew on the other hand makes Jesus himself dismiss the multitudes, xiii 36 ἀφεὶς τοὺς ὄχλους,[1] and the disciples follow him into the boat, viii 23 ἐμβάντι αὐτῷ εἰς πλοῖον ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ. And in ix 38 Mark writes that John said 'Master, we saw a man who does not follow us casting out devils in thy name, and we forbade him, because he does not follow us'[2]: but Luke (ix 49) does not like this identification of the 'following' of the disciples with the 'following' of Jesus, and substitutes μεθ' ἡμῶν 'follow with us'. Similar, though in itself less significant, is the change from Mk. xiv 26 ὑμνήσαντες ἐξῆλθον into Lk. xxii 39 ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη . . . ἠκολούθησαν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ μαθηταί.

Note finally in illustration of St Mark's consistent use of ἀκολουθεῖν that, though it is never used of the apostles (or at any rate never after vi 1), it is used of the holy women in xv 41. While all the apostles 'left him and fled' (xiv 50), there were women watching the Crucifixion from afar, who 'when he was in Galilee used to follow him about and minister to him'. Their 'following' belonged, that is, to the Galilean period of the Ministry: they had not been in his company on the long circuitous journey up to Jerusalem: but they had doubtless come up to the feast in the hope or expectation of seeing him again.

[1] Though Huck in his *Synopsis* does not so print it, it is clear that, as Matt. xiii 34, 35 depends on Mk. iv 33, 34, so this opening phrase of Matt. xiii 36 depends on the opening phrase of Mk. iv 36.

[2] The variations of reading in this verse are puzzling (though in itself the repetition of the words οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖ ἡμῖν is quite after Marcan usage), but they do not affect the substantial point, which is that Mark writes 'follows *us*'. That is certain, in spite of the defection of D a k sah.

C. H. TURNER.

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THE INFLUENCE OF BABYLONIAN IDEAS ON JEWISH MESSIANISM.

I.

THE account which Damascius gives of Babylonian ideas concerning the origin of things is substantially confirmed by the Babylonian Epic of Creation. The Greek writer says that the son of Apason and Tauthe was Moumis, and conceives this term to mean 'the intelligible universe'. From Apason and Tauthe the gods also took their origin, until after the lapse of ages 'the son of Aos and Dauke was Belos, who, they say, was creator of the world'.

Damascius's *Moumis* corresponds with *Mummu* in the Epic, where he is the son of Apsu and Tiamat the male and female generative principles inherent in chaos. Instead of Ταυθή and Δαυκή, Damascius probably wrote Ταμθή and Δαμκή, who would then correspond with Tamtu (= Tiamat) and Damkina, the respective mothers of Moumis and Bel-Marduk.

The interpretation, 'the intelligible universe', which Damascius suggests for the name Moumis, makes this figure the cosmos, or as Professor Langdon translates the word *Mummu* here, 'the Form'.[1] The name Mummu has, however, curious and important associations in the Epic. When the gods revolted from their evil parents, Mummu, son of Apsu, is wholly on the side of Apsu and Tiamat: he shares their wishes for the destruction of the rebellious gods, and counsels Apsu, whose 'messenger' he is, in the plans for their overthrow. But in the strife which follows, Ea defeats Apsu, occupies Apsu's dwelling, and then slays Mummu whose name he takes for his own possession. Thus the cosmos which came into being from chaos now passes into the control of a deity, i. e. the 'Form' of the intelligible universe becomes divinely ordered by a divine power which is good and not evil. The name Mummu, Langdon[2] has derived from the verb *ému* = to speak, which derivation gives it the meaning Logos, and makes it the original of the Greek Logos-conception. But even more so is it the original of the Jewish Logos, as we shall hereafter shew.

In Apsu, the home of Wisdom, Marduk the son of the god and goddess of wisdom is born: he is destined to be the conqueror of Tiamat. The fight between them is described in the Epic. As the reward for his victory Marduk receives an eternal and universal kingdom

[1] *Babylonian Epic of Creation* p. 67.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 72, note.

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from the assembled gods, is acclaimed by them as their chief, and receives all Ea's honours and titles. Thus Marduk becomes Mummu, the creator of the world, the creative Logos who gives order to the universe and plans the creation of mankind.

We may here remark that Apsu, Tiamat, and Mummu of the opening verses of the Epic, correspond with Ea, Damkina, and Marduk-Mummu of later passages: in both cases Mummu derives from Apsu, the home of wisdom, just as the Logos of late Jewish thought is made the offspring of the Heavenly Wisdom. Thureau-Dangin's suggestion, therefore, that the word Mummu is ultimately derived from a hypothetical Sumerian word *mumma* = wise, finds some support from these facts. But however this may be, the Mummu is in each case represented as a beloved child, a darling son whose counsels are highly esteemed by his sire.

No account of Marduk's birth, such as is given of the birth of the Logos in Revelation xii, has yet been found in Babylonian literature; but that some such story was known in Assyria, and passed from Assyria into Judah, seems to be probable from the evidence which we shall bring forward. Meanwhile we may observe that by the time of Jeremiah [1] a foreign cult of 'the Queen of Heaven' had been imported into Judah, that this goddess seems to have been Ishtar, since to her Ishtar-cakes were offered, and that at the same time there were Ḥakamim who prophesied security and peace for Judah and accordingly met with severe rebuke from Jeremiah. We recall also the theory that the *'almah* of Isaiah's 'Immanuel' prophecy,[2] the 'she which beareth' of Micah's prediction,[3] may have had her original in a mythological divine mother whose son should bring peace to Judah. It is worth while to follow up the trains of thought suggested by these different, but possibly related facts, in order to reconstruct the background of religious ideas in the minds of the people of Judah from the time of Isaiah onwards.

II.

'The Queen of Heaven' is in itself a vague title; but in this respect Jeremiah's description is not without a parallel in Assyrian records. The Assyrians called the mother goddess Belit, but as to her identity there was considerable confusion of thought. Jastrow [4] says of her, 'at times Belit appears as the wife of Bel, again as the consort of Ashur, again as the consort of Ea, and again simply as a description of Ishtar'. The Assyrian title is therefore as little determinate as is the Jewish

[1] Jer. vii 18, viii 8, 11.
[2] Isa. vii 13 ff.
[3] Micah v 3.
[4] *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* p. 226.

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title. Confining our attention to the last two of her characters, as the wife of Ea she is Damkina, mother of Marduk, and at the same time she is Ishtar: and though the cult of Ishtar had a libidinous side to it, the goddess herself was regarded as a virgin-mother.[1] In any case, it was this Damkina-Ishtar, the Assyrian goddess of wisdom, who appears to have suggested the imagery which the later Jewish Ḥakamim used to describe the figure of the Heavenly Wisdom, the mother of the Divine Logos. As the patroness of wisdom she may well have been held in respect by the Ḥakamim of Jeremiah's day, while those who gave themselves up to her cult would certainly have accepted the teaching of those who predicted peace for Judah and Jerusalem while Jeremiah prophesied calamity.

But what justification could the people of Judah have pleaded for their adoption of the cult of the Queen of Heaven? Was it merely a spontaneous outbreak of heathenism such as came from contact with heathen neighbours, or was there some deeper reason in the mind of the Jewish people? Was there anything in the oracles of earlier prophets than Jeremiah which could warrant the belief of the Ḥakamim that peace should come to Judah, and not disaster? To find answers to these questions we turn to the predictions of Isaiah and Micah.

Much thought[2] has been given to Isaiah's term descriptive of Immanuel's mother—'*the 'almah*'—and to the person thus denoted. The Septuagint unequivocally translates it by ἡ παρθένος, and S. Matthew's quotation of the Septuagint has established the traditional Christian rendering, 'the virgin'. On the other hand, Aquila translated it by ἡ νεᾶνις, an indefinite word like 'the 'almah'. Jewish commentators refuse to accept the translation 'the virgin', and try to find some wife—either the king's, or the prophet's—as the figure indicated. Modern scholars are divided in opinion, some translating by 'the damsel', others thinking Isaiah meant the term to be used in a collective sense, 'young mothers in Israel', and others again accepting the hypothesis that Isaiah meant to indicate a virgin-mother. It should be observed, however, that the late Jewish belief that the mother of the Divine Logos, the Heavenly Wisdom, was a virgin undefiled,[3] supports the Septuagint translation of 'the 'almah' by ἡ παρθένος.

It is undoubtedly true that Isaiah might have used a more definite word than *'almah* to indicate a virgin-mother, if such had been his intention (e. g. *Bethulah*). But not to traverse a path already well worn by scholars, we wish to call attention to the Sumerian word

[1] Langdon *Tammuz and Ishtar* ch. 2.
[2] For a summary of opinions see Buchanan Gray *Isaiah i xxvi* (I.C.C), *in loc. cit.*
[3] Wisdom vii 24 ff.

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'*mugig*' which always refers to a 'goddess-mother', and never to women, and is significant of virginity, as Langdon[1] has shewn. In Semitic the word *mugig* is rendered by '*ishtaritu*' which, except when applied to the mother-goddess, is as indeterminate of virginity as is the Hebrew word '*almah*. We suggest, therefore, that '*almah* was a literal translation of *ishtaritu*, that Isaiah used it in the sense of 'virgin', that he indicated by it a mother corresponding with the Babylonian goddess of wisdom—'the Queen of Heaven' imported into Jewry from Assyria, Damkina-Ishtar the Belit of the Assyrians—the original of the Heavenly Wisdom, the mother of the Logos. Beyond calling her 'the 'almah', the virgin, he says nothing of her, because he knew no such divine womanly figure in Yahwism. For him, the fulfilment would justify the prediction!

The theory here advanced finds further support from Micah's prediction of the Peace-bringer whose mother is denoted as 'she which beareth'. Micah uses the feminine participle of the verb ילד = to bear, viz. יוֹלֵדָה, which is again a literal translation of the feminine participle, *alidat*, of the Babylonian verb *alādu* = to bear, bring forth. This is a title of Ishtar, as is shewn by Langdon,[2] who instances the name given to her by Herodotus when describing Babylonian religious beliefs, viz. *Mylitta*. Both the Babylonian and the Hebrew terms therefore indicate the mother-goddess 'she who beareth', whom we have called Damkina-Ishtar, the mythological divine mother of the Messianic Peace-bringer.

We conclude, therefore, that both Isaiah and Micah knew this mother-goddess full well, as did their contemporaries also. It would have been pointless to describe the mother in terms which were literal translations of titles for this goddess of wisdom unless those who read the predictions were familiar with her figure, and knew the terms under which she was described. It seems probable that both prophets made use of terms which had become current in Judah, and that their contemporaries were wont so to describe the Assyrian goddess of wisdom whom they knew as 'the Queen of Heaven'. In any case we find in these predictions the mother whom the later Jewish Ḥakamim identified with the Divine Wisdom—Damkina-Ishtar, the virgin-mother undefiled.

The Hebrew prophets gave her no name: they could not style her Belit, because that would have been to make a heathen goddess the mother of Immanuel, the Peace-bringer. There is no evidence to shew that the Assyrians held any expectation of the birth of such a Divine being as Immanuel. The Babylonian myth taught that Damkina had brought forth Marduk-Mummu in the beginning, whereas both Isaiah and Micah said that the child was yet to be born. It may be that the

[1] *Tammuz and Ishtar* p. 81, note. [2] *Ibid.* p. 73 ff

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myth suggested the Messianic Hope to these two prophets, who saw no hope of a deliverer from the family of David, and that they transformed the myth to make it indicative of what was yet to be. The promises of Yahweh had yet to be fulfilled, and the glowing pictures of the Messianic Age which Jewish eschatologists fashioned were based upon the belief that the conditions of Paradise would be restored in the coming time of bliss. It was but natural therefore that the myth which told of the birth of the Divine Son of a Divine Mother should find its place in the Messianic expectation as part of the whole faith and hope which Israel placed in the faithful promises of its God.

If then Jeremiah's contemporaries sought for any justification for their teaching in earlier prophetic oracles they could have pointed to these two predictions of Isaiah and Micah which contained references to the mother-goddess, the Queen of Heaven, who should bring forth the Messianic child, the Peace-giver to the coming age. So far those predictions remained unfulfilled; but they afforded a basis for the hope that no calamity should befall Judah, and that very soon the Deliverer should be born. Moreover, since everyone knew the mother-goddess thus indicated, as the goddess of wisdom, we can understand why the Jewish teachers fostered the pursuit of wisdom—probably the Babylonian wisdom-literature—and so drew upon themselves Jeremiah's rebukes. Here also are to be sought the beginnings of that developement which eventually produced the 'wisdom-literature' of later Jewry with its striking personification of the Divine Wisdom, the mother of the Logos.[1]

III.

The author of the great Messianic prophecy in Isaiah ix, though referring to the coming Messiah as a 'child' and a 'son', does not allude to the mother. His answer to those who asked concerning the mother was, 'The zeal of Yahweh of the hosts shall perform this'.

The prophecy appears to be post-exilic in date of composition. If so, the Jews had learnt many things concerning Yahweh and Yahwism during the Exile. The cult of the Queen of Heaven, for example, was abandoned when it was seen that Jeremiah's condemnation of it was justified by events. The peacemongers had also proved to be bad counsellors: the Exile had falsified their predictions. When the exiles returned to Judah they set themselves the task of rebuilding Jerusalem, while their leaders in course of time began the purgation which established Yahwism as the only religion for the new community.

There were those among them who could not forget the Messianic

[1] *J. T. S.* Oct. 1924, *The Heavenly Wisdom and the Divine Logos.*

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Hope which had been given by Isaiah and Micah. That obstinate faith which has ever been characteristic of Judaism found expression in the prophecy of the 'Prince of the Four Names' (Isa. ix 1–7), a prediction of a glorious ruler yet to come to restore the fortunes of the impoverished nation and to usher in the age of blessings. This prophecy makes use of Babylonian material, as we shall shew, though it suppresses all reference to the mythological mother of the Messiah. As Marduk had been an adumbration of Immanuel and the Peace-giver, so we shall look for the influence of the Marduk-idea upon this later Messianic prediction.

The four names of the Messiah are given as 'Wonderful Counsellor, Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace'. These names are very difficult to interpret if they were intended to describe a merely human king; consequently various suggestions have been made for emending the text. The Septuagint paraphrase of the four names is, however, of the greatest importance, for it indicates the Messianic figure which the names denote as 'the Angel of Great Counsel'. Three of the four names have parallels in Babylonian belief concerning Marduk, while the title 'Prince of Peace' at once suggests Micah's earlier prediction of the Messianic Peace-giver. We suggest therefore that the prophecy indicates a Divine Messiah, and that the application to him of Babylonian Marduk-titles serves to connect him with Isaiah's Immanuel, the son of the heavenly mother.

Wonderful means past human comprehension, and is applied to the name of the Angel of Yahweh in Judges xiii 18: 'Thou canst not know my name, for it is wonderful'. *Counsellor* is a regular title for Marduk in Babylonian literature. In the Epic of Creation he is called 'the counsellor of the gods'.[1] To Marduk's counsel is ascribed the plan for the overthrow of Tiamat; and the creation of man from the blood of a slain god follows upon his advice. Therefore Marduk's title—modified slightly in meaning—is applied to the Divine figure of the Messiah, Marduk's representative to Jewish thought, the Angel of Yahweh in the Messianic office.

Mighty God is a description of Yahweh Himself in Isa. x 21: it is therefore a fitting description of the Angel of Yahweh, since this Angel is Yahweh in manifestation, the Angel of His Presence (Isa. lxiii 9). The Hebrew *El Gibbor* may be translated as 'Divine Hero', or 'Hero God'. But Marduk in the Babylonian Epic is pictured exactly as such a hero,[2] for he undertakes the combat with Tiamat when other deities

[1] *Abkal Ilani*, 'the counsellor of the gods', is a common title in Babylonian literature for Marduk. See the *Epic*, Langdon, pp. 122, 138, lines 113, 93.

[2] *Epic*, p. 137, line 70.

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had fled in fear from the monster, and the whole company of the gods had become downcast with terror. The fact that the Angel of Yahweh had led Israel from Sinai to Canaan,[1] and had appeared to Joshua as the 'Captain of Yahweh's hosts',[2] and was well-known as the battle-leader of Israel's warriors,[3] was sufficient justification to apply to him the Marduk-title, since he was to be the fulfiller of all that the myth had spoken concerning the great god of Babylon.

Everlasting Father aptly describes Yahweh Himself, and is therefore fittingly applied to His Angel. In Babylonian thought Ea was the father of the gods; but as Ea bestowed his name and titles upon Marduk for the victory won over Tiamat, the latter might also be fittingly called the father of the gods. Hence this title for the Messianic Angel of Jewry had its origin and its counterpart in Babylonianism.

The title *Prince of Peace* seems to have no direct parallel in Babylonian thought; but it recalls the prophecies of Isaiah and Micah in which the Messiah is to be the giver of peace. Hence it serves to link together these three prophecies, and to make them mutually interpretative of the Messianic Angel of Yahweh, the fulfiller of the mythological adumbration. Concerning this Angel Yahweh had declared 'My Name is in Him',[4] that is, he was the manifestation of Yahweh to men. Therefore it was that Isaiah could call him Immanuel, God is with us, when he should come as King in the Messianic Kingdom. The author of the prophecy of the 'Prince of the Four Names' could also say of him that he would reign over the Kingdom upon the throne of David, exercising the sovereignty of Yahweh to give His people the promised blessings.

When we put together the whole of the three foregoing predictions of the Messianic child we are met by certain difficulties. Though Isaiah and Micah foretell the birth of one who is to be born of a goddess, and give no indication of his father—the implication being that Yahweh will be his Father and that he will be the Messianic Angel, the 'son' of God—yet they predicate of him certain human activities—he is to come from Bethlehem, the place of birth of David, he will learn to know good from evil, he will eat butter and honey, and in time will sit upon David's throne. Though Divine, he will yet be veritably human. How are we to reconcile these two different conceptions?

In Early Sumerian belief the kings of Ur and Isin[5] were regarded as divine men, and each of them was expected to usher in a golden age. Hebrew belief had said of David that 'the Spirit of Yahweh came upon

[1] Exod. xxxii 34. [2] Joshua v 13 f. [3] Psalm xxxv 5. [4] Exod. xxiii 20.
[5] Langdon *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, Introduction, with references there made, and p. 141, line 7.

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him'[1] and that he was 'as the Angel of God'.[2] It would appear therefore that the Divinity of kings, possibly in a modified form, was an article of faith in Yahwism, and that the ancient Sumerian belief was preserved in Caanan in connexion with each of the descendants of David. But as in ancient Babylon, so in Palestine, the actual course of history falsified expectation, and the prophets projected their hopes onwards to a future day when one should be born who would not fail them. They regarded the early Babylonian mythology as anticipative of a Divine fact yet to be accomplished. Their Messiah, though possessing humanity, should be in person and work the Angel of Yahweh who had ever been Israel's God. To them his inherent Deity would be his qualification for the Messianic office: he would be God made manifest to men in a real humanity. The mystery was that he should become man, since 'his origin was in ancient times, in the days of beginnings did he arise'. The myth spoke of Damkina: they told of 'the 'almah', 'she which beareth' because the myth contained this figure, until with greater restraint the third prophet said 'the zeal of Yahweh of the hosts shall perform this'.

Thus did the idea of the Messiah's Person develope in prophetic thought, which insisted upon the real Deity and the real, though mysterious, Humanity of the Messiah. Nor could apocalyptic wholly extrude the Humanity from the Messianic figure of its visions: it still retained the *form* of man for the Messianic Angel whom it called 'the Son of Man'. But though this Messianic title was the gift of apocalyptic to the Messianic Hope, and though the title is that chiefly used in the Gospels by Christ to describe His Person and Mission, He filled it with the prophetic Messianic content, and His followers taught, in accordance with prophecy and His own revelation, that He was the Eternal Word who 'became flesh and tabernacled among us'.

We pass on to consider the apocalyptic visions of the Messiah foretold by the prophets.

IV.

As the Marduk-material of Babylonian mythology was so largely employed by the Hebrew prophets in their Messianic predictions, it is worth while to consider whether the 'one like unto a son of man' of Daniel vii—in which chapter Marduk-material is employed to set forth an apocalyptic vision—ought to be likewise interpreted as the Messianic Angel. The traditional Christian interpretation makes this figure Messianic, as also did the Jewish authors of the 'Similitudes' of 1 Enoch and of 4 Ezra (2 Esdras). There is thus a long line of testimony to this

[1] 1 Sam. xvi 13. [2] 2 Sam. xiv 17, 20; xix 27.

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Messianic interpretation. Modern scholars, however, basing their arguments upon verses 18, 23, and 27, think that 'Daniel' intended to indicate 'the people of the saints of the Most High', the Chasidim who should form the final Kingdom, and not the Messiah.

Now in verse 17 Daniel interprets the 'four beasts' as 'four *kings*': but in verse 23 he re-interprets the 'fourth beast' as a '*kingdom*'. He is thus inconsistent. Whence then arises his inconsistency? Why did he change the significance of the fourth beast from 'king' to 'kingdom'?

It seems to be due to the fact that he elaborated the vision of the fourth beast by 'the little horn' which he gave to it. If we omit verses 8 and 11*a* we have a simple vision of four beasts, and then of the 'one like unto a son of man'. Adopting the interpretation of the four beasts as 'kings', it follows that the human figure also represents a king; and if the beasts represent human kings, the human figure must represent a Divine King, i.e. the Messianic Angel.

But if 'the little horn' is intrusive here, as we suggest, whence came it? The very same image is found in chapter viii, where it most appropriately belongs to the he-goat of the vision and signifies Antiochus Epiphanes. We suggest therefore that it was brought over into chapter vii from chapter viii in order to elaborate the figure of the fourth beast; and further, that this was done *after the first edition of the Book of Daniel was issued to the circles for whom it was written.*

The arguments in support of this contention are as follows. The editor of the 'Similitudes' knew the title 'Son of Man' as a designation of the Messiah. His knowledge was acquired either from the apocalyptical circles where the title was well known, or from the documentary 'sources' from which he compiled his work, or from both these. But among the 'sources' was a 'Son of Man source' based upon this very vision in Daniel vii. It is highly improbable that the 'source' would have changed the interpretation of the Danielic figure from kingdom to king: it is probable rather that its author knew the significance of the figure to be Messianic, because the edition of Daniel which he used interpreted the four beasts as 'kings', and the human figure as the Messianic King.

Moreover, the interpretation of the vision in *vv.* 15–28 reads strangely: thus who is the 'one of them that stood by'? The phrase is very artificial; it has no parallel in other apocalypses, and is difficult to explain from the context. Possibly it means 'an angel'; but elsewhere Gabriel interprets the visions, and his appearance to the seer is terrifying. This is not the case here.

Again, the present Book of Daniel is the only document making use of the Marduk-material which interprets this material to describe the Messianic 'Kingdom', and not the Messianic 'King', even as it is

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the only extant Jewish apocalypse which interprets the figure of the 'one like unto a son of man' with only a secondary application to the Messiah. Yet the author must have been familiar with the work of his predecessors, the Hebrew prophets, and must have known that they had sanctioned the use of Marduk-imagery to denote the Messiah by their employment of it in their Messianic predictions: that was undoubtedly his warrant for making use of it in his vision. Then where was his warrant for interpreting it in a non-Messianic sense?

Moreover, this work is the earliest of extant Jewish apocalypses to use the description, 'one like unto a son of man', of this figure; and this description recalls the Ezekiel phrase describing 'the Glory of the Lord', 'a similitude as the likeness of a man' (i 26), the manifestation of Yahweh, i. e. His Angel. It is the apocalypse which suggested the Messianic title 'Son of Man' to the author of the Enoch 'source', to the writer of the 'Similitudes', to the author of 4 Ezra (2 Esdras), and to John in Revelation i 13—not to speak of Christ's employment of it, or S. Stephen's use of it. If 'Daniel' did not suggest the title, it is difficult to understand the Messianic interpretation of the figure by his successors in the apocalyptic schools; and still more difficult is it to explain why none of them gave it the meaning of 'the kingdom', and not 'the king'.

It is possible, of course, that the symbolism of 'the little horn' should have been incorporated in chapter vii by 'Daniel' himself in a first or second edition of his work. If so, is it quite certain that he wished to deprive the figure of the 'one like unto a son of man' of Messianic significance? If the 'fourth beast', plus 'the little horn', represents the Kingdom of Syria plus its king (Antiochus), then the other beasts are also to be interpreted as 'kingdoms' plus their kings, and the human figure symbolizes the Messianic Kingdom plus its King, the Messiah. The conflated text, while obscuring the Messiah, does not necessarily exclude him from his kingdom.

There are other considerations which warrant the Messianic interpretation of the Danielic figure, but since these are not directly connected with the theme of this study, and would involve a discussion of the identity of the great angel of chapters x and xii, we must refrain from pursuing the subject. The influence of Babylonian Marduk-ideas upon the vision in chapter vii supports the contention that this figure described as 'one like unto a son of man' represented the Messiah; for the same influence is found in the predictions of the prophets, and in the visions of subsequent apocalyptists; and in every case the Messianic Angel of Yahweh is the figure indicated.

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V.

We now turn to the greatest figure in all Old Testament prophetic literature, the Suffering Servant of Yahweh, who is described in the four Songs of the Suffering Servant—especially in the fourth (Isa. lii 13–liii) —and (probably) also in Zech. xii 9–14.

The history of the interpretation of the fourth of the Songs is interesting. Judaism on the whole rejected its Messianic significance, though here and there a Jewish commentator affirmed that parts of the song at least were Messianic.[1] Christian tradition affirmed the Messianic import of this song until recent times, when commentators began to make the Suffering Servant a symbol of the righteous part of the nation, giving the figure a collective significance. On the whole the trend of modern scholarship is in the direction of making the Servant Messianic only in a secondary sense: Edghill,[2] for example, thinks that the prophet 'intends to describe the ideal Israel, Israel such as God meant it to be', but agrees that the failure of Israel to attain the ideal was more than compensated by Christ's perfect fulfilment of the prophet's hopes.

But let us begin with an examination of the phrase 'the Arm of Yahweh' in liii 1. The prophet is astounded and sadly disappointed that little credence is given to his 'report'; for 'the Arm of Yahweh' has been revealed to him. The term is a remarkable one, but it is found elsewhere in Deutero-Isaiah, e. g. in l 9, lii 10. By comparing the passages, and assimilating them with passages of similar meaning in Exod. xxiii 10, xxxiii 14, and Isa. lxiii 9 (which combines the Exodus passages), we are forced to the conclusion that 'the Arm' or 'the Hand' of Yahweh is indicative of the figure of 'the Angel of His Presence' who ever saved Israel in its distresses, and would be king in the final kingdom. There would be no point in the prophet's employment of this term unless it indicated the 'he' of verse 2, who is also 'the righteous servant' of verse 11. Therefore 'the Arm of Yahweh', the Messianic Angel, would appear to be the Suffering Servant of this fourth Song.

This interpretation is supported by a Babylonian phrase of similar meaning. The divine mother, whom we have identified with Damkina-Ishtar, was known as Innini, the lady of heaven. It was recognized that as she had assimilated Ishtar's characteristics she had lost thereby her pristine purity, and to eradicate the taint she was regarded as having under her protection 'a demon of lust', a beautiful harlot—a vision-image therefore of the immoral Ishtar—to whom was given the

[1] See the collection of Jewish comments by Driver.

[2] *Evidential Value of Prophecy* p. 318. See also Buchanan Gray in Hastings' *One Volume Dictionary of the Bible*, and arts. in *H. D. B.* and *Enc. Bib.*

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title 'the Hand of Innini'.[1] This vision-image was 'the Angel of Ishtar', her manifestation to men.

Here we have an exact parallel to the idea conveyed by the phrase 'the Arm of Yahweh', for the figure thus indicated is the Angel of Yahweh, Yahweh's self-manifestation to the prophets. We feel bound to conclude that Babylonian phraseology influenced the Hebrew terminology, and that the Arm of Yahweh in the Isaianic passages means the Angel of His Presence whom the author of the Songs, like his predecessors, expected as the future Messiah.

But the Songs differ from all earlier Messianic predictions in making the Messianic Angel a sufferer on his people's behalf. Did the prophet suddenly conceive this idea as an entirely new revelation of Yahweh's purpose, or was there anything in preceding thought which helped him to form the idea of a Suffering Messiah?

Langdon[2] has given a 'commentary' upon a Marduk-liturgy which is important for consideration of this problem. This commentary shews that Marduk came to be identified with the much older god Tammuz, the spirit of the sprouting grain, the budding vine, and young life, who died in autumn to rise again in spring—a god of gentleness, a sufferer, who was pictured as a child or youth sharing mankind's mortality, the son of the ancient earth-goddess, who was afterwards known as Innini to the Babylonians, Belit to the Assyrians, and 'the Queen of Heaven' to the Jews. The death of Marduk-Tammuz was accompanied by 'the wailings of Tammuz', the lamentation of the people for his departure to the other world.

In the Semitic cult of Tammuz, the king of a city often played the part of the dying god, and actually suffered death at the hands of his people to insure their future well-being.[3] This fact of early Babylonian history passed into the later Marduk-Tammuz liturgy to be re-enacted as drama, one interesting feature of which is that a malefactor was smitten and slain by the people and his head was fastened upon the door of the temple of Beltis, Marduk's consort.[4] Possibly the death of the malefactor was substituted for the death of the early king. The author of the fourth Song seems to have been aware of this: in any case his Messianic King is to suffer the malefactor's fate,[5] and to be made a sacrifice for his people. Being the Angel of Yahweh, to whom the prophets applied the whole Marduk-idea, his sacrificial death will

[1] *Tammuz and Ishtar* p. 74.

[2] *Epic* p. 34 ff.

[3] *Tammuz and Ishtar* p. 25.

[4] *Epic* p. 39, lines 20, 21. The Mohammedan festival of 'Muhorram', as celebrated in autumn at Bombay, has a procession in which a votary with bound hands enacts the part, and is beaten and spit upon.

[5] Cf. Is. liii 16.

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accomplish all that the ritual sacrifices of the Law had failed to do; it will bring the people to penitence and make them meet to become the Kingdom of God.

The autumn wailings for Tammuz changed to joyous songs when the vernal god returned to earth from the darkness of the grave. In one of these songs the divine mother exclaims :—

> 'In heaven there is light, on earth there is light . . .
> Magnified is he, magnified, magnified is the lord',[1]

a passage which has its parallels in the Servant-Song where Yahweh promises: 'He shall be exalted and extolled and be very high' . . . 'I will divide him a portion with the great, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong', after his self-sacrificial death in which he makes his soul a sin-offering: then he shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied, and he shall prolong his days in the land where he sees 'light to the full'.[2] Thus will he rise to claim his kingdom of promised bliss and righteousness.

The fact that Tammuz was the young god of spring vegetation may have some bearing upon the prophet's comparison of the Servant with 'a tender plant, a root out of a dry ground' in liii 2. Allied to this is the title 'the Branch' found in Jeremiah and Zechariah.

The following occurs in one of the Tammuz liturgies :—

> 'For the far-removed there is wailing.
> Ah me, my child the far-removed,
> My Damu, the far-removed,
> My anointed one, the far-removed,
> For the sacred cedar where the mother bore him.'

'The far-removed' is the god who is here identified with the sacred cedar. He is also called 'child' and 'anointed one'. The term 'child' has a parallel in the Septuagint version which translates the Hebrew יֶלֶד by the Greek *παιδίον*, and thus reflects the early idea of the god. Langdon questions the translation 'anointed one', preferring 'anointer'; but if the Tammuz idea influenced the composition of the Songs as we suggest, the prophet's title and description of the Servant in the first song (xlii 1, 2), 'my Elect One' upon whom Yahweh has put His Spirit—i.e. has 'anointed' him—gives the meaning 'anointed one' to the Babylonian text. The title 'Anointed One' is found in Isa. lxi 1, and in 1 Enoch lii 4, as a Messianic title, equivalent in the latter work to 'the Elect One'.

Still more striking is the parallel between the title for Tammuz, 'the Man of Sorrows', found in a second Tammuz liturgy,[3] and the

[1] *Tammuz and Ishtar* p. 22.
[2] Ball's reconstructed text of verse 11.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 14.

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description of the Servant as 'a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief' in Isa. liii 3.

On all these grounds we feel that the Tammuz-Marduk idea exercised a very strong and direct influence upon the author of the Songs. The prophet may have come to the conclusion that the Messiah must die for his kingdom from quite other sources; for our part we think he did so. But the Tammuz liturgies of Babylonian fashioning furnished him with the imagery, the literary form in which to clothe his visions and beliefs.

The school of prophecy of which he was a member, that school which predicted the coming of the Messianic Angel and made use of the Marduk-imagery to set forth its Messianic faith, would have found it difficult to refrain from making the Angel the Suffering Servant of Yahweh if it remained true to its tenets that Marduk, the mythological god of Babylon, was really an adumbration of the Angel: for when Marduk had been identified with the gentle, suffering young god Tammuz, it seemed inevitable that some Jewish prophet should sing of the Angel, 'He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street: a bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench' . . . 'He is despised and rejected of men, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief' . . . 'He was taken from prison and from judgement'.

We conclude that the Babylonian Tammuz-songs influenced the Jewish prophet's description of the Suffering Servant, the Messianic Angel, and that the Songs indicate an individual and not the nation or any part of it. The New Testament writers, following the teaching of Jesus, rightly gave them a direct Messianic significance, and the Christian traditional interpretation of them is justified.

Concerning Zech. xii 9–14, which was quoted by the fourth evangelist as a prediction of the death of Christ, we recall, without now enlarging upon the theme, that the passage was the foundation passage for the later Jewish belief in the suffering Messiah Ben-Joseph. The death of some great person is predicted, a death which will cause lamentation and mourning throughout the land: the Hebrew text says, 'They shall look upon Me (Yahweh) Whom they pierced'; the Septuagint substitutes 'Him' for 'Me'; but if the slain one be the Messianic Angel, the manifestation of Yahweh to His Kingdom, the Hebrew and Greek texts are mutually interpretative.

The lamentation spoken of by the prophet would be excessive if made for a human being merely, for it should be 'as the mourning of Hadad-Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon'. Hadad-Rimmon is a god of the Tammuz type, and consequently the mourning is for a Divine person who has been 'pierced', exactly as was the Suffering Servant in

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Isa. liii 10[1] Moreover, the death of the slain one brings cleansing to the nation, and there follows the Messianic age of peace and bliss. We conclude, therefore, that the passage is directly predictive of the suffering and death of the Messianic Angel, and that the fourth evangelist's application of the passage to Christ's passion was justified. The prophecy is parallel to the Songs of the Suffering Servant in its prediction of the sacrifice of Christ.

VI.

We return to the theme of the Heavenly Mother and her divine son, Innini and Tammuz, Damkina-Ishtar and Marduk, the Heavenly Wisdom and the Divine Word. There is evidence to shew that the ancient kings of Babylon were regarded as divine men, each of whom might inaugurate a kingdom of peace and blessing: but the prophets and apocalyptists of Jewry looked for a king yet to come who should do all that the ancient hope had taught Babylon to look for from their human kings, and even more than this for Israel. But the figure of the Jewish Messianic Hope was to be Divine, the participant in Yahweh's sole Deity, the Angel of whom Yahweh had said 'My Name is in him'. To express this Hope the Jewish teachers made full use of the ancient myth; for they were eschatologists, and they believed that the end of the age would witness the creation of a new heaven and a new earth which should repeat the primeval paradisal conditions of Eden. Therefore to these teachers the Babylonian myths which spoke of the first creation by 'the Word', 'the counsellor of the gods', the son of the goddess of wisdom, was an adumbration of events that must be at the end when the Messianic Angel, the Divine Logos, the Wonderful Counsellor, the Son of the Heavenly Wisdom should be born to put an end to all evil in order that his kingdom might have perfect joy in righteousness and peace for ever.

So is the Logos-doctrine of the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse the summary of the whole Messianic Hope of Babylon and Jewry in application to Jesus Christ, the Christian Messiah; for the Word who 'in the beginning was with God, and was God', was Immanuel and the Peace-giver, the Prince of the Four Names and the Arm of Yahweh, the Elect One and the Son of Man, whom Marduk-Mummu and Tammuz foreshadowed—the Christ of expectation, the Christ of doctrine, and the Christ of life.

Concerning the heavenly mother much more might be told if we traced her descent from the original goddess, the sister-mother-bride of Tammuz; but we would add only that the author of the Christian

[1] Note that the verb דכא is used in both passages.

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Apocalypse knew her full well. The glories of the Heavenly Wisdom, mother of the Divine Logos, had been fashioned from the splendour which adorned Damkina, mother of Marduk-Mummu. The Apocalyptist separated Damkina from Ishtar once more, making the latter 'the great harlot, the mother of the harlots'—no virgin-goddess, but the woman clothed in scarlet,[1] the impersonation of lust, the representative goddess of Babylon, as Babylon was representative of Rome. The cup of wine in her hand bespeaks her as the ancient goddess of the vine.

Yet one more womanly figure is seen in the Apocalypse, the New Jerusalem, the Bride of the Lamb, 'our mother' as St Paul calls her. Weiss identified her with 'the woman clothed with the sun' (xii), and thought her to be the mother of the Logos. There is this to be said for Weiss's idea, that the original goddess-mother was both the mother and the bride of Tammuz, and from her all other divine mothers of Babylonian, Assyrian, and Jewish religious thought, derived some of their characteristics. In the mythology from which the Jewish predecessors of the Christian Seer took their personifications, the divine mothers were accounted one and the same goddess, 'the Queen of Heaven', who thus represented various conceptions; but the Apocalyptist distinguished them one from another, making the Heavenly Wisdom the mother, and the New Jerusalem the bride, of the Logos.

In such wise did the visionary take from the myth its fullest significance for Christian doctrine, and in so doing linked up the foreshadowings of mythology with the predictions of the Old Testament, giving to both one origin, 'the Spirit of prophecy'.

G. H. Dix.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL FORM OF THE *VITAE SANCTORUM*

(with special reference to the *Dialogus de vita S. Chrysostomi* by Palladius Helenopolitanus).

The biographical writings dealing with the saints of the Church—hagiographa—fall into three classes: μαρτύρια or *passiones*, accounts of the martyrdoms of saints; βίοι or *vitae*, ordinary biographies; ἐγκώμια or *laudationes*, encomiastic panegyrics of saints.

1. Most of the lives, and I use 'lives' in the widest sense to comprehend these three divisions of hagiographa, begin with an introduction in the form of an address either to the general reader, as in the *Vita*

[1] In a liturgy of the Tammuz wailings (Langdon *Sumerian Liturgies* p. 192), the goddess mother, the Queen of Heaven, calls herself 'sacred harlot (*nugig*) of heaven'.

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S. Augustini by Possidius, or to a particular patron or friend, as in the *Vita S. Bonifacii* by Willibaldus, or in a combination of each, as in the *Historia Lausiaca* by Palladius Helenopolitanus, where each form is found separately. By an editorial convention the introductions to the lives written in Latin are usually marked off from the lives proper by the title of *praefatio* or *prologus* or *prooemium* or *epistola dedicatoria*.

2. In the introduction—whether it takes the form of a *praefatio* or an *epistola*—the author reveals his purpose in recounting the life of his subject to serve as a model for posterity to emulate. This didactic vein is never allowed to disappear in the body of the work. And it generally reappears finally as an exhortation or a prayer or a hymn.

3. The subjects of the lives range all over the Mediterranean world: from Asia to Spain, from Africa to Germany, and even to Britain.

4. The length of the lives varies: some are very brief, as in the *Historia Lausiaca*, where several require only part of a page; others run into several books, as in the *Vita S. Gregorii Magni* by Joannes Diaconus, who extends his work into four books. Some later mediaeval biographies are even longer, notably the *Vita S. Thomae* (à Becket) by Herbertus de Boseham, which is divided into seven books. Division into books, however, is quite arbitrary. The longest *Vita S. Chrysostomi*, by Georgius Alexandrinus, and one of the longest of the *Vitae Sanctorum*, is undivided, though it occupies 108 folio pages.

5. The technical form of the lives varies: most are in straightforward prose, frequently barbaric, however; not a few are in verse, as in the *Martyrium S. Dionysii Areopagitae* by Dionysius Guerinus, in Greek, and the *Vita S. Martini* by Paulinus Petricordiensis in Latin. The latter, moreover, is divided into six books. Several lives are in dialogue form, of which more hereafter.

6. As may be supposed the Bible is the chief source of the quotations, many of which are loose citations from memory, apparently, for variations are found which have no MS support. The Psalms and the Gospels are the favourite books quoted.

7. A departure from classical biography is made by the appearance of lives of female saints, as in the anonymous *Vita S. Olympiadis* in Greek and the *Vita S. Brigidae* by Cogitosus in Latin.

8. Another innovation is multiple authorship, of which there appear to be two instances: the *Vita S. Caesarii Arelatensis* by Cyprianus, Firminus, and Viventius; and the *Vita S. Bernardi Claravallensis* by Guillelmus, Ernaldus, Ganfridus, Philippus, *et al.* The first is in two books, the second is in seven. Each is written in Latin.

9. A third departure is autobiography: Guibertus *De vita sua* in three books in Latin.

10. Practically all the lives are written by persons who were con-

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nected officially with the subjects and consorted daily with them, as Palladius was in the company of S. Chrysostom for four years and Possidius in that of S. Augustine for almost forty. The testimony of such biographers, therefore, is not only authoritative but also invaluable.

11. The lives abound in records of miracles and supernatural events transpiring during the life of the subject and worked by his or her relics after death. There is little variety in the *genera miraculorum*. Stock supernatural phenomena are repeated in life after life. The majority of these may be traced to their prototypes in the Scriptures, as in the *Vita S. Chrysostomi* by Symeon Metaphrastes (the most diligent of the Greek hagiographers) and the *Vita S. Benedicti* by S. Gregorius Magnus. In passing it must be remarked that we should be slow to discredit the evidence of such biographers, as Mr W. K. L. Clarke has observed: 'It is coming to be recognised that a fifth-century Christian writer [and I would extend the *terminus ad quem*] who did not believe in the miraculous would be a portent which required explanation. There would be little left of the history of the time if all the writers who believed in contemporary miracles were ruled out as unworthy of credence.'[1]

(i) The μαρτύριον or *passio* (μαρτύριον is the usual Greek title, though ἄθλησις and ἀγῶνες occur. The first two are rendered into Latin by *martyrium* or *certamen* interchangeably; but generally *martyrium* is retained for μαρτύριον and *certamen* for ἄθλησις. Ἀγῶνες occurs only once as a title, and then it is translated as *certamina*. *Passio* is the usual Latin title, though *martyrium* and *certamen* occur) is the earliest biographical form in point of time, as in the *Martyrium S. Polycarpi* by anonymous members of the Church in Smyrna. While usually there is introductory biographical material about the subjects, the μαρτύρια or *passiones* (as the words suggest) are concerned chiefly with the actual account of the martyrdoms, to which the authors pass as quickly as possible.

(ii) The ἐγκώμιον or *laudatio* (ἐγκώμιον is the usual Greek title translated into Latin as *encomium*, *laudatio*, *laus*, *panegyricum*, *oratio laudatoria*, though ὑπόμνημα, ὁμιλία, λόγος, λόγος ἐπελευστικός, and λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικός occur. Ὑπόμνημα is rendered into Latin by *commemoratio* or *commentarius*; ὁμιλία by *sermo*; λόγος by *vita*, *laudatio*, *sermo*, or *oratio*; λόγος ἐπελευστικός by *sermo memorialis*; and λόγος ἐγκωμιαστικός by *sermo panegyricus*. *Laudatio* is the usual Latin title, though *oratio*, *panegyricus*, and *sermo* occur) were pronounced usually as sermons on the anniversaries of the day of the saints whom they commemorate. They are encomiastic in character, and dwell principally upon the ἀρεταί or *virtutes* of the subjects with fanciful fringes of rhetorical embroidery.

[1] *The Lausiac History of Palladius* p. 26 (London, 1918).

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Abundant illustrations depend from each virtue. The tone is generally didactic, as in the *Panegyricum S. Joannis Chrysostomi* by S. Martyrius Antiochenus.

(iii) The *βίοι* or *vitae* (*βίος καὶ πολιτεία* is the usual Greek title, translated into Latin as *vita et conversatio*, *vita et gesta*, *vita et institutum*, *vita et res gestae*, though *βίος* and *πολιτεία* are found separately along with *πράξεις* (never *πράγματα*), *ἱστορία*, *διήγησις*, *συγγραφή*, and *ἄσκησις*. *Βίος* is rendered into Latin by *vita*; *πολιτεία* by *conversatio*, *vita*, *institutum*, *gesta*, or *res gestae*; *πράξεις* by *acta* (never *actus*), *res gestae*, or *vita*; *ἱστορία* by *narratio*; *διήγησις* by *historia* or *narratio*; *συγγραφή* by *narratio*; and *ἄσκησις* by *exercitatio*. *Vita* is the usual Latin title though *acta* occurs, and though several lives are entitled *vita et miracula* or *acta et miracula*) fall into two classes: individual *vitae* and collections of *vitae* of saints. Of the latter class the most valuable in Greek is the *Historia Lausiaca* by Palladius, which is the *locus* for the rise of monachism in Egypt. On the Latin side may be noticed the *Historia Abbatum* by Venerabilis Baeda. In general, it may be said that the influence of Suetonius through S. Hieronymus is the dominating factor in the composition of the *vitae*. It is this form of biography which lays principal stress on personal traits.

With this introduction we may turn now to a consideration of the *Dialogus de vita S. Chrysostomi*, written by Palladius Helenopolitanus *c.* 408, which is our best authority for the life of S. John Chrysostom. As the title of the work implies, the life and conversation of S. Chrysostom are presented in the form of a dialogue—an unusual vehicle of expression in the history of ancient biography.[1]

The chief interlocutors of the *Dialogus* are a bishop, whose name and see are not given, and a deacon of the Church of Rome named Theodorus. The scene of the dialogue, which lasts for several days and takes place in the presence of other persons, one of whom intervenes in the conversation for a moment, is at Rome; the time is shortly after S. Chrysostom's death in 407, for the deacon has heard the rumour of it and asks the bishop to confirm the news, with which request the bishop complies.

The bishop, who is advanced in years, is represented as having come from the East, where he had been a member of S. Chrysostom's synod, though not resident in Constantinople. It appears that the bishop, for

[1] I know of only three other ancient *vitae* in dialogue: Satyrus' *Vita Euripidis* preserved in a Greek papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus and written *c.* 210 B.C.; Sulpicius Severus' *Vita S. Martini* implicit in his *Dialogi* dated 404; and S. Gregorius Magnus' *Vita S. Benedicti* which comprises the second book of his *Dialogi* dated 593.

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the first time in his life, is spending a few days in Rome, whither, as a personal friend and a loyal adherent to S. Chrysostom, he has fled to escape the persecution raging in the East against S. Chrysostom's partisans. The deacon, who has heard the unfavourable accounts about S. Chrysostom which were circulated in the West by his enemies, seizes this opportunity to ascertain from the bishop (who is the principal speaker) the true facts of S. Chrysostom's career (Migne *Patrol. Graec.* xlvii 7, 16) and to discover the truth about the charges levied at his personal character (ἦθος) and conversation (πολιτεία) (*ibid.* 39, 45–47, 67). The result is that the bishop resolves the questions of the deacon, who confesses himself entirely persuaded that the bishop's narrative is the correct version of the events of the episcopate of S. Chrysostom, and that the bishop's intimate interpretation of S. Chrysostom's life is a sufficient and satisfactory justification of S. Chrysostom's conduct (*ibid.* 34, 45–47, 55, 62, 70, 76, 78).

The *Dialogus*, though not a regular chronological narrative, falls naturally into four parts: (i) Chapters i–iv, Introduction (*ibid.* 5–18); (ii) chapters v–xi, Life of S. Chrysostom (*ibid.* 18–39); (iii) chapters xii–xix, Defence of S. Chrysostom's Character and Actions (*ibid.* 39–70); (iv) chapter xx, Conclusion (*ibid.* 70–82).

It is well, before proceeding further, to recapitulate the general scheme of ancient classical biography. First, we have the γένεσις or γένος or *origo*; second, the παιδεία or *infantia*; third, the φύσις or *species*, together with the ἦθος or *mores* and ἀρεταί or *virtutes*; fourth, the μαθήματα καὶ πράγματα or *studia et opera*: fifth, the ἐπιτηδεύματα or *vita publica* with the πολιτεία or *vita privata*; sixth, the θάνατος or *mors*; seventh, the *additamenta et supplementa*, which covers everything from *miscellanea* to *eulogia*.

This scheme admits of variations, naturally, with various biographers, but there is sufficient method in it for the purposes of the moment. Let us now see how the *Dialogus* applies itself to it.

We shall want, first, chapters v–xi, which carry S. Chrysostom from the cradle to the grave.

In chapter v S. Chrysostom's life is traced from his birth (γένος) through his childhood (παιδεία) and the minor ecclesiastical orders to the diaconate, presbyterate, and episcopate (*c.* 347–398). Here we find suggestions about his φύσις and ἦθος (and these are scattered all through the work) as well as his πράγματα and ἐπιτηδεύματα (which are likewise mentioned elsewhere).

Chapters vi–viii deal with the beginnings of the plot against S. Chrysostom and culminate in his first expulsion from the see of Constantinople (398–403).

Chapters ix–x cover a little more than a year and treat of his return,

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the renewed efforts of the conspirators and his second and final ejection (403–404).

Chapter xii comprises the three years from his going into exile to his death in 407. His *mors* is preceded by a vivid account of the *signa mortis* such as is found in Suetonius (*ibid.* 38, 39).

The defence of S. Chrysostom's character and actions, occupying chapters xii–xix, contains many instances of the knowledge of the details of his *vita privata* or πολιτεία, which point to an intimate relation between the saint and the biographer, and none of which appears to have been learned at second hand. Hence we derive an authentic account of S. Chrysostom's reforms in Constantinople (*ibid.* 20, 21), his abstemiousness (*ibid.* 39, 45, 61), his ill health (*ibid.* 18, 39, 50), his humour (*ibid.* 68, 69), his ideals (*ibid.* 45, 46, 61–63, 80), his outspokenness (*ibid.* 19, 27, 30, 36, 38, 64–67, 78), his self-control (*ibid.* 27, 28, 35, 48, 67), his love of retirement (*ibid.* 62), and his religious life (*ibid.* 19, 27, 32, 39, 45, 48, 80).

Palladius had observed S. Chrysostom's daily life not only in private but also in public (*vita publica* or ἐπιτηδεύματα). He had seen him in the various phases of his work as teacher (*ibid.* 27, 32, 45, 61, 64–67) and administrator (*ibid.* 20, 21, 39, 45–51, 62, 68, 69, 82), instructing the people or the clergy, or managing the funds of the Church, or caring for the poor and the widows. He had seen him faithful in his secular responsibilities (*ibid.* 32, 49), yet escaping them whenever possible and eagerly turning his attention to spiritual matters (*ibid.* 39). Himself a bishop, Palladius had marked S. Chrysostom as the leader of his fellow-bishops in the Constantinopolitan Synod (*ibid.* 27–30, 32, 47–51).

In the few places in the *Dialogus* where phrases occur indicating mediated information, Palladius is very sure of his sources. One thing that must immediately commend it as worthy of belief is the absence of such miraculous tales as abound in the later *vitae* of S. Chrysostom, which are chiefly confused collections of legends, anecdotes, and miracles, tending to obscure the historical Chrysostom as well as gratuitous assertions and statements, all of which are developed to the point of extravagance. As a result of the method of Palladius we have a plain biography of fact, not of fiction.

The *Dialogus* 'is written in late Greek, many words being used in senses unknown to classical authors, and grammatical mistakes are frequent . . . the author continually forgets the construction with which he began one of his long sentences, and changes the subject in its course'.[1] In the *Historia Lausiaca* Palladius says of himself that he is 'clumsy in utterance' and speaks of 'the uncouthness and inelegance'

[1] H. Moore *The Dialogue of Palladius concerning the Life of Chrysostom* p. xviii (London, 1921).

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of his style.[1] With some measure of justice his words may be applied to the evidence of the *Dialogus*, for though the majority of the sentences are not long and involved, yet they are frequently awkward and the thought is not always clearly expressed. Some of the sentences shew neither balance nor finish, and are sometimes marred by awkward parenthetical statements or curious doubling of expression.

The style of the *Dialogus*—at least in the strictly historical portion of the work—is, for the most part, wholly unadorned. But in the second half of the work, when Palladius turns to the defence of S. Chrysostom's manner of life, to the portrayal of S. Chrysostom's ideals, and to the attack upon S. Chrysostom's enemies, the style amply warrants Gibbon's verdict that the *Dialogus* is a 'passionate Vindication'.[2]

P. R. NORTON.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE GREEK MSS OF THE HEXATEUCH.

THE object of the present article is to distinguish and enumerate the chief cursive groups among the MSS of the Greek version of the Hexateuch, and to indicate broadly the grouping of the uncials with one another and with the cursives in the various books. This classification of the Greek authorities for the text has been made as a preliminary to the study of the origin of the Old Latin text, but the present paper can only indicate a few of the most obvious connexions and lines of division suggested by the material collected; some of the results are interesting on their own account and may provide a step forward in the work of classifying the MSS.

The following abbreviations have been used: Gen. Ex. Lev. Num. Deut. and Josh. for the six books of the Hexateuch; Thdt. Chrys. and Cyr. for the three Fathers, Theodoret, Chrysostom, and Cyril, whose readings are frequently compared with the MSS; M.T. and LXX for the Massoretic text and the Septuagint; and Arm. Boh. Eth. Lat. and Sah. for the Armenian, Bohairic, Ethiopic, Latin, and Sahidic versions. The uncials and cursives are in every case quoted from, and denoted by the letters used in, the Larger Cambridge Septuagint.

[1] *H. L.* ii 4. 7; 10. 24, 25 (ed. by E. C. Butler [Cambridge, 1904]).

[2] *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* c. xxxii (ed. by J. B. Bury, iii 395 n. 41 [London, 1909]).

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(i) *The Hexaplaric Cursives.*

The group of cursives most easily identified comprises those MSS which have incorporated the Hexaplaric insertions, introduced into the LXX by Origen. The Hexaplaric signs are for the most part wanting in the cursives, but comparison with the uncial G, the Syro-Hexaplar, and the M. T. makes the identification of these cursives an easy matter. The composition of this Hexaplaric group, however, is by no means the same in the different books, or even in some cases throughout the same book. The typical Hexaplaric group in Gen. would be *ackmoxc*$_2$; in Ex. ch. i–xxvi *ackmx*, but from ch. xxvii to the end *ckm* only. From this point Hexaplaric readings become much rarer in *m*. In Lev. *ack* are the usual representatives of the Hexaplaric text, and in Num. *ckx*; in Deut. *o* is Hexaplaric again after the first six chapters and *ckox* become the regular members, for *a*, though clearly Hexaplaric at times, is much less so than in the earlier books. The LXX text of Josh. must have differed from the M.T. much more widely than that of any book of the Pentateuch, for Hexaplaric insertions are much more numerous and have affected more MSS of the LXX; *a* is again a less conspicuous member of the group than in the earlier books, but *ckx* remain strongly Hexaplaric, and *b*, which has not hitherto appeared in the group, becomes one of its most regular members; *r*, which is otherwise very free from Hexaplaric influence, shews very much in this book, being in some chapters as regular a supporter of the Hexaplaric readings as *bckx*; *o* also becomes Hexaplaric again in the later chapters. It will be seen that *c* and *k* are the only MSS which are consistent members of the group throughout, *amox* and *c*$_2$ all shewing remarkable variation in different books; it is clear that the character of some of the cursive texts varies much more from book to book than has sometimes been recognized, and that general statements about the character of any MS throughout the Hexateuch (and much more throughout the Old Testament) may be misleading unless verified for each book separately.

There are other cursives which have been influenced by Hexaplaric readings over restricted portions of the Hexateuch, though otherwise they shew hardly any trace of such influence; such are *i* in Num. ch. xvi–xviii, and *b*$_2$ in Gen. xliii–xlv. In Josh. *h* and *a*$_2$ have a considerable number of additions and the latter some omissions (e.g. Josh. ix 10). Hexaplaric omissions are naturally much rarer than insertions, for the passage normally remained in the text, and when the Hexaplaric signs were omitted all trace of the correction disappeared. The MS which omits the largest number of the passages or words marked with an obelus in G is *k*; but *m* and *x* omit several, especially

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x in Deut. and Josh., the latter alone supporting the Syro-Hexaplar in omitting the two verses added by the LXX after Josh. xxiv 33. Some of the cursive groups to be mentioned later have these omissions occasionally; in each of the groups *ejsvz*, *qu*, *fir* nearly a dozen could be counted in Lev., but they are not so common in other groups or elsewhere in these groups.

The Armenian version is strongly Hexaplaric throughout the greater part of the Hexateuch; the Egyptian versions, except in Josh., much less so; though a MS of the Ethiopic is among the authorities for the insertion of six verses in Ex. xxviii, and for the re-arrangement of the text in Ex. xxxvi–xxxix.

The Hexaplaric insertions in the chief cursive groups will be noticed in dealing with these groups. A few remarks on the Hexaplaric element in the uncials may be added here.

Hexaplaric influence is seldom found either in B or A. B agrees with a small Hexaplaric group in Lev. i 9, Deut. xxviii 12 and xxx 10, and has omissions supported by a larger number of cursives in Gen. xlviii 21, Num. iv 4, and Josh. xiii 31. In Deut. v 7 the three uncials BMN are Hexaplaric, but only a small number of cursives (*acoxa*$_2$). A has omissions in Gen. l 12, Deut. ii 13, and Josh. xxiv 10, and insertions in Ex. xxxvi 5, Deut. i 39, and Josh. xi 15. F has more than fifty Hexaplaric insertions in Josh. i–vii, but is seldom Hexaplaric elsewhere, though it contains in a later hand the long insertion in Ex. xxviii, and the re-arrangement to agree with the Hebrew in Ex. xxxvi–xxxix. M also has the insertion in Ex. xxviii and is occasionally Hexaplaric in Josh., but seldom elsewhere; the margin, however, contains several such readings in Gen. and more than fifty in Josh. i–x. N is very Hexaplaric in Num. and in the first three chapters of Josh., but nowhere else to any great extent. In a few places all the MSS except half a dozen have apparently been influenced by the Hexaplaric revision; the most conspicuous examples of this are found in Lev. xiv 41 (all but BA*hya*$_2$), Josh. xvii 16 (all but B*bchqr*), and Gen. viii 13 (all but AI*qu*).

Several times in Deut. the majority of Greek MSS have insertions similar to but not identical with Hexaplaric insertions, the true LXX (omitting the insertion altogether) being found in B and a few other MSS only. The clearest examples are as follows:—

Deut. xiii 4, G*acdoptx* Hexaplaric; BΘ*gmnrua*$_2$ versions omit; other MSS Cyr. differ.

Deut. xvii 5, G*coptx* Hexaplaric; B*kua*$_2$ Lat. Eth. omit; other MSS Cyr. Boh. differ.

In other places the second group, instead of omitting, has another reading:—

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Deut. xxxi 5, GN*ckoxdpt* Hexaplaric ; B⊖*bwgnua*$_2$ a second reading ; other MSS differ.

Deut. xiii 14, G*coptx* Hexaplaric ; ⊖*gnua*$_2$ (and probably B) a second reading ; other MSS differ.

In such passages B is generally supported by the Latin version, and probably represents the original LXX. The readings of AFMN are often supported by Cyril and the Egyptian versions, but they also receive support from the Armenian, and in one place clearly from Tertullian ; they are therefore too widely prevalent to be regarded as local Egyptian readings. The influence of a text like that of AF and Lucian has been recognized in the LXX quotations in the New Testament, and it seems clear that such differences between A and B as those just quoted go back to a date much earlier than the Hesychian and Lucianic or even the Hexaplaric recensions. In the case of these readings from Deut., however, it is noticeable that the authorities which we have some reason to regard as Lucianic (⊖*gn* and *bw*) are generally on the side of B. The examples given shew almost conclusively that in Deut. at least, the text on which Origen worked was that of B rather than of AFM.

(ii) *The Hesychian and Lucianic groups of cursives.*

The five cursives *dgnpt* form a well defined group with numerous characteristic readings, at least in the four books Lev. to Josh. ; but within this group we can distinguish two sub-groups *dpt* and *gn*, between the members of which an even closer relation exists. While therefore we may speak of *gn* as one group and of *dpt* as another, the numerous readings common to all five MSS shew that the two groups are very closely related or have a large common element of a peculiar character. We must therefore distinguish between three classes of readings—readings of *gn*, of *dpt*, and of the whole group *dgnpt*.

Moreover, in connexion with these five we must consider the pair *bw* which, though representing a very distinctive type of text, have a connexion with *gn* which cannot be overlooked. Coincidences with *bw* are also found in *x* (especially in Ex.), in c_2, in *m* (especially in Deut.), and in the Latin version. It has been usual to class *o* with *bw*, but *o* seldom has any special connexion with them in the Hexateuch ; in fact most of the peculiarities of *bw* are unsupported by any other authority.

The uncial ⊖ has numerous connexions with *gn* and with the whole group *dgnpt*, especially in Deut., but it has decidedly fewer with *dpt* alone ; the readings of *dpt* are in fact supported by B or N more often than by ⊖. The remarkable connexion between *dgnpt* and the uncial K in Josh. is well known ; we notice again, however, that though K has

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several connexions with *gn* alone, it has few or none with *dpt* alone; the same thing is seen once more in the case of *l* towards the end of Deut. Evidently the readings common to the five cursives must be regarded as *gn* readings which have survived or been incorporated in *dpt*, and not as *dpt* readings. The cursive *h* has several noteworthy connexions with the group (e.g. Ex. viii 21, xii 22, xxvii 21), which become numerous in Josh.

In Lev. Num. and Deut. readings of *bw* frequently combine with those of *gn* and *dgnpt*, but seldom with those of *dpt*. In Josh. the texts of *b* and *w* diverge very widely, and readings peculiar to these two cursives are scarcely ever found; *b* becomes Hexaplaric, but *w* becomes here a regular member of the group *dgnpt*. Again, we notice that though *w* has an especially close connexion with *gn*, so that *gnw* have dozens of readings in common which are otherwise unsupported, yet agreements with *dpt* (apart from *gn*) are only occasionally found; evidently *dpt* represent a text of much narrower vogue than *gn* or *dgnpt*.

It is generally considered that *dpt* are Hesychian, and *bw* Lucianic; the general evidence of the Hexateuch is not decisively in favour of such a view, though perhaps it can hardly be said to contradict it. Except in Gen. *bw* seldom shew any special connexion either with the Armenian version or with the Fathers of Antioch (Deut. xxix 15 is rather exceptional), while connexions with the Egyptian versions and with Cyril and Didymus are not at all rare; the combination *bwdpt* Boh. for example (Lev. xx 24) has a decidedly Egyptian appearance. The Egyptian connexions of *dpt* are more unmistakeable, agreements with the Egyptian versions and Fathers being numerous, though sometimes (as in Josh. xi 20) we find coincidences with Thdt. The readings of *gn* and *dgnpt*, on the other hand, seem to belong to a text as little confined to Egypt as to Antioch. They have many more coincidences with the Armenian than either *bw* or *dpt*; and they have many readings shewing a close relation to Thdt. and Eusebius (Num. xv 31 and 39, Deut. xxxiii 19, Josh. v 12 and xxiii 14); the presence of some of these readings in Egyptian authorities, however (as in Deut. xxxiii 3 and Josh. i 3), makes us hesitate to call them Lucianic.

A similar result is reached from an examination of the readings common to *gn* (or *dgnpt*) and *bw*; such combinations as *bwgnob*$_2$ Boh. Cyr. Did. (Num. xviii 10), and *bwdgnpt* Boh. Eth. Thdt. (Num. xxiii 8), are evidently not Lucianic, and almost as clearly not Egyptian. The two examples just quoted illustrate the usual lack of uncial support for these readings of *bwgn* in Lev. and Num.; in Deut., on the other hand, they are often supported by BΘ*ua*$_2$. It is probably the connexion between B and *bw* in these passages which led Prof. Sanders to the conclusion that B is Lucianic in Deut.; but this combination of BΘ*bwgnua*$_2$

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frequently seems to preserve the original Septuagint reading (as in xxxi 5) and should not therefore be called Lucianic. Where Bua_2 desert them, the readings of *bwgn* and *bwdgnpt* are certainly not so good, but even in these cases the frequency with which they receive both Egyptian and Antiochene support (e. g. in Deut. xxxiii 3) shews that they probably survive from a time prior to either the Lucianic or Hesychian revision properly so called.

The relations between these groups, however, are considerably modified in Gen. and Ex. The Lucianic character of *bw* is quite unmistakeable in Gen.: the remarkable coincidences with Chrys. in xviii 26, xxi 18, xxvi 31, and xxxiv 25, and with Thdt. in xx 4 and xlviii 18, being only the clearest of very many. The *dpt* group also (in spite of the numerous defections and peculiarities of *t*) is clearly recognizable, but its Hesychian character is not clear. It has indeed much in common with the Egyptian versions, but points of contact with the Armenian and Eusebius are also found, and still more conspicuous is the support that these cursives receive from Chrysostom. A frequent connexion with the text of *bw*, of which there are only slight traces elsewhere, increases our doubt as to the Hesychian character of these cursives in Gen. (see e. g. xxxi 23 and xxvi 29—the last with Chrys. also). In Ex. the *dpt* group is often joined by a_2b_2 (e.g. xx 18 and xxxix 14), and here also the Egyptian affinities are less clearly marked than in the following books.

The changed character of *g* and *n* in Gen. and Ex. is even more conspicuous. As a separate group the combination *gn* very rarely appears. A connexion between *g* and *dp* is quite obvious in the early part of Gen., but in the later chapters and throughout Ex. *g* is found for the most part in association with *ej* or *ejsvz*. In Gen. *n* has some noticeable agreements with *bw* (e. g. xv 12), but it has also a close connexion with *dp*, being in fact closer to them than *t*; between chs. xxxiv and xlii (e. g. in xl 3 and xlii 9) *dnp* have very many readings peculiar to themselves. In Ex. *n* has a close connexion with *dpt* over the greater part of the book, but towards the end it shews an increasing similarity to *g* and *ejsvz*, so that in these later chapters of Ex. the combination *eginsvz*, which is elsewhere rare, becomes very common.

Though rare in Gen., Hexaplaric insertions are more frequently found in *dgnpt* than in any other cursives except the specially Hexaplaric ones already mentioned. In Deut. *dpt* might almost be ranked with the Hexaplaric cursives, but *gn*, whether with or without *dpt*, are very much less Hexaplaric. In Josh. both *dpt* and the whole group *dngpt* are very Hexaplaric, but *gn* are again much less so, and when they are Hexaplaric the corrections are frequently abbreviated or inserted in a different place from that which they occupy in the other MSS;

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examples of this may be seen in Josh. ii 21, v 12, vi 5, vii 25, and viii 24; they are rare except in Josh., though one may be seen in Lev. xxvii 10. Similar transpositions and modifications of Hexaplaric readings are also found occasionally in *dpt* or *dgnpt* (Ex. xii 32 and Josh. iii 1); but more interesting are those cases in which such readings, though corresponding to Hexaplaric readings, are significantly different in wording; clear examples are found in *dpt* in Deut. iv 49 and Josh. xiii 21. These are obviously quite different in origin from the additions (already mentioned) which are found in the great majority of MSS in Deut., and may be considered as Hesychian emendations made to conform the LXX to the M.T., corresponding to but independent of Origen's Hexaplaric insertions; we notice, however, that the support of Thdt. for such a reading is forthcoming in Josh. xxiii 14. In Josh. xi 19 the addition in *dgnptw* follows the M.T. more closely than the corresponding one in the Hexaplaric cursives; in Josh. xvii 16 *dgnpt* and the Hexaplaric G*bckx* each differ from the M.T. as much as they differ from one another; such agreements between *dgnpt* and the M.T. which are not Hexaplaric are also found in Num.; in i 4 and x 12 the alterations have found their way into the Armenian version also. The Hexaplaric character of *b* in Josh. has been noticed; apart from this *bw* shew very little Hexaplaric influence in the Hexateuch.

Conflate readings are numerous in *dpt* and *dgnpt*, especially in Josh. They are generally formed as in Num. xi 32, Josh. vi 17 and xviii 4, by combining the reading of B with that of the other uncials, but sometimes, as in Deut. xxxiv 9, by combining the LXX with a Hexaplaric reading; such conflations are occasionally supported by Egyptian versions or by Cyril, but in Ex. xxxiii 2 Thdt. has a conflation found also in *dpt*. It is noticeable that *gn* are frequently conspicuous among the authorities for one of the readings combined in *dpt*; e. g. in Josh. vi 11 *gnw*, and in Josh. xix 29 B*gnhqr*, are the only authorities for one of them. In Josh. xiii 1 *gnw* are again the only primary authorities for one of the readings, but the conflation here is found in the Hexaplaric G*bcx* and not in *dpt*.

That *gn* represent an earlier type of text than *dpt* is also suggested by the rarity of conflations in *gn* as compared with *dpt*. The best examples of conflations in *gn* are found in Num. xi 15, xiii 3, and xxxii 38; in the last passage they combine the LXX reading with one from another column of the Hexapla. Conflations are also seldom met with in *bw*; there are, however, examples in Gen. xxix 3, Ex. iii 1, Num. xxv 13 and xxxi 28.

Further evidence of the late and secondary character of the *dgnpt* group is to be found in the arbitrary additions and glosses in such places as Ex. xxvii 11, Deut. xiv 20, Josh. xi 16 and xiii 1 and 6.

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Many of these, at least in Joshua, seem to be derived, independently of Origen's revision, from the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion (e.g. Josh. vii 21 and 26, x 40, xxiii 13). In Num. xxiv 13 a conflation of such a reading with the LXX is found in *dgnptck*.

(iii) *The cursives* ejsvz, qu, *and* fir.

The five cursives *ejsvz* form a group which is clearly recognizable in all books of the Hexateuch, and evidently represent a very distinctive type of text. In Deut. they are almost regularly joined in their peculiar readings by *u*, and frequently by a_2; in Josh. *u* and a_2 leave the group again, but *f* becomes a regular member of it, and in the later chapters *d* for the most part deserts the group *dgnpt* and joins this one.

In most of their peculiarities *ejsvz* are without uncial support, but they shew more connexion with F and M than with the other uncials. Coincidences with B are conspicuously absent from Ex. Lev. and Num., but they are occasionally found in Deut. In Deut. xxvi 12 these cursives have a clear agreement with B only, and in xxxii 45 one with B$\mathfrak{O}$*bwgnua*$_2$. These occasional coincidences with B are rather natural in this book since ua_2 are here so closely related both to the group and to B.

From Gen. i to Ex. xv so wide a difference exists between *ej* and *svz* that these form two distinct groups whose peculiar readings seldom agree; *g* closely combines with the first group in the latter part of Gen. and in Ex., and *n* with the second group in Ex. In the last ten chapters of Ex., however, the two groups on the whole combine, so that the seven MSS *egjnsvz* have numerous characteristic readings in common. In Lev. and Num., where *g* and *n* have no special connexion with these cursives, *ejsvz* nearly always agree together, but in Deut. and Josh. *ej* again have many common readings which are not shared by the other three.

The group has frequent connexions with *bw* in Lev. Num. and Deut., but on the whole seems to have no very decided connexion with the Lucianic rescension. In *egj* we have some noteworthy connexions with *bw* (as in Gen. xxxi 39) and agreements with Thdt. and the Armenian; but more frequently the readings of these cursives are supported by Cyril and the Egyptian versions. There is, however, less cause to regard them as Hesychian. An approach to the text of *dnpt* is clear in *sv* in Gen. (e.g. in xix 35 and xxiv 35) and in the margin of *svz* in Ex. (e.g. xiii 3, xiv 11, xviii 24), but we have already seen that *dnpt* do not seem to be Hesychian in Gen. and Ex., and the similarity to *dpt* is nowhere else conspicuous. In Lev. Deut. and Josh. the margins of *svz* are in much closer agreement with *bw* and *gn* (or *dgnpt*) and Thdt. than

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with *dpt*; see e. g. Lev. xvi 29 and xxiii 15. In Gen. xxxiv 15, however, *egj*, *bw*, and *dnp* form three groups differing from each other and from the other authorities. These cursives have some remarkable connexions with the Old Latin, especially Augustine and Jerome and other authorities, which seem to have a later and revised form of the Old Latin.

Several Hexaplaric readings are found in *egj* in Gen. and Ex.; and in *ej* in Josh. (one misplaced in x 14); the margins of *vz* also have many in Josh. All the five members of the group insert the six Hexaplaric verses in Ex. xxviii, and have a dozen omissions in Lev., but the group as a whole shews only slight Hexaplaric influence even in Joshua. These cursives, however, seem more frequently than any other group to have adopted readings from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion independently of Origen's Hexaplaric emendations; see e. g. Josh. ii 1, x 28, and xiv 9. In Ex. xl 28 *dgnpt* support them in such a reading; N*gn* do so more than once.

In Josh. the connexion of the group with B which was noticed in Deut. becomes more marked, and the combination probably often represents the true LXX. Josh. xi 19 shews a remarkable collection of variants; N*ma*$_2$ Lat. agree with Aquila, and *dgnptw* conflate this with Symmachus, AFGΘ*abcklxyb*$_2$ Arm. Sah. Syro-Hex. follow Theodotion, while B*hioqru* with *efjsvz* have apparently the true LXX. Josh. vi 17, xviii 4, and xix 29 are interesting because *dgnpt* in each place combine the reading of B*efjsvz* with the reading of the other MSS.

But though the group preserves at times a good reading in Deut. and Josh., yet it has also in these books some conflations which seem to indicate a late type of text. In Deut. xi 14 the group conflates the LXX and Aquila (Θ*bwdgnpt* follow Theodotion or Symmachus), in Josh. ii 6 (with FN*bcgn*) the LXX and Theodotion, and in Deut. xix 14 (with M Boh.) a Hexaplaric reading with that of the other MSS. In Josh. i 8 it combines with the LXX a reading of the other translators which is found also in *dgnpt* Lat. (including Cyprian); in Josh. xix 29 it has a conflation found also in *dpt*; it has also some arbitrary insertions, as e. g. the one in Deut. xiv 20 which is found in Θ*gn* and the margins of F and M also.

Thus the group, though containing in places elements which appear to belong to the early LXX, yet resembles the *dgnpt* group in having a considerable late and extraneous element. In some places these two groups agree, but there are clear signs, especially in Joshua, that they represent on the whole different types of text; in such verses e. g. as vi 18 and viii 24 we have three readings, one found in *dgnptw*, another in *efjsvz*, and a third in practically all other MSS.

Another distinctive type of text is found in *qu*; in Gen. Ex. and Num.

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these two cursives have very many clear peculiarities in common, which though occasionally found in *x* in Gen. and Ex. and in *o* in Num., are generally shared by no other MS. In Ex. they are, in spite of their many peculiar readings, among the most constant supporters of B, these three MSS being many times found among a small group which evidently preserves the true reading. In Lev. and Num. B and *qu* have much less connexion, but in Lev. at least this may be due to a change in the character of B, and in either of these books the text of *qu* may prove to be of peculiar value.

In Deut. *qu* seldom shew a common element which is quite peculiar to themselves, but they seem to have much the same type of text as in Ex., being again two of the most regular supporters of B. In Josh. they differ widely from one another; *u* agrees with AFM as much as it does with B; *q*, on the other hand, in spite of its strong Hexaplaric element, remains one of the most constant followers of B. Remarkable connexions between *q* and *o* are again found in this book, as e. g. in xiii 21, xxi 16, and xxiv 10—the last apparently from Aquila.

The text of *qu* combines with that of the other cursive groups much less than most groups do with one another; *qu* and *bw* noticeably agree in some places, such as Gen. xl 3 and Ex. xxxvii 21—the latter a good reading supported by B; such readings of *bwqu* are supported by the *dnpt* group in Gen. xx 8 and xxiv 50, but *qu* seldom or never support readings really characteristic of the *dgnpt* group. Sometimes *qu* are supported by the Egyptian versions, but such readings cannot be classed as Egyptian since they are sometimes, as in Gen. iv 13 and xlix 27, found also in Chrys. and Thdt.

In Gen. these two MSS shew more Hexaplaric influence than *bw*, both in omissions and additions (e. g. xxiv 60 *qux* Arm. Chrys.); there are also some omissions in Lev., but on the whole Hexaplaric influence is rare except in Josh. Conflate readings are seldom found, Ex. xxviii 21 and Num. x 9 being the most conspicuous. In Deut. x 8 *q* combines a reading from Aquila found in *u* and the Bohairic with the common text.

The three cursives *fir* form another important group. In Gen. *f* often deserts the other pair and so does *r* in Ex., but agreements of the three are numerous and remarkable. The group is also clearly recognizable in Lev. and Num. where it at times includes *k* and *o*, but in Deut. the distinctive character of *fir* almost disappears, and they become close followers of AFM. In Josh. they differ considerably, *f* joining the *ejsvz* group, while *r* becomes again, as it was in Ex., one of the most regular supporters of B.

In Gen. several readings of this group are supported by Chrys., e. g.

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xxiv 7 and vi 14 (inferior additions) and xxiv 50 (a reading of 'The Syrian'); Thdt. supports their readings in Gen. xxxvii 25 and xl 15, but the Antiochene relation is not always clear, for Cyr. and Boh. often support them, as in Gen. xxxi 43, xxxvii 22, and xl 15. The agreements of *fbw* Chrys. in Gen. xix 4, xxi 3, and xxvi 20 seem Lucianic, but these are places where *ir* oppose *f*.

Connexions with other cursive groups (except *qu*) are frequent, but a large number of these consist of glosses such as are found sometimes in *fir* only. Yet though in these and other respects the text of this group is inferior, it sometimes supports B in readings which probably are correct but which have little cursive support (e. g. Ex. xxxv 17 and 23); in Gen xlviii 14 *fir* are the only MSS which preserve the reading of Philo and Barnabas.

Except for a dozen omissions in Lev., Hexaplaric readings are not conspicuous; frequently indeed, as in Deut. i 39 and Josh. xxiv 10, they avoid Hexaplaric readings which have affected most of the MSS. The group has a few conflations: in Ex. xxvii 11 and Num. xxxi 28 it combines the readings of B and the other uncials, in Gen. xlix 28 (with L*dnpt*) it combines the readings of the Hexaplar group and the other MSS; in Ex. xxv 2 it has substituted for the LXX reading one from another column of the Hexapla. In Deut. ii 33 *r* is in agreement with Arm. Eth. Lat. only, in Gen. xxix 3 *ir* with the Latin and Egyptian versions only; in the former place *fi*, and in the latter *f*, are among a small number of MSS (including *dpt* each time) which conflate the two readings.

There are other cursive combinations which, though not so constant as those already enumerated, may prove worth further investigation; such are the connexions (non-Hexaplaric) between *kmx* in Ex., between G*cox* in Deut., and between *mn* in Ex.

(iv) *The Uncials.*

In Gen. and Ex. the cursives which follow B most closely are *ahoqrux*, the agreement of *a* with B being especially marked. The combinations B*ah* (Ex. xxxv 18 and xxxvii 13) and B*o* (Ex. ix 33 and xv 4) are very common, but more often the readings of B are supported by four or five of these cursives, generally with no other uncial support. Of the cursive groups *fir* have B's support for several of their peculiar readings (e. g. Ex. vi 20, viii 23, xii 44); *bw* are also often in agreement with B, and then *o* generally agrees, as in Gen. xlix 24 and Ex. iv 12. The other groups, however, find no significant support for their peculiar readings in B.

Throughout the Hexateuch *y* has a remarkably close connexion with

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A, sharing in very many of its mistakes and eccentricities; but apart from the readings confined to these two MSS, the text of A is generally supported by numerous cursives and uncials. In Gen., however, A is in an exceptionally large number of instances supported by one or two cursives, most frequently *m* or *n* (and of course *y*), and sometimes *l* (see xii 6, xiii 4, xli 52). We have a similar connexion of *w* with A*y* in Ex. (e. g. xxxviii 8 and 11), but such combinations of A*y* with single cursives or small groups are rare afterwards. In Gen. and Ex. A has no remarkable connexion with any of the cursive groups: not even, as might have been expected from its agreements with *n* and *w*, with *dnpt* or *bw*. In Gen. *bw* find more support in L, *dnpt* more in each of the MSS F, L, and M.

F rarely supports B against the other uncials, M does so more often (Ex. iii 2, vii 15, x 5, xxxiii 16, &c.), but A has more agreements with B than either; in these cases the readings of BA are generally supported by *y*, but otherwise by the cursives which normally follow B rather than A. AFM, however, go together very much more, and are generally accompanied by lya_2b_2, *egj*, and *dpt*. This is practically the combination followed by St Paul in quoting Ex. ix 16.

Of the other uncials of Gen. E is frequently found agreeing with single cursives, among which *lmn* are conspicuous (see e. g. i 14, xiii 16, iv 5, and xxxi 7, the last from Aquila or Symmachus). As may be expected from the presence of the same cursives in the lists supporting A and E, we sometimes get such combinations as AE*ny* in xiii 8. E gives some support to the readings characteristic of the *fir* and *dnpt* groups, and sometimes seems Egyptian. D gives some support to the *bw*, *fir*, and *dnp* groups (e. g. ix 27 and xli 2), but unlike A and E it seldom agrees with single cursives.

Conflate readings occur in Gen. xi 6 (E*mn*), Gen. xlix 28 (L), Gen. i 11 (A^aEM), Ex. xviii 21 (AF^+), Ex. xxviii 21 (A*ybwqu*), Ex. xxxvii 6 (AM); in Gen. xlvii 3 we have an addition occurring in various forms in all MSS except BDM*bwsv* and the Hexaplaric group $ackmxc_2$; in Gen. l 5 A$bkyb_2$ with *fir* Eth., have an addition corresponding to the Hexaplaric, but probably derived from an independent source.

In Lev. there is a close connexion between the texts of B and A which is not found elsewhere in the Hexateuch. It is not, however, easy to decide whether this connexion is due to a change in the text of A, or of B, or both. The divergence of their text from such cursives as *orqu*, with which B generally has close relations, suggests that the change may be in B; on the other hand, while G and N frequently agree with BA, F and M seldom do so, and elsewhere it is the former that support B, the latter rather A. The cursives which most closely follow BA in Lev.

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are *hwya*$_2$; a_2 is in the following books so closely connected with B, and *y* everywhere so closely with A, that even if their evidence were not on different sides, they could hardly be regarded as witnesses independent of the uncials which they so closely follow; of the other two *w* had decided connexions with A in Ex., and though *h* was in Ex. conspicuous as a follower of B, yet in Num. it is generally in agreement with A, so that it is not possible without detailed examination to draw any conclusion from the list of accompanying cursives. The cursives which support BA, though to a less extent than *hwya*$_2$, are *abcxb*$_2$, and though *x* in both Ex. and Num. is a close follower of B, its decidedly weaker connexion with B in Lev. may rather suggest a change in the text of B than otherwise. Often (e.g. in xxv 28) the original reading of B agrees with A, but has been subsequently altered.

The text of BA seems generally good, probably much better than that of A is in other parts of the Hexateuch. Sometimes BA with a few other MSS oppose the M.T. and most cursives and versions, and probably (as in ii 4, iii 5, and v 10) represent the true LXX text. So in xxvi 39 BAN*bwya*$_2$ have an omission, doubtless rightly, for G*cghnx* Arm. have the insertion in one place, but the other MSS with Lat., Boh., and Eth., in another. Here, as in most books, F and M have some conflate readings. In Lev. xix 36 F*dgnptbhklm* Arm. combine the readings of BAN*acwxya*$_2$ and M*ejsvzfiorub*$_2$. The marginal readings of M, which are very numerous, often appear also in the margins of *svz*.

In Num. a_2 continues to be a very close follower of B; these two MSS in fact, as in ch. xi *vv.* 21, 32, and 34, frequently differ from all others. The cursives which most closely follow Ba_2 are *corx*; *f*, *i*, and *u* also have much in common with them, and the uncials N and G often agree with them. The groups *gn*, *dpt*, *bw*, *qu* frequently agree with this B group, either separately or in combination, but *ejsvz* have hardly a single striking resemblance to it.

Although B is often elsewhere followed by Egyptian Fathers and versions, yet it is in Num. that we find the clearest signs that B may be Egyptian, combinations of B and a few cursives with the Egyptian versions or Cyril and Didymus (as e.g. in xviii 5 and xviii 27) being particularly noticeable in this book. Quite frequently (as in ch. xv, *vv.* 1, 4, and 6) *dpt* or *dgnpt* join such a combination, a further indication of the Egyptian nature of such a reading.

The connexion between N and *dpt* is very close, and the combination N*dpt* may quite well represent the Hesychian text. Thus in xiv 7 we have an addition in two different forms: G*ckx* is certainly the Hexaplaric form, and N*dpt* may be the Hesychian, though the margins of *svz*, which here agree with N*dpt*, seem Lucianic rather than Hesychian on the whole; in iii 42 we have four variations, N*dpt* are probably Hesy-

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chian, *bw* Lucianic, AFGM etc. seem Hexaplaric, and B*gna*$_2$ would preserve the true LXX.

A and M are closely akin and are very much supported by *ahy* and *ejsvz* sometimes by N or H; see e. g. xx 28 and xxviii 31.

In Deut. B is almost always followed by *u* and *a*$_2$; it has also clear relations with *q*, *i* (as in xxviii 47), *k* (as in xxx 10), *x* (as in xxiv 19), and the margins of *svz*; in xxviii 24 and 63 it is followed by Boh. only. B*ua*$_2$ and *bw* many times agree, and this combination often seems tc give us the original LXX; for where *bw* seem clearly Lucianic, as in xxviii 47, B does not generally agree with them. B supports the readings of other cursive groups more rarely; we have B*bwdpt* in xv 10 and B*dpt* in xxxi 20, but the opposition of *ua*$_2$ suggests that in each case B may not represent the normal B*ua*$_2$ text. In xviii 5 it is possible that B is the only correct MS, for the combination of the readings of B and the M. T. found in NMΘ*dgnptfir* shews that the reading of B is not an individual error.

The close connexion of Θ with *gn* is well known, but the value of this combination has perhaps been overrated. In xxviii 1 they are probably correct, for B*bwx* follow the M. T. and the other MSS are conflate, but there is no other example as clear as this, and in several places (e.g. xiv 20) Θ*gn* share in distinctly inferior readings.

B*ua*$_2$ and Θ*gn*, however, often combine, and are then frequently supported by *bw* and versions. This group evidently preserve the true LXX in many places (e.g. xiii 4, xxxi 5, xxxii 45), though in xv 7 BΘ*gna*$_2$ Boh. Lat. adopt a reading from Theodotion. N often joins B, so that BNΘ*gnua*$_2$, both with and without *bw*, is a frequent combination. B and N also often agree without Θ, and occasionally N agrees with *bw* or Θ*gn* against all other authorities. G*cx* often support such groups as BΘ*gn* or Θ*bwdgnpt* (xi 32, xvi 15, xxviii 15, xxviii 56, xxix 3); most of these seem good readings and have no appearance of being Hexaplaric.

A and *y* have, as usual, many common peculiarities, but generally AFM*fioryb*$_2$ go together, often supported by *ahklmq* and *ejsvz*; in opposition to these we generally find BGNΘ and the cursives *dgnptbwcxua*$_2$; an interesting conflation in xiii 17 well illustrates this grouping of the MSS, AFMN*afhiklmoqryb*$_2$ there combining the readings of *ejsz* (*v* is missing) with that of the other authorities. B and A seldom agree remarkably unless supported by other uncials; nor do striking agreements of AΘ or MΘ seem at all numerous.

F is seldom alone among the uncials, but when it is *klmb*$_2$ shew a distinct tendency to go with it (see e.g. ii 8). B and F seldom agree without other uncial support. F and M are more often together, and

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then they are often joined by *fi* and *ejsvz*, as in the addition found in vi 22.

In Josh. B is most often followed by *hoqr*; it often has the support of *i* and *m* (xi 21 and ix 5). Of the cursive groups *ejsvz* agrees with it more in this book than elsewhere; it has also much in common with *gn*, but seldom or never supports *dpt* without *gn* or other uncials. F is closer to B than in Deut., but N and Θ less close; A joins B against other uncials only occasionally. Θ is with A more than in Deut., and is certainly very much less closely connected with *gn*, though AΘ*gn* is not a rare combination. F and FN here agree with *gn* rather considerably, and N shews a tendency to go with *q*. As in Deut. G again has connexions with *cx* which are not apparently Hexaplaric, and which sometimes agree with *gn*.

The uncials AMNΘ, AMN, and ANΘ frequently combine and are generally followed by *luxyb*$_2$, often by *abhika*$_2$, and several times are in agreement with *dpt* and *ejsvz*; in ch. xx *vv.* 4 to 6, which are missing in most of the uncials, have been supplied by A*ejvzdgnpt* and *abchqwxy*.

The repeated confusion between the LXX and the other Greek versions in Josh. has already been noticed in dealing with the cursives *ejsvz*. It is evident that the text of the LXX invited emendation in this book much more than in the Pentateuch. Two examples of such alterations which have affected quite different sets of MSS are given here; in ix 10 AMNΘ*aglmoxyb*$_2$ have a reading agreeing with the M. T. and derived from Aquila or Symmachus; in xxiv 15, on the other hand, a very similar group AMNΘ*abchikluxya*$_2$*b*$_2$ seem to have preserved the text of the LXX, while B and the other cursives have adopted the reading of Aquila or Theodotion.

(v) *Summary.*

It remains to sum up the general impression left by the study of the various MSS. First, with regard to *dpt* and *ejsvz*, the numerous conflations and glosses in these cursives, their frequent adoption of renderings from other columns of the Hexapla, and their lack of support from the older uncials and Fathers, all go to shew that whatever their interest in other directions they are of all the MSS least likely to give us the LXX in its earlier forms. It is not easy to argue a connexion of *ejsvz* with any particular locality, but *dpt* may be regarded as Hesychian; we notice that whereas in *gn* Hexaplaric readings are often abbreviated or misplaced, shewing that they have at some time found their way into the text from the margin, in *dpt*, on the other hand, there are insertions corresponding to Hexaplaric additions, but differently worded, which

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would seem to be Hesychian adaptations to the M. T. The Egyptian connexion is not nearly so marked in *gn*, and these evidently represent a purer and earlier text than *dpt*; but they were probably overrated by Prof. Sanders, for where not supported by B or *bw* they can seldom claim to represent the true LXX. The numerous peculiarities of *bw* obviously represent a late type of text which in Gen. can be safely regarded as Lucianic, though in some parts (as e. g. in Num.) it seems too much confined to these two MSS to represent a text which appears to have had an extensive circulation. These two cursives, however, have a large element of a better quality, and often preserve a text of great value, but as a rule only when in agreement with B or Θ*gn*.

The text of B is certainly of the very highest value, especially in Ex., Deut., and Josh. It is much followed by Egyptian versions and Fathers, but perhaps this is not to be placed altogether to its discredit. The book in which Egyptian influence seems unduly great (Num.) is just one of the two in which the text of B seems rather abnormal. In Deut. and Ex. we have clear indications of another type of text represented by the other uncials which, though apparently inferior to B's, must also be very ancient, since its influence can be seen in St Paul and Tertullian.

The text of Gen., and to some extent of Ex., is in several respects unusual. The different connexions of *gn* and the apparently non-Hesychian character of *dpt* shew that the cursive MSS require separate investigation in these two books. The unusual relation between A and B in Lev. as well as the divergence, both in Lev. and Num., between B and the cursives which normally follow it, shew that B must not be assumed homogeneous in character throughout. The cursives *qu* and *fir*, and possibly *x*, may prove of unusual importance in this connexion; *qu* especially are not only closely related to B but have little connexion with the late and inferior groups of cursives, the group with which they shew most connexion (*bw*) being that which on the whole preserves a better text than the other groups. It would probably be worth while investigating which of the MSS of Lev. and Num. best preserves that text of which B*oqru* are the typical representatives in the other four books of the Hexateuch.

A. V. Billen.

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REVIEWS

The Four Gospels, a Study of Origins, by B. H. STREETER. (Macmillan, 1924.)

IN Canon Streeter's most important new book the long labours of Dr Sanday at Oxford have really borne fruit, better perhaps than they ever could have done while that venerable figure was still overshadowing the field. There is a certain bold individuality about Canon Streeter's treatment of the Gospels, all Four, and an assured handling over a wide range, from the minutiae of textual criticism to speculations on their literary origin and historical purpose, that is a great advance on the *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, published in 1911. It is impossible to begin to write about this work called *The Four Gospels* without praise, praise for the justice of its proportions, for the sanity of its conclusions, for the learning it shews on every page, and the ingenuity and persuasiveness of its argumentation. I venture to think *The Four Gospels* the most important book that has been written upon its august subject for half a generation.

I.

The first chapter points out how curious it really is that the official account of our Lord should consist not of one approved document but of four more or less parallel narratives, and shews how probable it is that these ultimately represent the traditions of four different early centres of Christianity. John and Mark are so connected by tradition with Ephesus and Rome respectively, and Canon Streeter shews that a strong case can at once be made out for connecting Matthew with Antioch.

The next five chapters are taken up with textual criticism. It is one of the outstanding characteristics of Canon Streeter's position that he considers certain details in the Synoptic Problem cannot be satisfactorily disposed of without recourse to that somewhat technical subject. I shall return to this part of the book later, only here noting the chief positions occupied. B and ℵ, of course, are taken as the leading representatives of the Alexandrian type,[1] D and the Old-Latin pre-Vulgate MSS as the representatives of the Western texts. Of these latter Streeter shews some reason to connect the 'European' group with

[1] 'B is a thoroughbred; ℵ is a cross, but a cross between two thoroughbreds of different stocks' (p. 61), i. e. B is truer to type, while ℵ has a 'Western' element.

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a strain derived from Ephesus, while the 'African' is a descendant of the old Roman text.[1] The old text of Antioch is to be looked for in the Old-Syriac MSS syr. *S* and *C*. Further, Θ, the uncial MS of Koridethi in Georgia, which originally came from Pontus, is regarded by Streeter as a degenerate descendant of the old text of Caesarea in Palestine (chap. iv, pp. 77–108). The large Byzantine element in this MS would by itself make its usefulness to be comparatively small, but it has affinities with a large number of interesting MSS of later date, such as 565, codex 1, and the 'Ferrar-group'. By picking out in the MSS of this group the reading which differs from the current Byzantine text of later times (i. e. the reading which differs from the often-printed *Textus Receptus*) we can, according to Streeter, reconstruct the old Caesarean text with some confidence, and we find it identical with that used by Origen when writing his Homilies on Matthew, written at Caesarea. This is a very notable conclusion, which needs obviously very severe testing.

Chap. v treats of the chief recensions of antiquity, e. g. Hesychius and Lucian, chap. vi of the phenomena of interpolation and assimilation. There are good remarks on p. 146 on the difference between our canons of internal probability and those which would have commended themselves to Lucian, but the questions raised can only be discussed in detail.

With chap. vii we come to the Second Part, the discussion of the Synoptic Problem and the origins of the several Gospels. It starts off with an admirable account of what Streeter calls 'the Fundamental Solution', viz. the general reasons for believing in the priority of Mark (pp. 157–181): the arguments of course are now familiar, but it is a great advantage to have them so well set out in a comprehensive work to which reference can be made. This is followed by an account of the reasons which have led modern scholars to postulate the existence of the document called 'Q'. Streeter is well aware of the difficulties involved in the reconstruction of 'Q', and does not himself attempt it till a later stage has been reached.

Chap. viii is called 'Proto-Luke'. The main ideas and some of the actual paragraphs are those of the author's notable article in the *Hibbert Journal* for October 1921, but the present form is certainly better than the first sketch. 'Proto-Luke' is a sort of first draft of our Third Gospel, dependent on Q but largely supplementing it by other material: it may be represented symbolically by Q + L, where L is the specifically Lucan element. Our Third Gospel, on the other hand, is a second

[1] The most striking piece of evidence is that 'Judas Zelotes', the North Italian but *not* African name for Thaddaeus-Lebbaeus, is found in the presumably Ephesian *Epistula Apostolorum* (p. 70).

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and enlarged edition of 'Proto-Luke', made by combining it with selections from Mark. Both editions, both our 'Luke' and 'Proto-Luke', appear to Streeter to be the work of the same author—probably Luke the companion of S. Paul, the man who wrote the travel-diary of Acts. The special point of the theory is that while the use of Mark in Luke is fully recognized, Mark is not regarded as Luke's main source. 'Luke's preference is for the non-Marcan source as a whole' (p. 210),[1] both in Q-passages and in L-passages. 'Such a preference, especially where it is a preference in regard to the order of events, is much more explicable if Q and L were already combined into a single document' (p. 211).[2]

Chap. ix offers us a new solution of the Synoptic Problem. It may seem rather an added complication to substitute a 'Four Document Hypothesis' to explain Matthew, Mark, and Luke, but the claim which Canon Streeter makes for his theory is that it reflects better than other theories the historical situation in the primitive Church. I feel inclined on the whole to agree with him. It is, in fact, an attempt to assign the independent elements in the Gospels more scientifically to the several early centres of Christianity. Mark remains, as tradition reports, the Roman version. Q, according to Streeter, is the earliest collection of the Lord's Sayings: it may be assigned to Antioch, being possibly derived from some Palestinian, perhaps Galilean, collection. L, the special element of Luke, is likely to represent the tradition of Caesarea, where S. Luke spent two years. M, the special element of Matthew, is often marked by Jewish-Christian, legalistic, tendencies: this element is derived from Jerusalem. At the same time the special element in Matthew is not purely Jerusalemite, it does not teach the supremacy of James but of Peter,[3] and this suggests rather the intermediate, moderate, tendencies of Antioch, the tendency of what is now often called the Great Church.

Dr Streeter's tentative reconstruction of Q (p. 291) corresponds to Lk iii 2–9, 16–17, 21–22; iv 1–16*a*; vi 20–vii 10; vii 18–35; ix 57–60; x 2–16, 21–24; xi 9–52; xii 1*a*–12, 22–59; xiii 18–35; xiv 11, 26–27, 34–35; xvi 13, 16–18; xvii 1–6, 20–37; xix 11–27. Probably we should add to these Lk. iii 10–14; ix 51–56, 61–62; x 17–20.

[1] This is very much what I have said in *Earliest Sources* (p. 97), as Canon Streeter points out on p. 158. It is a great satisfaction to find one's own theories endorsed by subsequent independent investigation! See also *Vestigia Christi* in Foakes Jackson and Lake's *Beginnings of Christianity* vol. ii p. 486.

[2] On p. 214, last line, is a misprint: 'clearly non-Marcan' should come before 'Call of Peter'.

[3] Streeter points out that 'Thou art Peter' was interpreted by Foakes Jackson and Lake (i 328 ff) to mean an Antiochene protest not against the authority of S. Paul, but against the claims of the followers of S. James.

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He says further: 'As thus reconstructed, Q is a document the purpose and character of which are perfectly intelligible. It is comparable to an Old Testament prophetic book like Jeremiah, consisting principally of discourse, but with an occasional narrative to explain some piece of teaching. The Baptism and Temptation are described because the author regarded these as virtually the 'call' to the Messianic office. . . . The relatively large amount of space given to John the Baptist, and the emphasis on his relations with our Lord, suggest that Q was composed at a time and place where the prestige of John was very considerable. There is here a contrast between Mark and Q. . . . It is the difference between the point of view of Rome *c.* A. D. 65 and Syria (where John's name and following were great) fifteen or twenty years earlier.' And Dr Streeter continues: 'The absence in the Passion story of any substantial agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark compels us, in the view of most scholars, to conclude that Q contained no account of the Passion. We must ask, Why?' He thinks the answer must be sought in two directions. '(1) The Passion and its redemptive significance could readily be taught in oral tradition. But ethical teaching implies detailed instruction which sooner or later necessitates a written document. Such a document is found in the Didache, which obviously presupposes a general knowledge of the central facts of the Christian story. Similarly Q was probably written to *supplement* an oral tradition. (2) Of less weight is the consideration that, while to Paul the centre of the Gospel was the Cross of Christ, to the other Apostles it was his Second Coming.' This comparison with the Didache, a work in which also there is no reference to the Cross, is certainly to the point.

The tentative reconstruction of Q is followed by a careful examination of the minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark. It is pointed out that these are comparatively small in bulk and weight, and that most of them admit of easy explanation. Of the remainder, Streeter attempts to shew that the majority can be disposed of by considerations derived from textual criticism: to this part of the argument we shall return later. Chap. xii discusses the lost end of Mark. Streeter recognizes that Mark as known both to Matthew and to Luke ended at xvi 8: Matt. xxviii 9–20 is therefore no guide to the reconstruction of Mark. On the other hand it is suggested that John xxi may be based on the lost conclusion.

We now come to Part III, in which the Gospel of John is considered. 'What [this Evangelist] gives us is not the saying as it came to him, but the saying along with an attempt to bring out all the fullness of meaning which years of meditation had found in it' (p. 372). 'Many of the incidents—the visit of Nicodemus, for example—are merely a peg

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on which to hang discourse. . . . The critic's pretence that he can unravel the process is grotesque. As well hope to start with a string of sausages and reconstruct the pig' (p. 377). There is also a subsection headed 'Creative Memory'. These quotations indicate the line taken. On the other hand Dr Streeter remarks: 'It would seem to follow that John could not, consistently with his purpose, have recorded as history any incident which he did not himself believe to have actually occurred' (p. 388), and 'John may have been mistaken about his facts, but to him it is as important to emphasize the historical as to see in the historical a symbol of the Eternal' (p. 389).[1]

Dr Streeter holds that John certainly knew the Gospel of Mark and almost certainly our Luke, but not Matthew. Further, 'John is the first and the only one of the Evangelists who attempts a chronology. It may be that his chronology is not a very good one—but it is the only one we have' (p. 424). He then goes on in chapters xv and xvi to discuss the problem of authorship. His solution is that the Beloved Disciple is the Apostle John idealized, while the Evangelist is the Elder John of Ephesus who had been a disciple of the Apostle. 'John the Elder was a Jew: probably the last Jew to be the dominating spirit in a great Gentile Church. His age, his personal gifts, the fact that he had seen the Lord, and the importance in Asia of the Church of Ephesus, would give him personally, especially towards the end of his life, an authority all but apostolic. His Gospel is the climax of the developement of theology in the New Testament. It gave the Church an expression of its belief intellectually acceptable to the Greek mind, yet true to the Jewish thought of God as personal and as one' (p. 467). Having said this, Streeter goes on for thirteen interesting pages to reconstruct imaginatively the mental currents around the Elder and depicts the Gospel as 'an old man's Farewell', an old man who foresaw both the dangers of anti-materialistic Gnostic speculation and also the terrible reaction when the eagerly expected Second Coming failed to come about. 'To most of that generation the Return of the Lord in glory to inaugurate the new world-order *was* "the Gospel"—it constituted the great good news for a despairing world' (p. 478). The whole section should be read: I venture to think it not far off the general historic truth.

Chap. xvii, on the origin of the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, while

[1] Says the Rev. Richard Cobbold: 'The public may depend on the truth of the main feature of this narrative: indeed most of the facts recorded were matters of public notoriety at the time of their occurrence. The author who here details them is a son of the lady with whom this extraordinary female lived, and from whom he received the letters and the facts here given' (quoted in *Beginnings of Christianity* ii 465). Yet how distorted from objective fact is 'The Story of Margaret Catchpole'!

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presenting little that is absolutely new contains some good remarks. Mark is dated about A. D. 65, in accordance with the Irenaean tradition. 'To the historian the real problem is how to explain the lateness of the date to which Church tradition assigns its official Lives of the Founder; and not only that, but also to account for the naïve and primitive character of the representation of Christ embodied in Mark, assuming it to have been written after many years of the developement of cultus and theological speculation of the kind presupposed in the Epistles of Paul. Ecclesiastically, even if it be assigned to A. D. 65, the Gospel of Mark was already ten years out of date, so to speak, at the time that it was written' (p. 495). And he goes on to say 'Its naïveté and primitive characteristics can only be explained by the dependence of its author on early and unsophisticated tradition'. Streeter regards 'Mark' as a direct result of the Neronian persecution. 'For the first time since the Day of Pentecost a Christian community, instead of concentrating its gaze wholly upon the future, finds it necessary to look backward. The Church of Rome becomes interested in history; it demands at least a record of the Founder's life' (p. 497).

The Gospel of Matthew is regarded by Streeter not only as that of Antioch, but further as a definite milestone in the amalgamation of the Gentile Christianity that was, so to speak, represented by Mark with the Jewish-Christian element represented not so much by Q as by the legalistic Sayings preserved in our Matthew. It was compiled after the Fall of Jerusalem, possibly at a time when the Abomination of Desolation was being interpreted to mean not a pollution of the Holy Place—that had happened already and the End had not come—but as Nero-redivivus, i.e. about A. D. 80 (p. 523). In any case the evidence for connecting Matthew with Antioch is very well put. Dr Streeter thinks this Gospel may have been accepted at Rome from about A.D. 119.

In the final chapter he discusses Luke and Acts. His theory is that 'the Lucan writings were primarily written to present the case for Christianity to certain members of the Roman aristocracy' (p. 535), i. e. in the first place to Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla. Our Third Gospel is 'a Life of Christ which would not only jar less on the literary taste of educated circles, but would also make it clearer than does Mark that Christ was, and knew Himself to be, no mere Jewish Messiah, but a World-saviour, the founder of a world-religion' (p. 537). The date is 80–85 (p. 540). The Acts is 'the first of the Apologies' (p. 539); it tells how the Gospel came to Rome in the person of S. Paul, a city where he found he was able to proclaim his message with absolute freedom and without restraint (*μετὰ πάσης παῤῥησίας ἀκωλύτως*). 'Thus read, the end of Acts is a real climax' (p. 539).

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II.

Dr Streeter's interesting theory of the importance of the Caesarean text is not very easy to discuss. I confess to a sort of prejudice against it, a feeling that the actual facts of the textual tradition are not so easily described in terms of history and geography. In particular I find it rather difficult to split up the non-Byzantine, non-Alexandrian, non-Western texts into two branches. These Eastern texts, as they may fairly be called, Streeter divides into two main branches, which he calls the text of Antioch and the text of Caesarea. To the text of Antioch he assigns the Old Syriac (and very little else), and to the text of Caesarea he assigns the 'interesting' part of all the 'interesting' non-Western, non-Alexandrian MSS. The chief representatives are

Θ 565, 1 &c. (with 22), 28, 700, and the Ferrar-group.[1]

My chief objection to speaking of 'the Caesarean text' is that this term gives apparent definiteness and consistence to a set of 'various readings' that remain to me obstinately disparate and amorphous. At the risk of being tedious I will try and explain my point of view, though to do so I must recapitulate a number of well-known facts.

Every one understands that the Latin Vulgate and the Syriac Peshitta texts of the Gospels are editions or recensions. The true text of these recensions can be reconstructed without much difficulty, the residual margin of doubt being very small. In some Latin MSS a good many relics of pre-Vulgate texts survive, though the MSS are quite rightly classed as Vulgate. Sometimes well-known old readings have been brought in by the preferences or inaccuracy of scribes (e.g. *cotidianum* for *supersubstantialem* in the Lord's Prayer), but more often the survival seems to be due to the inattention of correctors. A corrector assimilating a pre-Vulgate MS to the Vulgate has passed over a column or a page, and so a whole slab of text has remained uncorrected, full of pre-Vulgate readings that are henceforth faithfully transmitted in copies made from the corrected MS, and are so preserved centuries after that type of text has been out of general use.

It was the outstanding merit of Hort's *Introduction* that it shewed more conclusively than had ever been done before that the text most widely current in the Byzantine Empire was a recension, such as the

[1] I shall quote the Ferrar-group as 69–124 &c., the absence of either number signifying the dissent of that MS. The Ferrar-group consists of 13–69–124–346–543–828 &c., very often quoted as *fam.* 13 (or 13 &c.). This method of quotation is unsatisfactory, for 13 is not the best member of the group in the way that 1 is the best of its group. It is the merit of Mr E. A. Hutton (see *J. T. S.* xii 621) to have brought out the fact that all that is really valuable in this group is in 69 *or* in 124. The latter MS was *not* written in Calabria.

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Latin Vulgate. Hort's Antiochian (or Syrian) text is the same thing as von Soden's *K*: if you took all extant Greek MSS of the Gospels and constructed a text out of them by taking the reading of the majority you would arrive at *K* or something almost identical with it. There is further plenty of Patristic evidence for this type of text from A.D. 400 onwards, but very little before that, and whether we connect its origin with the Martyr Lucian or some other worthy of the 4th century there is practically no doubt that it is not a product of earlier times. This conclusion is now the common belief of almost all textual critics, both here and on the Continent: stray survivors of an older view, such as Mr H. C. Hoskier, are rarely to be met with. Indeed the general position seems quite obvious: it was only the accident—a natural accident in the circumstances, but still an accident—that the earlier printed editions, the so-called *Textus Receptus*, were of this type, which made theologians so slow to give it up as the basis for reconstructing the originals.

S. Jerome, who made the Latin Vulgate, speaks in a well-known passage about the *exemplaria* of Lucian and Hesychius. It is very doubtful whether he is not speaking of the texts of the Old Testament, but possibly 'Lucian', approved in the lands from Constantinople to Antioch about 400, *may* mean what we call *K* or the Antiochian text, and 'Hesychius', approved in Alexandria and Egypt, *may* mean what we call *H* or Hort's 'neutral' text. But what remains outside *H* and *K*, what von Soden groups under *I*, in the will-o'-the-wisp idea that it once had something to do with Jerusalem, is far too disparate and amorphous—let me use the same words—to be called a recension at all, or to be properly grouped under any single sign. Dr Streeter has tried to reduce von Soden's *I* into a manageable entity by cutting off from it the Old Syriac texts on one hand and D and the Old Latins (together with W, the 'Freer' MS now at Washington) on the other. But the Latin Vulgate is properly called a *recension* because there was once a MS which contained the Gospel text of the Latin Vulgate as Jerome wrote it, and this MS can practically be reconstructed: I am not certain that one MS ever contained the peculiarities of Θ 565 and their friends. If I may be allowed an offensive comparison, I fancy that the unity underlying Θ &c. is the unity of Undenominationalism, the unity of Baptists, Congregationalists, &c., united in opposition to Catholicism. In a further way the comparison is good, for I venture to think the merit of the Protestant Sects is to be found in their individual witness to sides of truth (sometimes unduly minimized by Catholics), rather than in their lowest common denominator. But what sort of a religion would a man have who combined the peculiarities of the Baptist, Congregationalist, &c., a man who was, so to speak, all Dissent? I fear that Dr Streeter's

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'Caesarean text', to be constructed by picking out the peculiarities of Θ 565, 1 &c., 69–124 &c., 28, 700, and a few poor relations of these, would represent 'the dissidence of dissent' rather than any witness to the truth.

The case is somewhat different for sub-groups within this crowd. Codex 1 and its allies, the Ferrar-group (especially if considered apart from cod. 124), and also Θ 565, do seem to represent lost early codices which can be reconstructed. But the various readings of the crowd as a whole appear to me to have too many points of contact with the Old Syriac, with the geographically Western texts, and even with the Alexandrian text, to be classed as a single witness. In this it is comparable to the Western texts. These have been fiercely discussed for the last forty years, but little reconstructed: I do not think that either Blass's work in this direction or Hans v. Soden's is permanently valuable. What is valuable in the Western evidence is a set of various readings, some of which may be not later corruptions but a true inheritance from the original autographs.[1]

Let us try a fresh approach to the subject, taking into account those elements which Dr Streeter and I more or less hold in common. It is evident, first of all, that the Byzantine Text may be left out of consideration altogether, except as a *vera causa* for explaining the occurrence of commonplace readings in Θ and its friends: let us call this group Eastern Texts. Thus we have left the Alexandrian type, ℵ B with L &c. and the Egyptian versions; the Western types, D, W, the African Latin and the European Latin; and the Eastern types, Θ 565, 1 &c., the Ferrar-group, &c., and the Old Syriac. It is further evident that Origen sometimes supports the Eastern types, e.g. Orig. *in Ioan.* xxviii (Brooke ii 128) quotes Mk. xiv 60–63 in agreement with the Easterns, while Orig. *in Ioan.* x (Brooke i 208) quotes Mk. xi 1–12 in agreement with the Alexandrian text. Both passages occur in that part of the Commentary which was written after Origen had transferred himself from Alexandria to Caesarea, but it is the fact that on the whole Origen does tend more and more to use the Eastern as distinct from the Alexandrian type. From a renewed study of Origen's textual remarks in their context I am convinced that he never became so much conscious of what we call 'various readings' in the text of the Gospels as Jerome

[1] It is surely right to talk about the 'autographs' or 'authentic copies' of each of our Four Gospels. That is to say, they are four literary works, the individual compositions of individual writers, not a type of local tradition, which by its very nature admits of variation from the beginning. Certain additions may have been added which are themselves valuable or historical, but from the literary point of view are interpolations, e.g. the Story of the Woman taken in Adultery is an interpolation in the text of the Fourth Gospel.

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or even Augustine: the extent of his conscious knowledge seems to me to have been that when he came across '*Jesus Barabbas*' in the MS from which he was expounding in Caesarea he was certain that he had seen other MSS—possibly in old days in Alexandria—in which the name was written '*Barabbas*' only. It was a sufficient advance in Gospel study that he was conscious of verbal, though not necessarily unimportant, differences between the parallel accounts in the various Gospels.

But it is some way from these things to Streeter's Caesarean text distinct from the Old-Antiochian text. And there is one further consideration to be borne in mind, which I venture to think much more curious than is generally supposed. Persons who concentrate their attention on 'the Western text' (in its various forms), or on these Eastern texts, very naturally do so because of certain ultimate improvements of the text of the Gospels which may be hoped from them. Dr Streeter brings forward several, as I myself have done from time to time. The curious thing is how few and comparatively insignificant these are. Again and again it is the Alexandrian text which is right against all the others or against a majority of the others. It is true that in most of these demonstrably right readings it generally has the support of some of the other texts, but how are we to explain this historically? I mean, cases where the 'true' text is attested by ℵB syr. *S*, or ℵB *k*. Certainly the principle that the influence of the established Byzantine text is the cause of corruption in these Eastern texts will not explain everything by any means.

As an instance consider the Hosanna passage (Mk. xi 9[b], 10): here the true text chiefly rests on the authority of ℵB among our trusted critical authorities. Or again, Dr Streeter several times points out that the apparent false concord in Mk. xiii 14, *τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆσ ἐρημώσεωσ ἑστηκότα*, 'is not, as would appear at first sight, an atrocious grammatical blunder, but is intentional. . . . the author interprets the neuter word *βδέλυγμα* . . . as a title of a personal Anti-Christ' (p. 492). I agree: and therefore the authorities which read *ἑστηκότα* and not *ἑστόσ* in Mk. xiii 14 are deserving of particular credit. They are ℵBL and syr. *S*,[1] all other Greek and Syriac texts going astray in various ways, the Latins being practically neutral.

But indeed the main point I am here labouring is obvious and admitted. It is really astonishing how often v. Soden's text agrees with Hort's, seeing how different are the theories on which these two texts profess to be based. The deduction must be that the ℵB text is singularly pure, whether we regard this as the old local text of Alexandria, or as

[1] Syr. *S* has ܕܩܝܡ . . . ܐܬܐ, i.e. fem. followed by a masc.

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that of an old MS unearthed by Origen and afterwards preserved in the Library of Pamphilus to be used as an exemplar by fourth-century revisers. The Eastern and Western texts, on the other hand, have a varied character. They do preserve some good readings, but they have also undergone progressive alterations, some of which have tinged the whole branch, some only portions of the branch. In the case of these texts we are dealing with two dimensions, in the case of the ℵ B texts practically only with one. There is a geographical dimension: West, or East, or Egypt. But in the first two cases there is also local progressive corruption, *earlier* and *later* forms of the text, while in Egypt there seems to have been but little change. We have to ask not only 'is this reading Caesarean, or Antiochian, or Old Syriac?' But also we must ask 'is it early Old Syriac, i. e. like syr. *S*, or later Old Syriac, i. e. like syr. *C*?' If Latin, is it African or European? If 'Caesarean', does it mean a second-century form or a late third-century form?

There is no doubt that in the vast welter of variants represented by D W lat. afr. lat. eur. on the one hand, and by Θ 565, 1 &c., 28, 69–124 &c., 700, with syr. *S* and *C* on the other, are to be found a number of true readings and that in some cases these readings occur in places where ℵ and B (and consequently Dr Hort) have gone wrong. But I do not think we can do much more than consider the readings one by one on their merits. We do not say, as we might say to a specious Byzantine reading which had no other authority, *non licet esse uos*, 'you may not enter for this competition'. Any reading, for instance, found in 1 has an off-chance to be a genuine survival, just as any reading in *k* or in syr. *S* (i. e. if they clearly rest on a Greek variant and are not merely the result of translation) has an off-chance to be a survival. But it is an off-chance, and no geographical word such as Caesarean adds to the authority with which it speaks.

III.

Two outstanding readings in S. Luke—the Voice at the Baptism (iii 22) and the Lord's Prayer (xi 2–4)—demand special notice. I cannot agree with Dr Streeter's deductions in either case.

Let us take the latter set of readings first. The Lord's Prayer is verbally quite different in Matthew and Luke, but the Byzantine and many pre-Byzantine texts have almost assimilated the two. According both to Hort and v. Soden the true text of Luke runs: 'Father, Thy name be hallowed, Thy kingdom come: our bread for the coming day be giving us day by day, and forgive us our sins for we also forgive every one indebted to us, and bring us not into temptation'. But on p. 277 Streeter accepts in place of ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου the reading

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alleged to be Luke's by Gregory of Nyssa, viz. ἐλθέτω τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ καθαρισάτω ἡμᾶς. The same reading is found in the minuscules 700 and 162 and in Maximus of Turin. It is also alleged to be that of Marcion and even of Tertullian. A trace of this reading has been detected in D which has ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, but *before* ἐλθ. ἡ βασ. σου, i.e. D adds 'upon us' to the clause 'Thy name be hallowed'. Dr Streeter says 'In view of the immense pressure to assimilate the two versions of this specially familiar prayer . . . the probability is high that the reading of 700 and 162, which makes the Gospels differ most, is what Luke wrote' (p. 277).

To begin with, this is not quite accurate. 700, the leading MS that attests the Holy Spirit in the Lord's Prayer, actually has the clause 'Thy will be done, as in heaven so on earth', which is acknowledged to be Matthaean and not Lucan. But my chief objection to the genuineness of the clause about the Holy Spirit is its extreme correctness and orthodoxy. 'Thy kingdom come' represents an idea which is certainly Jewish, probably eschatological: a prayer for the cleansing descent of the Holy Spirit is definitely Christian, ecclesiastical. Is it to be supposed, if Luke had himself penned 'Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and cleanse us', that so edifying a petition would ever have been dropped? I can understand that 'Thy kingdom come' might have been inserted into the text of Luke, but not that it should be allowed to oust a petition for the Holy Spirit if such a petition had been there from the beginning. That the 'kingdom' should be interpreted to mean the Spirit, as Gregory actually does interpret it, is natural: such a process eliminated notions of Jewish Apocalyptic and puts in its place something like the Eastern 'epiclesis'.

And I cannot allow that either Tertullian or Marcion really had a text like cod. 700. What Tertullian (*c. Marc.* iv 26) says is: 'Cui dicam *Patrem*? ei qui me omnino non fecit? . . . A quo *spiritum sanctum* postulem? . . . Eius *regnum* optabo *uenire* quem nunquam Regem gloriae audiui? . . . Quis *dabit* mihi *panem cotidianum*? . . . Quis mihi *delicta dimittet*? . . . Quis *non sinet nos deduci in temptationem*? . . . Proinde a quo *petam ut accipiam*? From these words I gather that Tertullian had the shorter form of the Prayer (without 'Which art in heaven', 'Thy will . . . so on earth', 'But deliver . . . evil'), but that some word about the Holy Spirit was *prefixed* to 'Thy kingdom come', corresponding to 'Thy name be hallowed' in Matthew. This is actually the interpretation Cyprian (*De Dom. Or.* 12) gives to *sanctificetur nomen tuum*: not that we wish God to be hallowed by our prayers, but 'that we who are hallowed in baptism may persevere in what we have begun'. A very pious sentiment, and very near the obvious meaning of the clause placed in the Lucan text by Gregory of Nyssa and cod. 700!

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I should be quite prepared to find that the Marcionites consecrated their Eucharist by a variety of the Lord's Prayer (from Luke, of course) into which a petition for the Holy Spirit had been inserted, and a kind of memory of this form may be preserved by cod. 700, but I cannot believe it was the original reading of the Third Gospel. It was too edifying to have been dropped, as I said just now.

As for the Voice at the Baptism, we have to choose between 'Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased' (as in Mark and Matthew) and 'Thou art my Son, this day I have begotten thee' (as in Ps. ii 7). The former is the reading of all Greek MSS but D and of all Syriac texts, also of *e* and the Latin Vulgate[1]; the latter is in D lat. eur., the (late) African Tyconius and the Spaniard Juvencus, as well as Clement of Alexandria and Justin Martyr (*Tryph.* 88). The weak point of this attestation from the textualist's point of view is the absence of *e*: as Cyprian (*Test.* ii 8) quotes Ps. ii 7, followed by Lk. i 41, to prove the necessity for a nativity of the Son of God in the flesh, it seems likely that Cyprian also here had the ordinary text and that *e* faithfully reproduces its African base. On the other hand the Old Syriac is so much given to the assimilation of parallels that its witness in such a case as the present has very little weight. As a purely literary question the true reading of Lk. iii 22 is very doubtful: there is perhaps a slight probability that the reading which does *not* agree with Matthew and Mark is more likely to be original.

But what I am concerned to contest is the deduction made by Streeter from it, in agreement with Harnack and others. Not only is the reading which quotes Ps. ii 7 regarded as the genuine Lucan text, but it is further inferred that Luke preferred this form (though of course Mk. i 11 stood before him) because he found it in Q, and it is assumed to imply a more glaringly 'Adoptionist' view of the Baptism of Jesus than the ordinary text.

Whether Q had any account of the Baptism of Jesus does not seem to me quite certain, and in any case we do not know on what features of the tale the emphasis was laid in this lost document, but I can hardly conceive a more 'Adoptionist' way of telling it than that actually taken by Mark. Possibly the story in Mark is capable of a conventionally orthodox interpretation, but the most obvious meaning is Adoptionist, so that when retold in Matthew words are inserted (iii 14, 15) to safeguard the dignity of Jesus even before Baptism. I do not see that the Psalm-passage, simply because it has the word 'to-day', more favours the heresy that Jesus only became Son of God at His Baptism (so

[1] Note that *e* is not derived from the Vulgate, as it has *in te bene sensi*, while the Vulgate has *in te complacuit mihi*.

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Streeter, p. 188) than the text of Mark does. In fact I think the 'Western' reading in Lk. iii 22 would seem less 'dangerous', because it is the very words of Old Testament Scripture and therefore likely to contain non-obvious mysteries.

It should be remembered that the Lucan writings are in their general tendency the least Adoptionist in tone of all the writings of the New Testament with the exception of the Gospel according to Matthew. 'The Apostles' Creed is more closely associated with Lucan documents than with any others'[1]: it seems absurd to assume that Luke deliberately preferred a version of the Voice from Heaven which was less orthodox than that of Mark. The true deduction is, therefore, that the Western reading in Lk. iii 22, whatever its origin, seemed to those who used it more and not less orthodox than its rival. And that, as a matter of fact, is how it is quoted. Justin Martyr is no Adoptionist; he knew the Gospel of Matthew, but he prefers to cite a text in which the Voice agrees with the Psalm, not that Jesus then in reality became Son of God, but to shew that He fulfilled the prophecy which He aforetime had inspired, meaning that His nativity would come to men from the time when the knowledge of Him came to pass.[2]

Further, it would be quite in the manner of Luke to substitute a Psalm-passage for a Saying that appeared difficult or shocking, as he substituted 'Into Thy hands I commend my spirit' (Ps. xxxi 5) for 'Why hast Thou forsaken me?'. There is, however, a certain difficulty in assigning the Western reading of Lk. iii 22 to Luke himself, seeing that in Acts xiii 33 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee' is interpreted of the Resurrection of Jesus, an ancient piece of exegesis that agrees with Romans i 4. The natural inference would be that whoever it may have been that did connect this Psalm-verse with the Baptism it was not the writer of the speeches in Acts. But in any case the important thing is, that if the Western reading in Lk. iii 22 be regarded as nothing more than a harmless literary substitution for the words given in Mark, then the whole reason for assigning the quotation of Ps. ii 7 to Q disappears, and with it disappears the chief reason for believing that Q contained an account of the Baptism of Jesus at all.

It will be said that the common non-Marcan source of Matthew and Luke, call it Q or what we will, is never more in evidence than in sections relating to John the Baptist, and also in the story of the Temptation: does not this imply an account of the Baptism? I venture to think it does not necessarily imply any account of the Baptism. There are notable agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark in

[1] *Beginnings of Christianity* ii 200, a passage worth very careful consideration.

[2] Just. *Tryph.* 88 *τότε γένεσιν αὐτοῦ λέγων γίνεσθαι τοῖσ ἀνθρώποισ, ἐξότου ἡ γνῶσισ αὐτοῦ ἔμελλε γίνεσθαι.* Methodius agrees, but perhaps he got the idea from Justin.

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the account of the Baptist's preaching (e.g. Matt. iii 12 = Lk. iii 17), but not in that of the actual Baptism of Jesus: for aught we know to the contrary the text of Q may have described John's preaching and then gone on to tell how Jesus having come to the Jordan was led by the Spirit to undergo His ordeal in the desert, *without any mention of His being baptized.* That is practically what we read in the Fourth Gospel: there we have John witnessing to the descent of the Spirit, but no word of Jesus being baptized in water. It should further be remembered that Q is only a series of conjecturally identified fragments, and we do not even know of how many documents it really consists. The story of the Temptation comes quite obviously at the beginning of the Ministry, to the period before Jesus began His public career: from whatever source Matthew and Luke drew it they would necessarily insert it at this point. Is it not possible that the accounts of John and the account of the Temptation come from two quite different sources? I mean that for 'Q' we should substitute 'J + Q', i.e. a document containing an account of John the Baptist, compiled no doubt from a Christian standpoint, and a different document containing the Sayings of Jesus. 'J' would correspond, say, to Lk. iii 2–17, vii 18–35,[1] while to the genuine 'Q' we should ascribe all the rest of the passages identified by Streeter. I think the former suggestion, viz. that the actual Baptism by John was passed over in Q more probable, but we know so little for certain about Q as a whole that the possibility that the symbol covers several documents must be borne in mind. But however that may be, I think it most probable that Mark alone recorded that Jesus was actually baptized by John in the Jordan and that we do not get this fact from any source independent of Mark.

IV

A few words must be said in conclusion about Dr Streeter's treatment of the minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark in his chapter xi (pp. 293–331). The treatment of residual small differences is always a thorny subject, and students of the Synoptic Problem hold very divergent views in the matter. In what is after all the main issue I am in very near agreement with Streeter. 'The majority of these agreements do not require any explanation at all' (p. 295). 'Frequently, when Mark uses a word which is linguistically inadmissible, the right word is so obvious that, if half a dozen independent correctors were at work, they would all be likely to light upon it' (p. 298). In another case (Matt. xxi 17 and Lk. xxi 37) 'the *dis*agreement in substance is so

[1] Who knows whether the long accounts of the birth of John in Lk. i and ii have not some connexion with this 'J'?

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much more obvious than the concurrence in a single by no means out-of-the-way word that it clearly points to independent editing' (p. 301). And further, 'if the coincident agreements of Matthew and Luke can only be explained on the theory that they used a different edition of Mark to the one we have, then it is the earlier of the two editions, the Ur-Marcus in fact, that has survived' (p. 305). Further, except for the one word 'the Baptism'—as explained in the preceding paragraph of this article—I agree with what Streeter says on p. 305 f about the influence of 'Q'.

In all these things Streeter and I agree. The justification for the somewhat peremptory sentences I have quoted is to be found in their context, and the agreements covered by them comprise by far the greater part of the cases where Matthew and Luke agree against Mark. There remain a residue of not more than twenty or thirty passages, in which Streeter explains the anomalous agreements by textual corruption. In some of these the explanation is really satisfactory,[1] but all of these are cases where the geographically Western reading is right. In several others the textual explanation seems to me out of place: thus it is really beside the mark to mention that in Lk. xxiv 4 L (i. e. cod. Regius) has λευκαῖσ 'white', where other MSS have 'lightning-like': the word is 'white' in the parallels and surely invited change as an epithet to 'dress'.[2] On p. 324 I would not say that the natural meaning of ἐπιφώσκειν is 'to dawn' (in our sense): perhaps I may be permitted to recall my article on that word in *J. T. S.* xiv 538 ff.

But the point I wish here to raise is that only in one of these thirty-two cases of alleged textual corruption does Dr Streeter venture to claim that his 'Caesarean' text, unsupported by ℵB or D latt. or syr. vt., preserves the true reading. This is Mk. xiv 62 (= Matt. xxvi 64, Lk. xxii 70), where for ἐγώ εἰμι he would read σὺ εἶπασ ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι with Θ 565 69–124 &c. 700 472 1071 arm (*but not* syr. *S*) and Origen (p. 321). If this reading be regarded as the original text of Mark, the ordinary text and that both of Matt. xxvi 64 and of Lk. xxii 70 may be regarded as independent simplifications of it. My difficulty is that the explanation, if true, ought to be needed more often: it implies that ℵB, D,

[1] I refer to Matt. ix 17 *om.* ἐκχεῖται with D (*a*) *k*, p. 311; Lk. ix 41 *om.* καὶ διεστραμμένη with *a* and *e* (see Deut. xxxii 5), p. 317; Lk. xviii 30 read ἑπταπλασίονα with D lat.vt, p. 318; Matt. xxi 23 *om.* διδάσκοντι with lat.vt syr.*S C*, p. 318; Matt. xxi 44 *om.* with D lat.vt syr.*S* Orig. *in Matt.* Eus., p. 319; Matt. xxii 5 *om.* νομικόσ with 1&c. *e* syr.*S* Orig. *in Matt.* p. 320; Lk. xxii 62 (*sic*) *om.* lat.vt, p. 323. In the last instance the brackets have been inserted by mistake round Matt. xxvi 75.

[2] It is not out of place here to point out that v. Soden is wrong in quoting the Palestinian Syriac as agreeing with cod.L: the word used is *mabhkīn*, which means 'shining' or 'glistening', and it appears also at Lk. ix 29 in one MS.

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lat. vt. (incl. *k*) and syr. *S* have all gone wrong in the same way at the same point. I know this sounds a weak reason to those who do not work at the details of the Gospel text, but to me it is formidable. I can understand a primitive error that has invaded all our texts better than one which Θ and its particular friends have escaped.

And what makes me hesitate still more is that in Mk. xiv 65 (= Matt. xxvi 67, 68, Lk. xxii 64), discussed in full by Dr Streeter, pp. 325–328, he refuses to accept the testimony of almost exactly the same group and prefers to accept a conjecture of Prof. C. H. Turner that the words *τίσ ἐστιν ὁ παίσασ σε;* in Matt. xxvi 68 are an ancient interpolation from Lk. xxii 64 which has invaded all our texts. This conjecture is an attractive one in itself, and it does Dr Streeter's critical judgement credit that he has preferred it to the testimony of Θ and its friends. But this fact only brings into curious relief the essential badness of the peculiar element of Θ &c.[1]

On a careful reconsideration of the evidence I feel inclined to maintain that the special value of the textual part of Dr Streeter's book consists in the light that it throws on the psychology of Origen. Origen had used a very good text of the Gospels, but he was quite willing later on to acquiesce in a much worse text which he found current, and even to expound it. Indeed he does not appear to be conscious of the difference, except that here and there where it is a question of some quite striking variant he seems to remember that he has seen manuscripts which had another reading. There does not seem to be any evidence that he ever compared any MSS of the New Testament together.

After all, this textual work is only one part of Dr Streeter's volume, and it would be out of proportion to stress it too strongly either by praise or blame. What is so admirable in his book is the general proportion kept between the parts, and the just emphasis which he lays on things of the first importance, such as in the priority of Mark and in the general problem of the Johannine literature. Perhaps he has given us few final solutions, but the book will be for a long time an excellent advanced base from which a future generation of students can start for the further investigation of the Gospels.

[1] It should be particularly noticed that at this crucial point (Mk. xiv 65) 1 &c. does not agree with the peculiar reading of the Θ family. Nor, I think, does 28.

F. C. BURKITT.

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Christus Veritas, by WILLIAM TEMPLE, Bishop of Manchester. (Macmillan & Co., London, 1924.)

IN this sequel to *Mens Creatrix*, Christian doctrine is approached from the point of view of a system of philosophy expounded in the earlier work. The connecting link is supplied in the first half-dozen chapters of *Christus Veritas*, which are predominantly concerned with philosophical problems. In the first of these chapters we are presented with the thesis that the *raison d'être* of the universe is God's purpose of love. This theistic tenet, identical with Lotze's contention that the ground of what is is to be found in what ought to be, does not gain in convincingness by exposition in terms of 'absolute' values hypostatized into 'substance', as if values 'existed' prior to their vehicles and to appreciators. 'Substance' has borne several meanings; but it is a gratuitous complication to apply it to the abstraction 'value', as contrasted with the existential that may possess value, and to imply that an universal exists (*ante rem*) and lies in wait, so to say, for existents to come and partake of it. There is some play with words, in fact, in this chapter. 'Reality' seems to denote some vague hybrid conception between existence and value; what 'realize' means in the assertion that all (human) values are 'realized in God', I cannot guess; and there must be some juggling with 'existence' or 'good', or both terms, before we can take kindly to the *prima facie* absurd identification (by Aquinas, &c.) of the existent and the good.

Thus the plea for the substantiality of values and their existential priority to things is the outcome of the perennial craving for hypostatized abstractions; and it is quite superfluous to the theistic conviction that all things exist to fulfil divine purpose. Perhaps the same craving is responsible for the conception of 'absolute' values of which Dr Temple, like many other recent writers, makes much use. It is frequently assumed that a conception that is over-individual is necessarily also over-social, independent of *all* subjects, and so, absolute; which is a *non sequitur*.

Another chapter deals with religious experience. Such experience, it is truly said, does not differ from ordinary perceptive experience in containing an element of interpretation; nor, again, in lacking an objective factor. But the writer here overlooks the essential difference between experience of the scientific and of the religious types. It is in respect of their data that they differ. The data of physical perception are willy-nilly impressions, which are at once the core of 'actuality' and the source—for the active 'mind itself'—of all the imaginal and ideal; the data of religious experience are not of the impressional kind—'no

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man hath seen God'. It is the concept of God—or its earlier substitutes—brought to experiences such as emotions, will-bracings, &c., co-ordinating and causally accounting for them, that alone gives to religious experience (as it seems to me) anything *sui generis*. So when (as on p. 39) religion is described as recognition of an Absolute, moral or other, it should be pointed out that a whole world-philosophy is presupposed by its 'intuition', which can never be immediate save in the sense that the experient happens to be unaware of its complicated mediacy. On these grounds one may demur to the description of religious experience as recognition of absolute value or of the Numinous; the moral and the aesthetic may be roots of religious experience, as, e. g., the animal impulses are the *fomes peccati*; but just as there is no sin without volition, so there is no religion without the theological concept, whencesoever it may be derived. Religious experience may precede explicit or developed theology of dogmatic formulation; it itself presupposes less explicit theology in order to be of the distinctive kind we differentiate as religious. So when it is represented (p. 108) that Christian theology, in arriving at dogmatic formulation only *after* religious experience, is on that account 'a veritable science', the large question is overlooked—as it was by Schleiermacher and Ritschl—what is the nature of the 'natural theology' involved in the very existence of religious experience of any kind, and of the evidence that the objective element in that experience is not imaginal or ideal, but actual in the same sense as the sense-impressional?

The only other point to which I would call attention in these philosophical chapters is the author's apparent dislike of committing himself to the psychological concept of the 'subject' or pure ego. It is indispensable, I submit, to psychology, and also to any profitable discussion of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Person of our Lord. The subject or ego is no mere 'focussing point in which nothing is focussed' (p. 66), but an existent with determinate states and activities without which experience, or an individual's mental *bios*, cannot be described or conceived; and a great deal is knowable about it. There is assuredly an 'impenetrable core of self-hood' that is the subject's and his alone—which Dr Temple denies (p. 71) and elsewhere (p. 117) asserts—in spite of the mediation of much of 'personality' through the society with which each subject has solidarity. My experiences can never be another's, however much of common feature they may have with another's, and however humanity may differ from a mere aggregation of impenetrable individuals. It is the phrase 'centre of experience', preferred to the precise and definite term 'subject', that is vague and meaningless. If 'centre of experience' mean 'subject', as apparently it is allowed to do (p. 117) when human beings are in question, it must

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mean something quite different when the Persons of the Trinity are regarded as 'three centres of one consciousness'. And what the phrase then means, is not explained in the sequel.

The theological portion of this work, to which I have already passed, does not contain very much that is fresh. The author does not seem alive to the contention of the more recent modernity that the 'facts' on which traditional doctrine is based are facts shot through with interpretation, and questionable interpretation; and that only as already interpretations do they constitute the religious experience of which doctrine is the formulation. Thus the Council of Chalcedon is said (p. 134 n.) to have stated merely the fact that Christ is God and man. The discussion of the doctrine of the Trinity follows the time-honoured line of enquiry after a conception of the Persons that is neither that of subjects (tritheism) nor that of modes or roles (monarchianism). In his Christology, the writer seeks to avoid kenotic theory by suggesting that in the incarnation of the Logos, God added to His other activities the living of a human life. He takes his stand on the fact that the human life of our Lord was real. That, I would submit, can only be the case if the human experience was the experience of a human subject. A truly human experience is the experience of a being with the ontological status of a finite, human, soul: if the subject of the experience be really God, the experience becomes but human-like; it lacks the differentiating quality of the truly human. In this case, God and Jesus would be two subjects, not numerically one; their 'unity', as it is called or mis-called, can only be that of harmony not of numerical oneness. The word 'unity' is so obviously ambiguous, in this connexion, that it should be avoided. But if it mean that the subject of the human experience of Jesus was God, then it seems to me that we must deny the assertion (p. 144) that the Son of God has made our condition 'matter of His own experience'. Our condition, or rather experience thereof, is necessarily what is *erlebt* by a human subject; sympathy with our condition by a divine subject, is quite another thing. However, the unity of the two natures is, as usual, pronounced to be an insoluble problem, in spite of a theoretical solution having been offered. To-day the prevailing tendency of mind, on being confronted with a problem the insolubility of which consists *prima facie* in self-contradiction, is to question the premisses which lead to the *impasse*; and to this tendency I do not find that the Bishop of Manchester administers any arresting check. As an apologist, he unconsciously adopts sometimes the device of taking figurative meanings of words too seriously; even the word 'am' is thus played with on p. 152: cf. 'I *am* mankind', 'mankind has made me what I *am*'.

What I have ventured to consider errors in Dr Temple's work do not,

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in most cases, affect the cogency of his argument; and his book possesses many excellences on which it is not necessary, in this JOURNAL, to dilate.

Is God limited?, by Bishop FRANCIS J. MCCONNELL. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1924.)

THIS volume is a useful addition to the Crown Theological Library. It deals with a living issue; and though it is easy reading partly because it touches but meagrely on some of the more abstruse aspects of its subject, it is not a 'superficial' or 'popular' book, in the evil sense of those words. Its style is clear and forcible: perhaps just a little over-accommodating to the present-day demand for colloquial treatment of serious and profound topics.

The first part deals with limitation of God in relation to the universe. It would have strengthened the plea for limitedness had the author examined the several senses which 'infinitude', as predicated of God, has borne, and pointed out their meaninglessness or their inconsistency with Christian theism. It might have been urged, as against time-honoured arguments, that relative existents do not imply any absolute existent: that the relative only implies the correlative. Again, observation, that 'The Absolute' is no class-name for observable actualities, like 'The Beautiful' or 'The Good', would have reinforced the assertion that, apart from reference to respects in which an alleged being is absolute, the term is non-significant. The meaning 'out of relation' which 'absolute' bears in Mansel, &c., and again in Bradley, is easily disposed of. And the writer makes it fairly clear that of the only two definite meanings that the phrase 'The Absolute' can have, when bestowed upon God, that of 'the totality of the existent' involves pantheism; so that it is solely in the sense of self-subsistence that theism can appropriate this superfluous and mischievous expression.

In his second chapter, the author discusses the bearings of the Einstein theory of relativity on his problem, or on theism. He seems to have been misled into thinking there are such bearings by Haldane, who, as the pure mathematicians assure me, has no understanding of what Einsteinism means; or by his own interpretation of Russell. The new relativity theory has no connexion whatever with philosophy—with idealism, or materialism, or the relativity of knowledge: the relativity with which it is concerned is that of our instruments to ourselves. If the theory speaks of space as if it were a substance capable of crumpling, it is but using metaphor for the desirableness of introducing a new *metric* which will lead to a more economical conceptual 'description' of

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the facts than the old one which adopted the metaphor of gravitational force. This chapter, therefore, were better away.

With the conclusion reached in the discussion of the relation of God to time, I am in agreement. Only the fringe of the problem could be touched in a compass so short; but enough is said to indicate that resort to the notion of timelessness—in any of its several senses—as characterizing the divine 'experience' and the relation of God to human experience, is a hasty venture. It seems to me to be motived aesthetically; and throughout the entire history of philosophy I have come upon but one philosopher, the late Dr McTaggart, who has so much as attempted to explain how time is the moving shadow of eternity, and why moving. And he seems very unconvincing.

In dealing with the problem raised by the existence of physical evil, the writer goes to the root of the matter when he calls attention to Leibnitz's suggestion (p. 64) that 'if we are to think of creation as at all the work of a rational Creator, there must be some heed paid to the requirements of system as system'. But of course there is a deeper root beneath the one admitting of discussion; why an evolving, and even a finite, world at all? The subject of physical evil naturally leads on to that of 'the decrees of law'. Natural law and miracle are dealt with reasonably, but very briefly and inexhaustively; and I fear that in the short chapter about them the terms 'law' and 'limitation' are allowed to change their meanings somewhat. The treatment of evolution is altogether too slight, and somewhat unsympathetic. However, this first part of the book serves to shew that if God is to be conceived as a living Spirit, not as an abstract idea, it is the notion that He is absolutely unlimited in His relation to the world that really involves His limitation in the objectionable sense.

The second part considers the question whether there are limitations upon God consequent on His relations with finite spirits. Pantheism calls for more full and profound treatment than it here receives, because theism, when it has sought to be philosophical, has throughout its long history displayed a tendency to lapse into pantheism, in spite of itself. The theory of pre-existence is rather pooh-poohed than adequately considered; and the fact that creationism, without it, becomes rather crudely occasionalistic (as in Lotze), is passed over. But one welcomes insistence on the truth that once the Creator has called into existence souls resembling Himself in so far as they are endowed with rational and moral status, and consequently with inalienable *rights*, God Himself enters into personal and ethical obligations. This is as rare as it is a bold contention. *Prima facie* it may seem as impious or irreverent as did the discounting of the verbal infallibility of the Bible to our grandfathers; but on reflexion, it will conduce to true reverence to

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recognize that 'It is He that made us, and not we ourselves' is a truth that cuts two ways. Human freedom on the one hand, and the ethical nature of God on the other, alike involve limitation to the 'omnipotence' or infiniteness of God. It is the responsibility, if the word be not misunderstood, which has thus been attributed to God, that in the last resort is the philosophical ground of our hope of personal immortality.

Some of the later chapters of the middle portion pursue questions not so obviously relevant to the main issue, and may here be passed over. The last part is devoted to limitation as involved in the Divine Personality itself. The line of argument pursued is that God may well be personal without some of the restrictions bound up with our personality; and it is implied that 'supra-personal' has no definite meaning save that of 'impersonal'. The doctrine of the Trinity naturally receives discussion in this connexion: but, I fear, little illumination. I can make nothing out of the notion that Trinitarianism may be conceived as pantheism applied to God Himself (p. 267), or that 'God expresses Himself so fully that His expressions become phases of Himself'—unless 'phases' are only our old friends (eternal) 'modes' over again. In that case the dogma is as monarchian and modalistic as orthodox doctors have always represented it to be.

Knowledge and Virtue: the Hulsean Lectures for 1920–1921, by P. N. WAGGETT, M.A., Hon. D.D. Oxon. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.)

THE four discourses contained in this volume are sermons rather than lectures, but none the less valuable on that account. Their purpose is practical rather than scientific. Taking religious 'knowledge' for granted, rather than establishing or analysing it, the lecturer commends it as the one remedy for the weaknesses which hinder the prosecution of peace, and the means whereby Christian faith is in this day to be strengthened and liberated. His plea is supported by reference especially to St Paul and Clement of Alexandria; and some passages from the latter writer's works are collected in an appendix. Inasmuch as Dr Waggett disclaims having constructed an argument, and involves himself in theological matters only with a view to minister to religious life and with an eye to the needs and the disorders of the immediate present, it is not perhaps any serious detriment to his lectures that they are very discursive, and even rambling. They must have been, on this account, a little confusing to hearers when delivered; but they will be less so to their readers. Their chief value lies in the strong and chastened personal faith, the catholic sympathy and broad-

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mindedness, the frank and often acute criticism which never stings, to which they give expression; their subsidiary charm of literary grace, one feels, is largely of the nature of soul-fashioned beauty of face.

Such being the characteristics of these Hulsean Lectures, review of them for a journal devoted to theological studies is not easy. It is only possible to comment on one or two particular points, and to indicate a need—of the theological order—on the part of the Church at the present time that lies deeper than any—of the religious order—of which the Lecturer has spoken. It is true that what is wanted is action inspired by vision, moral energy that is enlightened through the wisdom that is from above. But I do not wholly agree that the deficiency, which Dr Waggett bewails, of the Church in power to save men from unfaith, is mainly due to the Church's neglect of its teaching office—in the sense in which he seems to use those words. I may be mistaken, but I do not think that dogmatic teaching is conspicuously lacking in the preaching of our day. The trouble rather is that much of the teaching given is unassimilable by the modern mind and often repellent to it. And it is not merely a question of specific doctrines being rightly or wrongly rejected. The fundamental difficulties, for many thoughtful people nowadays, inhibiting religious faith and acceptance of authority, are different from those of past generations. It is not enough now to revive, as Dr Waggett recommends, appeal to what is called inner light, or even experiential verification, or 'spiritual' knowledge. It is precisely the objectivity, the validity—as it is wont to be called—of 'spiritual' knowledge, that modernity has come to misdoubt: or, to speak in precise and unambiguous terms, the actuality of the objective factor in religious experience, and the grounds for belief that in such experience we veritably have communion with God, the indwelling Christ, or the Holy Spirit, and are not giving a groundless causal interpretation to our feelings, emotions, ideas, will-bracings, &c. It seems to me that too much, rather than too little, has been made of late of the appeal to individual experience; or rather, that the appeal has been made prematurely, before a careful sifting has been made of the ambiguous, question-begging, or erroneous terms 'immediate', 'spiritual', &c., applied to 'experience', and before 'immediacy', in the case of religious 'intuition', has been proved to be any criterion of truth. If I mistake not, it is to these questions that theology must turn, with less obscurantism than hitherto, before religion can successfully make its appeal. It is as to issues that Dr Waggett, and Christian teachers in general, assume or take for granted, that common sense is nowadays vaguely suspicious.

Thus I am inclined to think that when he assigns causes for the present neglect of 'spiritual' knowledge, or any kind of knowledge,

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the Hulsean Lecturer suggests imaginary ones and overlooks the actual. If the new psychology has emphasized the 'effectiveness' of the unknown or less-known (the subconscious?) elements in mental life, this has nothing to do with truth or knowledge; if piety has often opposed itself to formal or 'rational' or abstract knowledge, it has also opposed itself to historical and scientific knowledge, or at least has slighted and tried to dispense with them; and, lastly, there is no real antithesis or mutual exclusiveness between knowledge or illumination on the one hand, and discipline, endurance, &c., on the other. It has from time immemorial been insisted that moral appreciations condition reception of (existential) truth; but no one, so far as I know, has ever so much as undertaken to sift the truth from the falsity in this traditional half-truth. And so, when at the end of his last lecture, the writer remarks that 'the apprehension we appeal to is not the apprehension of acuteness but the receptive power of the humble spirit, the preparations of a contrite heart', I would demur, and allege that the antithesis here suggested is partly false as well as partly true. As sermons advocating the exercise of religious or 'spiritual' knowledge, these discourses are excellent; but before the appeal to such knowledge will commend itself to souls suffering the distress of faith that is characteristic of the present hour, I venture to think that teachers will need to take less for granted and to probe, as scientifically and fearlessly as they have probed historical and dogmatic assumptions, the unsifted tradition concerning religious experience. Dr Waggett observes that just as all physical knowledge is based on sense-impressions, so must religious knowledge rest on contact and vision. That the objects of contact and vision, in the case of religious and mystical experience are comparable to the impressional rather than the ideal, is just the question; this is the problem that writers on mysticism have always shelved, but which psychology, now filtering, as natural science has already filtered, into the plain man's stock of ideas, has rendered vital and fundamental.

Metaphysical Grounds of the Science of Nature, by K. F. Fröbel. (Williams & Norgate, London, 1924.)

Miss E. Fröbel republishes her father's book with the twofold purpose of keeping alive her father's memory and ministering to the needs of our times. On both counts she deserves our gratitude. Her brief biographical Introduction presents to us an attractive personality, and one would have been glad to be told more about him. As for the work itself, which contains much fresh and stimulating thought, its main topic, the unity of Nature and the purpose of the world, is of at least as much importance and interest to-day as when Fröbel wrote.

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As against the Comtean and Spencerian tendencies of nineteenth-century scientific thought, the author maintains an idealistic interpretation of Nature's unity and the 'reign of law'. One cannot but feel that had he lived to republish his work at this day, the writer would have revised some of his own definitions and axioms. Non-Euclidean geometries, relativist revisions of Newtonian physics, new inductive logic and modified conceptions as to what laws of Nature really are, psychological investigations into the genesis of our concepts of space and time, have made it impossible at this hour to talk of space and points, the source and the nature of nomic necessity, and various other fundamental concepts, as was possible forty years ago; and philosophical theology has made great strides since the Duke of Argyll (Darwin's critic) and Principal Caird wrote. Nevertheless, a sympathetic reader who will translate as he reads, especially if he be of Neo-Kantian or Hegelian turn of mind, will enjoy this essay in ontology.

The Appearance of Mind, by J. C. McKERROW, M.B. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1923.)

THIS work concludes (p. 110) that consciousness is illusion and knowledge is delusion save for the wisest—i.e. apparently, those conscious that they are not conscious. Common sense (identified by the author with Kant's 'practical reason') is contradicted by the pure reason; but Mr McKerrow claims to have resolved the discord by his theory. This theory is based on the denial of any subject who feels, &c.: to feel heat is, e.g., to remove the hand from hot water. The subject is replaced by a law of Nature, the operation of which [!] produces the illusion that we are conscious.

What illusion is, if not consciousness over again, is not revealed. Mind is concluded to be appearance; but what an appearance is that does not appear (to a subject) is not explained. Organism and environment replace subject and object; but how there can be knowledge of organisms without apprehension of objects by subjects, the writer sagely refrains from discussing. No sense-impressions, no science, as well as no illusions: and no pure reason to dismiss, even in a Pickwickian sense, the consciousness believed in by common sense. Every step by which the subject, its states and activities, are dispensed with, presupposes their actuality. All that writers who are unable to discern difference between feeling hot and moving the hand, and therefore from feeling cold, make clear by their attempts to found on physical science a 'psychology without a subject', is that it is impossible even to talk nonsense about subjects and sensations without involving their reality.

F. R. TENNANT.

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Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments . . . übersetzt von E. KAUTZSCH†. Vierte, umgearbeitete Auflage . . . herausgegeben von A. BERTHOLET. (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1922, 1923.)

THIS is a remarkable work: it might be described as an account of the Old Testament truly concise, but adequate for most purposes, even for scholars. It is contained in two volumes of 1,000 and 864 pages respectively. A dozen of the best known German authorities on the Old Testament have contributed to it. Holzinger writes the Introduction to the Pentateuch, and the notes to Genesis, Numbers, and also to Joshua. Marti takes Deuteronomy and several of the Minor Prophets. Judges and Samuel fall to Kittel, the author of the well-known *History of Israel*. Eissfeldt of Halle has undertaken Kings and Isa. xxxvi–xxxix; Isa. i–xxxv is assigned to Guthe, and Isa. xl–lxvi to Budde, who still refuses to assign the *Ebed-Jahve-Lieder* to another hand than Deutero-Isaiah's. Rothstein takes Jeremiah and Ezekiel. The Editor himself (Bertholet) writes the Introduction to the Kĕthūbim and comments on the Psalms. Hölscher takes the small but important books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The treatment of Job is in the hands of Steuernagel.

This compact work ('K' = Kautzsch) contains (*a*) a German translation of the Canonical books, (*b*) critical notes, (*c*) concise explanatory notes, (*d*) an Introduction to each book, (*e*) some excursuses. The translation as compared with our English R.V. has many improvements. Thus in Gen. ii 6 for 'a mist' K has 'ein Wassersprudel' (πηγή LXX). In Gen. iv 8 the rendering, 'Da *sagte* Kain zu seinem Bruder Abel', is followed by the sign of a gap, but a note tells us that a simple conjecture is *wayyèmer*, i. e. 'And Kain began to quarrel with his brother'. In Gen. xlvii 21 K follows the Samaritan text, 'Und was die Einwohner betrifft, so [machte er sie zu Leibeigenen]', while R.V. leaves the Samaritan in the margin. The troublesome Hebrew word *naḥal* 'wadi' (1 Kings xvii 3; *al*) is happily translated 'Bachtal', while the inadequate rendering 'brook' remains in R.V. The comments are commendably brief and pointed: could there be, for instance, a better note on 2 Kings iii 27 ('great wrath') than this, 'der Zorn des Kamos, des Moabitischen Gottes: das furchtbare Opfer hat also Erfolg gehabt'?

Psalmenstudien, iii–vi, von SIGMUND MOWINCKEL. (Jacob Dybwad, Kristiania, 1923–1924.)

THE second of these *Studien*, dated 1922, was noticed in the JOURNAL for April 1923. The subjects of the four now to be noticed are as follows:—

iii. *Kultprophetie u. Prophetische Psalmen* (118 pages).

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iv. *Die technischen Termini in den Psalmenüberschriften* (52 pages). *Selah* is also noticed.

v. *Segen u. Fluch in Israels Kult u. Psalmendichtung* (144 pages).

vi. *Die Psalmdichter* (103 pages).

Mowinckel's treatment of his subjects is full, fresh, and interesting; he brings a mind of his own to his Studies. His guiding principle in part iii is clearly set forth in the statement, 'Unsere biblischen Psalmen sind mit ganz wenigen Ausnahmen als Kultpsalmen gedichtet'. We may take the (difficult) Psalm lx to illustrate Mowinckel's views. He explains the Psalm as follows. Israel at war with Edom (perhaps also with Moab) has suffered a less or more important defeat. A fast day in the Sanctuary is proclaimed for the whole people; victims are sacrificed; the choir (or the king himself) indites a complaint to JEHOVAH (*vv.* 3–7; E.V. 1–5). Then the oracle-giving priest or some prophetically gifted official of the Sanctuary makes known JEHOVAH's answer. JEHOVAH who had once conquered the land for Israel by the hand of Joshua, will again work on behalf of his people (*vv.* 8–10; E.V. 6–8). The Psalm according to Mowinckel does not represent an ideal scene; rather it gives the words of an act of 'Kult' actually performed on a certain historical occasion. This occasion (so Mowinckel argues with some force) can best be sought within the reign of David. Our author adds that if this oracle was given to David, it was fulfilled; David did subdue both Edom and Moab. So this oracle given and fulfilled to the Great King of Israel was carefully preserved, and when at a later time a similar crisis arrived the ancient oracle found its place in the new liturgy composed for the new occasion (Ps. cviii 7–14; E.V. 6–13). All this may sound strange to modern ears unaccustomed to hear of 'Davidic' Psalms, but Mowinckel has earned the right to be heard.

In part v Mowinckel deals again with the subject of part i, namely Magic and protection against its evil effects But first he treats of the giving of Blessing as the chief part of the Israelite 'Kult'. Through the Kult not only was Blessing given, but the stock of Blessing (if the phrase be allowed) was added to, and the powers of imparting Bliss were increased. 'Der Kult', he writes, 'ist ursprünglich ein schöpferischer Akt'. So Samuel blesses the sacrifice (rather the 'Opferfleisch') and so introduces into it Divine powers; before this blessing the people will not eat (1 Sam. ix 13). Mowinckel understands a similar reference in the Greeting of the Altar performed in later times (Sukkah iv 5). The priests decked the altar with branches at the Feast of Booths, and took leave of it on the eighth day in the words, 'Beauty (*Yōphī*) to thee, O Altar'. According to R. Eliezer (as Mowinckel himself tells us) the

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greeting was of a still more striking form, 'To JAH and to thee, O Altar, to JAH and to thee, O Altar', meaning apparently, 'As JEHOVAH is holy, so mayest thou be holy, O Altar'. A telling instance of the use of the priestly blessing is found in Ps. cxviii. This Psalm is specially a Thanksgiving to be used at the Feast of Booths. A festal procession appears and claims and is allowed admission to the Temple (*vv.* 19, 20). When admitted these worshippers sing a song of thanksgiving, and ask for the Divine Blessing (*vv.* 21–25). Then a priest gives it in the words, 'Blessed be whosoever cometh in the name of JEHOVAH; we bless you from the house of JEHOVAH'.

After 'Segen' Mowinckel discusses 'Fluch'. The Community, he remarks, must protect itself by solemn official acts against Evil Powers ('böse Mächte'). Therefore, in the first place, it sets itself by means of the 'Kult' to acquire Blessing; and secondly, it meets the danger directly by introducing into its worship formulas of cursing and acts of cursing. As a 'Kultpsalm' of this kind composed for a special occasion Mowinckel instances Ps. lxxxiii, 'Do unto them as unto the Midianites' (ver. 10; E.V. 9).

It is to be regretted that our Author in dealing with another 'Fluch-psalm' (cxxxvii) has yielded to the temptation to emend his text with a heavy hand. In ver. 1 *When we remembered Zion* is 'a quite superfluous gloss' and not wanted by the metre; in ver. 3 *Mirth* (a telling word in the context) is to be omitted as 'against the metre', and also as absent from the LXX; in ver. 8 *O daughter of Babylon that art to be destroyed* is to be struck out again for metre's sake. Finally in ver. 5 Mowinckel prefers the poor emendation which gives *Let my right hand waste away* for the vigorous reading of M.T., *Let my right hand forget* (*her cunning*). It is true that earlier commentators have been similarly violent in their treatment of the text, but Mowinckel elsewhere has shewn an independence which might be well exercised here. The general result of our Author's proceedings is that the Psalm becomes a defiance of the Edomites: the writer forgets the wrongs done by Babylon.

If any one be tempted to accept Mowinckel's emended text, he would do well to notice that B. Duhm[1] (who also emends in the interest of metre) differs seriously from our Author in the details. He retains *Mirth* (ver. 5) and *O daughter of Babylon* (ver. 8). On the other hand he leaves out, *As thou hast served us* (ver. 8). Plainly the case for emendation is not strong. Indeed, why cannot critics believe St Jerome when he says in his Preface to the Book of Job that Hebrew 'verse' sometimes passes into 'prose'? Is it inconceivable that the Hebrew

[1] 2te Auflage, 1922.

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Psalms (which had the help of music) failed sometimes, perhaps often, to answer to a rigid scheme of metre? Surely critics in their anxiety to discover verse-measures are too careless of the sense of Ps. cxxxvii, and indeed of many others.

Part vi deals with the authorship of the Psalms. The older critics, Mowinckel reminds us, guessed 'ganz wild' at certain historical personages (e.g. Jeremiah) as the Authors: Mowinckel's own view concisely expressed is, 'Die Psalmen sind anonym und werden es immer bleiben'. We have not before us the style or the experiences of an individual poet, but the style and the experiences of the normal Israelite. We are then restricted to the task of discovering the 'circles' in which the Psalms came into being. Mowinckel proceeds to discuss the question whether the Psalms are 'private oder kultische Lieder', and decides against Gunkel for the second alternative. The true authors are the singers, Asaph, Heman, Ethan, the Korahites, not the priests. The preposition *l'*, which many have taken as introducing the name of the Author, really designates the person who uses the Psalm. The heading of Ps. cii, Mowinckel tells us, is decisive for this view, *l'ānī* means 'for the use of the afflicted one'.

How then is the heading *l'David* 'for David's use' to be explained? In the first place it presupposes the belief that the Psalm was recited by David on some occasion which answers to the nature of its contents, and further that he was helped by it. The title, therefore, is meant to be a strong recommendation of the Psalm and a warrant of its efficacy. But this title, since it contains a proper name, is open to a misunderstanding from which the *l'ānī* of Ps. cii is free. The proper name was certain to suggest Authorship to some readers, and in fact it led to the ascription of the Psalter as a whole to the great king of Israel.

On the other hand Mowinckel will not deny that some Psalms are as old as David, though he asserts that most of the Psalms attributed to him are younger than he. Even the (ancient) 'Deboralied', he says, was influenced by the style of the religious hymn. Ps. lx (see above) probably comes from David's time or Solomon's, and Ps. xix (A) sings of the glory of El as creator, and so is older perhaps than the cult of JEHOVAH. But David's authorship of Psalms which he may have used is not to be assumed. Assyro-Babylonian Psalms are extant, beginning 'I Nabu-kudurri-usur, I Asshur-nazir-aplu, I Asshur-ban-aplu weep to thee', but no one supposes that these three kings were respectively the authors of these three psalms (prayers). At this point we must take leave of these interesting *Studien*, though much more might be said.

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Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft (H. GRESSMANN). 1924.

THIS is the first volume of a new series of this important publication under the editorship of Hugo Gressmann. It bears a fuller title implying a wider range of study: to 'alttestamentliche Wissenschaft' it now adds 'Kunde des nachbiblischen Judentums'. Most of the articles are of course in German, but contributions of considerable length in English by G. A. Cooke, T. H. Robinson, and F. Garrow Duncan appear together with a short article in French by Ch. Bruston. The volume opens with an article of thirty-three pages by Hugo Gressmann, entitled 'Die Aufgaben der alttest. Forschung', which contains a useful survey of recent literature (chiefly German) on the Old Testament. H. Gunkel has a full and interesting discussion of Isa. xxxiii, a passage marked by sudden turns and by changes of grammatical person. Gunkel calls it a 'Liturgy', by which he means a devotional Dialogue between JEHOVAH and His worshippers, such as might be supposed to take place in the Temple. In this Dialogue the Prophet himself intervenes from time to time. Thus in ver. 1 the Prophet introduces with sympathy the subject, 'the World-empire's oppression of Zion'; in ver. 2 the oppressed people make their lament; in *vv.* 3–6 the Prophet announces the coming overthrow of the nations whom the Oppressor sends against the city. So ends the first part. In *vv.* 7, 8 the Dialogue is resumed; we hear again the tones of lamentation; in ver. 9 the Prophet again expresses his sympathy; in ver. 10 a climax begins, JEHOVAH Himself speaks; He will 'arise' on behalf of His people. Then in *vv.* 11, 12 he turns to address the hostile nations, and tells them that they will fail in their design and themselves perish. Gunkel says that such a 'Liturgy' as this is not to be found in the earlier prophets, Isaiah and Jeremiah; he would assign it 'etwa in die Zeit des Tritojesaia'. The article is interesting as an honest grappling with the text (in general) as it stands; the writer does not (e.g.) follow Duhm in reducing ver. 15 to the first four words of the Hebrew text, leaving out four telling lines.

Another good paper is 'Die neugefundene Lehre des Amen-em-ope und die vorexilische Spruchdichtung Israels' by the Editor. This 'Lehre' was first published by Wallis Budge in his *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, second series, London, 1923; according to A. Erman it dates from about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. The verbal resemblances between part of its text and Prov. xxii 17–xxiii 10 are so close, and other points of contact are so numerous, that Erman holds that the 'Lehre' was translated in the Saite or the Persian period by a Jew into Hebrew (or Aramaic), the division into thirty chapters being preserved. Here then is the original draft of the book of Proverbs. (Prov. xxxi is of the nature of an appendix.) Certainly

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Erman has noticed a striking detail here. In chapter xxx of the 'Lehre' we read,

'Behold, these *thirty chapters* are addressed to thee';

while in Prov. xxii 20 it is,

'Have I not written for thee *thirty portions* (Shĕlōshim)?'

(This translation of the Q'ri is better than the 'excellent things' of E.V. and the τριστῶς of LXX.)

Professor Cooke's (English) article on Ezek. xl–xlviii is both important and interesting. He calls attention to the resemblance between the language of this passage and that of P, and continues, 'The Priestly document was beginning to take shape; experiments were being made in fixing current practice by writing it down'. As to the teaching in general of Ezekiel he gives a useful caution in his last paragraph: 'At the end of the book appears an outline of the future City. . . . The ideal is a social one. If Ezekiel himself had insisted upon the work of the individual (ch. 18), it was not with the intention of encouraging an individualistic type of religion; his aim was to build up a community of converted individuals.'

The *Zeitschrift*, it may be noted, gives due attention to English work on O.T. There are notices of J. Gadd *The Fall of Nineveh*, of the P.E.F. articles on the Excavations on the Eastern Hill of Jerusalem, and of the *Cambridge Ancient History* vols. i and ii. Under the heading *English Studies in Prophetic Literature* the Editor mentions the recent work of T. H. Robinson, G. Adam Smith, and J. Skinner ('Das Buch Skinner's gehört zu dem Besten').

Prayer in Christian Theology, by A. L. Lilley, Archdeacon of Ludlow. (S.C.M., London, 1925.)

The proper subject of this book is Christian Prayer treated in its true setting of the Christian life. The second title is 'A study of some moments and Masters of the Christian life from Clement of Alexandria to Fénelon'. The 'Masters' include S. John Cassian, S. Bernard, and S. John of the Cross.

'We do not pray to Jupiter to make us good, but to give us material benefits.' This quotation from Cicero, the Archdeacon tells us, represents the heathen view of prayer. 'The uniform Christian tradition, on the other hand, condemns as of the nature of blasphemy every attempt or desire to bend the Divine will to our own.' On this statement follows very aptly in chapter ii an account of the teaching of Clement of Alexandria. The 'Gnostic', i.e. the Christian who has knowledge (*gnosis*), will pray for the things which concern the soul and not for the

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supply of the needs of the body. In writing of Cassian and of Bernard Mr Lilley shews great sympathy with the monastic ideal of making prayer the chief occupation of life. When, as S. Teresa complained, the real life of prayer had died out of the cloister, S. John of the Cross taught the need of habitual preparation of the soul for its acts of prayer. All this is well told by Mr Lilley.

The book is brief and popular in the best sense. It is thoroughly interesting; note (for instance) the passage on 'the Authority of the Saint' in the Middle Ages à propos of S. Bernard and of S. Catharine of Siena (p. 75). On p. 25 an addition might be made. Mr Lilley writes, 'This petition (*Give us our daily bread*) was universally interpreted by the Christian Fathers as a request for spiritual food'. Tertullian (*de Oratione* 6) mentions the other interpretation. Finally it may be said that a book so good and of such varied contents deserves an Index.

W. EMERY BARNES.

The Logia in Ancient and Recent Literature, by JOHN DONOVAN, S.J., M.A. (Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge, 1924.)

THIS little work is an attempt to trace the meaning and use of λόγιον. λόγια, from earliest times in Greek literature, through Septuagintal, New Testament, sub-Apostolic, and second-century employment of the words, down to the misuse of Logia in more recent writers for the 'Sayings of Christ', or for a collection of discourses found in Q, or even for a 'Gospel'. The author does scant justice to Dr J. B. Gregory's work entitled *The Oracles ascribed to Matthew by Papias of Hierapolis*, and is evidently wholly unaware of the growing attachment of scholars to the theory that Papias's *Exposition of Dominical Oracles* was based upon a collection of Old Testament Messianic passages, such as he ascribes to Matthew. It is sufficient to point out that in England Hatch, Sanday, E. C. Selwyn, Burkitt, V. Burch, and Rendel Harris either incline to this view or stoutly maintain it; while in France Guignebert and S. Reinach have both written in its support (the former in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* and the latter in the *Revue Archéologique*), and have won not a few adherents. One may welcome this booklet as a careful piece of work, while regretting that it represents, at least in the present writer's opinion, a retrograde rather than a forward position.

T. HERBERT BINDLEY.

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The Bible Doctrine of Wealth and Work, by CHARLES RYDER SMITH, B.A., D.D. (Lond.). (The Epsworth Press, 1924.)

SOME three or four years ago Dr Ryder Smith published an elaborate treatise on the Bible Doctrine of Society. He now presents a further study of the sociological teaching of the Bible in a smaller volume, entitled 'The Bible Doctrine of Wealth and Work'.

The book falls into two clearly separated parts, the first historical, setting forth the gradual evolution of the institution of private property among the Hebrews; and the second containing a careful exposition of the teaching of the New Testament on the problems of Wealth and Work. The two parts do not hang together well, for while the Old Testament section, which is considerably the longer, deals with a period and with conditions so remote from our own that its interest is exclusively historical, the New Testament section seeks to answer those questions concerning the bearing of the teaching of Christ and His Apostles on the problems of social life which have a very practical interest for the present age. The author confesses in his preface that his aim is practical, and that being so he would perhaps have been wiser to content himself with what he has already written on the sociological history of the Old Testament times, and to devote more space to the study of the New Testament and its bearing on the present. His excuse that 'the Bible refuses to be torn in two' is somewhat irrelevant in view of the different methods which he employs in dealing with the Old and New Testaments, and he never seems to have made up his mind whether he wished to write a book on Hebrew archaeology or a treatise on Christian ethics. The readers whom he has in view may not be much helped by a list of the household utensils mentioned in the book of Judges, or by a study of the differentiation of callings under the Kings.

Apart from this somewhat serious fault the book has many merits. Dr Ryder Smith is surely right in his refusal to treat problems of wealth and work as though they were of primary importance. 'In the Bible problems of wealth and work are everywhere ancillary. The paramount social problem is everywhere the relation of God to man and of man to God' (p. 13). So the book is something more than a sociological study; it is a study of religion with special reference to its application in one direction.

Two chapters deal with the New Testament. In the first Dr Ryder Smith sets forth what he considers to be the social ideal as implied in the New Testament, and in the second he deals with the application of this ideal to the institutions of an imperfect Society. Not all

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Dr Smith's readers will agree that communism is the ideal, even though the word be understood in the strictly etymological sense, and it seems a pity that he has again used the wholly inadequate and somewhat objectionable term 'meekness' to express briefly the perfect Christian character. But whether or not Dr Ryder Smith brings the solution of the fundamental problems much nearer, the discussion as a whole is thoughtful and sensible.

P. GARDNER-SMITH.

Select Passages illustrating Neoplatonism, translated with an Introduction by E. R. DODDS, B.A. (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1923.)

THIS selection of Neoplatonic passages is chiefly drawn from Plotinus, Porphyry, and Proclus. The translation has the unique merit of being the only one in English in which we can be sure that the translator has really faced the grammatical difficulties, and given us what he has found in the Greek. There is little about the 'degenerate phase of Neoplatonism' beyond a single passage from *de Mysteriis*. The Introduction is very clear, but perhaps owing to undue compression some of the statements appear unguarded. Why should we be told that the Plotinian Hypostases are in no sense 'Persons'? There is surely a very well-known sense in which Hypostasis is a person. The inverted commas no doubt imply something, but Mr Dodds excludes every sense. We are also told that 'the Hellenic mind to the last' found the doctrine of the Incarnation insupportable. Where do we find the last of the Hellenic mind? And are not the Greek Fathers at least as Hellenic as Plotinus, the Egyptian with a Roman name, and Porphyry the Syrian? Mr Dodds finds it not easy to decide how far Plotinus seriously accepted the view that human souls are reincarnated in beasts. Here he seems to be in awe of the modern Neoplatonists, for he has just before translated Plotinus's own statement that 'those who have lived by sense alone are born as beasts'. He twice identifies Origen, the pupil of Ammonius, with Origen the Christian, perhaps rightly, but what shred of evidence is there for it? Porphyry's 'express statement' about Plotinus attaining the ecstasy was not that he attained it four times in his life, but 'about four times while I was with him', and this was about six years. The statement of the philosophy is impartial, and raises the interesting question as to how far this ancient system has any relation or even contact with actual modern thought.

E. J. THOMAS.

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Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi, le Scriptorium de Lyon, la plus ancienne école calligraphique de France, par E. A. LOWE. (Lyon, 1924.)

WITH the exception of the chapter library at Verona, the old Lyons library is the best preserved of all the cathedral libraries of Europe. There are in existence at Lyons itself thirteen of its manuscripts in uncial or semi-uncial [1] writing, dating from the fifth to the eighth century, and there are others preserved elsewhere that can be claimed for Lyons. Of these manuscripts most are patristic, but one or two are biblical or juristic. The following authors are represented: Hilary, Augustine, Eucherius, Origen (Latin, of course), and Jerome. The biblical manuscripts are three, containing portions of the Old Testament, one of them the famous Heptateuch edited by Ulysse Robert. The juristic MSS are copies of the Theodosian Code and Canons of certain Councils respectively.

Dr Lowe has conceived the happy idea of grouping all the majuscule manuscripts that are known to have been in Lyons in the pre-Caroline period, and this he has done in a series of thirty-five superb plates, where the writing is represented in the natural size. He has at the same time furnished a palaeographical account of each MS, and an introduction setting forth his views on the early Lyonese scripts. Among the manuscripts studied is the *Codex Bezae*, not that Dr Lowe would assert its Lyonese origin, but he has clearly demonstrated that the MS was in Lyons at least as early as the ninth century.[2]

It may safely be said that never was more careful study devoted to any collection of manuscripts. The presence of certain ninth-century annotations has proved a valuable means of identifying the contents of the Lyons chapter library at that date. The manuscripts themselves furnish no information, contemporary with the original writing, concerning their place of origin, and Dr Lowe's arguments therefore rest on strong probability, not on absolute certainty. The three principles posed by him are of general interest, and should therefore be set down here. They are: (1) If a very old manuscript is preserved in a still older centre, one is justified in believing, in default of proofs to the contrary, that it originated in that centre; (2) if, further, this manuscript reproduces the work of an author who flourished in this centre, or belongs to a literary *genre* which was brilliantly cultivated there, the supposed

[1] It should be mentioned that Dr Lowe has published a list of all half-uncial manuscripts known to him (160 in all!) in *Miscellanea Ehrle* iv (Rome, 1924) pp. 34–61.

[2] Cf. his article in this JOURNAL, vol. xxv (1923–1924) pp. 270–274, with facsimiles.

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origin is thereby confirmed; (3) finally, if the manuscripts preserved in this centre present common characteristics, different from those of comparable manuscripts found in other regions, we can conclude with sufficient confidence that we are dealing with productions of a distinct school. In all twenty manuscripts are thus assigned to Lyons, of which, as has been said above, thirteen are still there.

This argumentation is of the greatest importance for all students of Latin palaeography, for it is but bare justice to acknowledge that no one else has studied the characteristics, for instance, of Latin uncial script with quite the minuteness of Dr Lowe. The forms of letters, the marginal notes contemporary with or later than the text, the abbreviations, and the decoration of the manuscripts are all subjected to a critical examination. The history of the dispersal of the collection is sketched, so far as known, and it certainly goes back at least as far as the ninth century, the date at which the Eucherius manuscript (Paris, B. N. lat. 9550) was transferred to the Abbey of St Claudius in the Jura.

It should be added that the treatment of these MSS is purely palaeographical, full references being given to earlier literature, including facsimiles, treating the manuscripts from this point of view. It was no part of the author's duty to enter into textual matters, to tell us the textual character of the MSS, whether they have been used by editors or not, and so on. The palaeographer must come first. Now that he has done his work in a way at once satisfying and brilliant, it is for the textual critic to enter in and possess the kingdom.

In view of the statement that Paris, B. N. lat. 9550 'has the oldest known text' of certain works of Eucherius, it would be interesting to know to what date Dr Lowe assigns the uncial Cod. Sessorianus 77, which some have put as early as the sixth century; on page 37, line 1, correct 'uncral' to 'uncial'.

A. SOUTER.

The Ideals of Asceticism: an Essay in the Comparative Study of Religion, by OSCAR HARDMAN, M.A., D.D. (S.P.C.K., London, 1924.)

THE author approaches his subject from the standpoint of the Christian religion. That is a perfectly justifiable method, but it is one which has very definite dangers. In the anxiety to do justice to one's own religion there is the ever-present tendency to misconceive or to underestimate the value of other religions. In his preface the author

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almost seems to suggest that there cannot be any independent valuation of religions. It is, of course, a question whether valuation should be included in the Comparative Study of Religions. But leaving that question aside, it might well be asked how there can be any intelligible conversion from one religion to another, or from one sectarianism to another, unless a person can assume an attitude of critical consideration and detachment from his own religion and judge between it and others. There is a genuine problem here which the author does not seem to recognize.

Turning to the body of the book, we find a very able consideration of the place of asceticism in religion. Asceticism is (p. 16) 'the voluntary practice of renunciation, suffering, and toil, for the deliverance and protection of the soul from defilement, for the increase of its powers by the discharge of its proper functions in accordance with its own conception of the moral and spiritual order, and for the consequent achievement and enjoyment of its full status'. Now the author distinguishes (p. 5) the asceticism which is a moral and religious self-discipline, innocent of dualistic foundation; and that which seems to have such a foundation, in implying the purgation of the spiritual from its material and, as some believe, therefore, evil environment. The author does not seem to feel that the really difficult problem with regard to asceticism is not when it implies giving up a material which is regarded as itself evil: for that is only what one would expect. The difficulty is when one, in asceticism, feels impelled and as it were obliged for the attainment of one good to give up another. And this may be where there is no real necessity of any defilement by following the apparently lower path. Asceticism, however free it may become from the dualism of matter and spirit, or body and spirit, cannot escape from some form of dualism. We do not improve the situation very much intellectually by talking of 'duality' instead of dualism. And if this consideration were followed out in relation with the philosophical principles of other religions it would often be seen that they are not rightly charged with dualism in the sense mentioned. The conflict of the sensuous and bodily, the transient, with the spiritual, the eternal, has been for them, as also for Christianity not infrequently since St Paul, the form of practical teaching. Yet the author gives me the impression of overemphasizing the dualistic aspect in his accounts of most other religions, and underestimating it in his account of Christianity. He also fails to do justice in some instances to the conception of the 'end' for which asceticism is practised. With regard to the transient world of physical pleasures and pains, it is true to say the forms of Hinduism are predominantly pessimistic: but they are not so concerning the 'end' to be achieved, 'sat' (truth or reality), 'chit' (consciousness), and 'ananda'

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(bliss). Dr Hardman is not very helpful in leading to adequate conceptions of the ideals of asceticism in non-Christian religions, and he is not much more so in regard to their methods. On this side the book is little more than a compilation.

His treatment of Christian asceticism is, however, excellent in bringing out its fundamental motive, and in his plea for a more definite revival of it with regard to the practical problems of our time. For this it does not much matter that he simply reiterates remarks of the E. R. E. article on Monasticism, which almost ludicrously rejects Egyptian influences in the origin and early developement of Christian asceticism, and says that Buddhism was rather influenced by Christianity than otherwise. It is also to be regretted that the author did not give more definitely such things as the Rules of St Basil of Caesarea and of St Benedict. He describes the asceticism associated with the ideal of mystical fellowship; the disciplinary ideal of righteousness; the sacrificial ideal of reparation; and with more direct thought of our own age and conditions, he concludes with a chapter on Christian asceticism and the social order. It is well to bring out the social elements in Christian asceticism, the practical social activities of the various Christian orders in agriculture, education, and the relief of suffering. It is true that by comparison in such matters the non-Christian eastern asceticisms are on a distinctly lower level. But it ought to be acknowledged that for these latter it is only the *spiritual* welfare of themselves and others that really matters. Any social activity of the non-Christian ascetic, such for example, as Mahavira or Gautama Buddha, is in teaching men the way of redemption. To the eastern ascetic, it is a retrograde step to leave this 'to serve tables'. We should not fail to appreciate that point of view, although for the Christian view of life and the world, 'serving tables' is of significance. There is room for only one further comment. The reality and the necessity of the asceticism of reparation for Christians the author abundantly shews, and none of us can doubt it. But to one reader at least it is utterly incomprehensible how this is compatible with a quotation he makes from Bishop Gore. I find nothing in the author's exposition to reconcile the positions. The quotation is: Jesus Christ 'vindicates the divine character by a great act of moral reparation, made in man's name and in man's behalf, to the divine holiness which our sins have ignored and outraged. This great act of reparation is consummated in the blood-shedding of Christ. The sacrifice of consummate obedience is carried to its extreme point and accepted in its perfection. God in Christ receives from man, and that publicly, a perfect reparation.' . . . Then, where the further need (*yet* actually felt) for reparation? Dr Hardman has given his exposition from the

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point of view of a Christian. I seriously ask: What would a truly religious and intelligent non-Christian think of such a statement as this accepted from Dr Gore?

No short review could give an opportunity for consideration of any but a few of the points of this book. In spite of the criticisms which have been raised in my mind by it, I would like in conclusion to say it is in the main a valuable discussion of its subject, deserving of careful study.

The Lady Julian: a Psychological Study, by R. H. THOULESS, M.A., Ph.D. (S.P.C.K., London, 1924.)

Is the religious experience of the mystic essentially at one with that of the ordinary man? That question is an important one for any genuine philosophy of religion, that is, for a philosophy of religion which endeavours to obtain a coherent and justifiable view of the actual facts of religion, and not merely seeks theological implications in what may be called non-religious facts. It is also of importance for pastoral theology and pastoral activity. For if the mystic can be regarded as an adept of the religious life, occupied pre-eminently in the cultivation of the highest life of the spirit, then an earnest study of the mystics, and an appreciation of their attitude and achievements, should assist the ordinary man to raise his own religious experience to a higher level. We cannot but be thankful that already during the last two decades there has been an increasing recognition of the intrinsic character of the religious experience, and a wider and more frequent study of mysticism among Protestant scholars. It is seen that a mere moralism and theological intellectualism is not an adequate representation of religion; that, in fact, these rarely get to the distinctive and the characteristic. But we are still far from following out in practice the implications of this wider and more profound view of religion. It may be asked how many candidates for ordination are required to or actually do undertake the study and devotional reading of the writings of the mystics or other adepts of the religious life. And it might equally be asked: what proportion of actual ministers of religion give themselves at all regularly or systematically to this sort of nourishment?

This, a subject of frequent thought, was again suggested by Dr Thouless's small book. For it is one which should lead many to the study of the writings of the mystics themselves, and this from a sane and a scholarly standpoint. The writer has a keen insight into the similarities and the differences between the religious life of the

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mystic and of the ordinary man. It is a satisfaction to be able to give this book unstinted praise. It is to be hoped that it will be widely studied.

The Psychology of Religion, by W. B. SELBIE, D.D., Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. (The University Press, Oxford, 1924.)

THIS volume contains the substance of two courses of lectures given at Oxford by the Wilde Lecturer in Natural and Comparative Religion. It also forms the first volume published of a new series of Oxford Handbooks of Theology. It is admirably suited for inclusion in such a series, the purpose of which may be supposed to be the concise presentation of the material and outstanding theories at the present time in the subjects of theological study. This is what Dr Selbie has given in the present book with reference to the psychology of religion. He is not concerned with elaborating any new methods of approach or stating and defending any novel theories of his own. The value of his book lies in the fairness with which he describes the different attitudes and theories adopted by all the important writers in the psychology of religion; in the fullness and aptness of his references; and in the great care which he exercises in his estimation of the amount of truth and worth in these attitudes and theories. We might have benefited by a greater freedom and initiative on Dr Selbie's part. We are left with reference to so many of the problems discussed, with great uncertainty as to the nature of what Dr Selbie regards as the most probable solution. Thus, favouring the idea of a common origin of magic and religion as opposed to the view of their independent beginnings, he gives us no satisfactory suggestion as to what the psychological nature of this magico-religious condition was. It would, in my opinion, have been better to treat of *Mana*, which is capable of relation with a pre-animistic as well as an animistic attitude, before dealing with magic. It might be asked whether thus it would not be possible to preserve a certain continuity in the representations of the objective side of the subjective-objective religious experience.

It is to be regretted that, largely though not entirely owing to his references to other writers, in chapter iv he uses the terms unconscious and subconscious (once even, p. 76, unconscious mind), often without due discrimination. I am sufficiently 'old-fashioned' to deplore the use of the term 'unconscious' in psychology. While agreeing with Dr Selbie that there is no justification for 'the theory that the unconscious part of our being is in some way the higher', it does not seem to me that he has analysed sufficiently this part of his subject.

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Admitted that for consciousness, as distinct from the subconscious, some definite attention is required, for the man whose attention is distracted by other things, the effects of the forces which make for religion, social or perchance the influence of a Supreme Spirit, will be subconscious. God may be influencing men thus though they are not 'as conscious, free, and intelligent beings' responding to Him.

The subject of mysticism gives the psychologist considerable trouble. Unfortunately the difficulty is enhanced by the necessity of recognizing in most, if not indeed all, religion some kind of mystical relationship of worshipper and worshipped, and frequent use of the term mysticism for a condition in which 'the usual subject-object distinction is obliterated and all resolved into a oneness'. Dr Selbie at times represents mysticism as essentially an affair of feeling, at another of intellect. There may be two types. But when it is contended that Hindu mysticism is one of knowledge, it ought to be made clear that this is not of any simple intellectual or ratiocinative kind. Reason, image worship, the practices of the yogi, and so on, are only means, disciplinary and other, for preparing the mind for the highest *gnosis*. Dr Selbie does not, in his references to Hinduism and Buddhism, bring out the psychology of their aim of 'equanimity of mind'.

The Psychology of Religion is comparatively young as a scientific study, so young that it has yet no clearly marked lines of developement and treatment. In bringing together around prominent problems what psychologists have said and say about religion, Dr Selbie has done a useful piece of work, and produced an interesting book.

The Philosophy of Religion, by D. MIALL EDWARDS, Professor of the Philosophy of Religion, the Congregational College, Brecon. (Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1924.)

THERE are good reasons for believing that we are in a transition period with regard to the philosophy of religion. Though not decidedly on the side of the new, Mr Edwards has attained a certain amount of freedom from the older methods of approach, and his brief survey is a good example of the transition that is taking place. The earlier philosophy of religion occupied itself almost entirely with discussions of the ideas of God, immortality, and freedom, and with some further attention to the problem of evil. It is symptomatic of the newer mode of approach that almost half of the present treatise is given to an investigation, largely empirical, into the nature of religion. But Mr Edwards in the philosophical parts of his book pays extremely little attention to the actual contents of the empirical religions, and his

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exposition follows rather the earlier forms of the philosophy of religion, treating of a few fundamental principles. To limit ourselves to two examples of what we should expect from the newer philosophy of religion, but which the author does not give us: the ideas of incarnation and of redemption (from suffering and—or—sin) are so prevalent in religions in one form or another, that a philosophy of religion based on its empirical study should enquire into the significance of such ideas. These are simply illustrations of that more detailed content of religious experience which the philosopher ought not to ignore, if he wishes for a genuine and adequate understanding of religion.

Mr Edwards may rightly plead that he lacked space for such a treatment. Within his limits he has produced a valuable brief introduction to his subject. It is well written and his judgements are well balanced. The book can be whole-heartedly recommended to those about to commence the systematic study of the subject.

A. G. WIDGERY.

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CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT.

PRIDE of place must undoubtedly be given to the recent discovery of what is obviously the origin of a small section of the Book of Proverbs (xxii 17–xxiv 22). In 1923 Sir E. A. Wallis Budge published under the title *The Wisdom of the Egyptians* a long roll containing the teaching of the sage Amen-em-apt. A certain similarity between a few of the passages and the Book of Proverbs did not pass unobserved, but it was left for the Berlin Egyptologist, Erman, to shew that not only was the similarity of the closest, but that actual derivation could practically be proved. (See *The Times Literary Supplement*, September 4, 1924, p. 539.) The points of contact have since been assiduously pursued by the O.T. scholars Sellin in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* (October 4), and by Gressmann who, in the last number of the *Z. A. T. W.* (pp. 272–296), furnishes a new and careful study of the Egyptian and Hebrew texts (enlisting the help of the Egyptologist Sethe), the literary criticism of Proverbs, and the question of intercommunication between Egypt and Palestine. The teaching of Amen-em-ope (as he is called) is divided into thirty chapters, and in Prov. xxii 20 there are some unintelligible words which, with the simple change of *shilshōm* (or *shālīshīm*) into *shĕlōshīm*, a change partially supported by the versions (τρισσῶς, *tripliciter*, &c.), would read 'have I not written to thee *thirty* [*scil.* sayings] with counsels and knowledge'. It seems difficult not to agree that, besides being familiar with the Egyptian proverbs—well shewn by Gressmann—the Hebrew scribe was actually acquainted with the Egyptian source itself, and this fact therefore becomes of the greatest interest for O.T. criticism. Before now it had more than once been thought that the Hebrews knew of the Egyptian 'Tale of the Two Brothers' and the 'Romance of Sinuhe' (cf. e.g. *Camb. Anc. Hist.* i 226 sq.); and the debt of Palestine to the culture of Egypt has been discussed almost as keenly as that to Babylonia. Now it is to be hoped that future discussion will be more restrained, seeing that, on the one hand, the presence and influence of Semites in Egypt is not to be overlooked, and, on the other, Egypt and south-west Asia may—as Winckler, Jeremias, and others have urged—have been penetrated by a single if not almost international culture. It must suffice to refer to the not uncommon 'Semitic' colour of Egyptian inscriptions (e.g. Merneptah's vaunt, Breasted, iii § 616) and to the points of contact between the

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(pre-Israelite) Amarna Letters, and later biblical literature. Of exceptional importance is the fact that the Hebrew author was no blind copier of Amen-em-ope's teaching; he has omitted where he thought fit, he ignores the Egyptian gods, and such a belief as the Judgement of the Dead; he has adjusted his material to Hebrew metre and to Hebrew susceptibilities. Similarly, it will be recalled that although Ps. civ bears a striking resemblance to a famous hymn of Ikhnaton, the Psalm is adjusted to Palestinian scenery and conditions, and has a characteristic theism which is wanting in the old Egyptian poem. This co-existence of indebtedness and individuality, equally familiar in the use made of Mesopotamian myths, and in the archaeology of Palestine, is of the utmost significance for any attempt to form ideas of the place of the Hebrews in the ancient world of life and thought. Finally, while Erman thinks that the teaching of Amen-em-ope was popularized in the eighth to sixth centuries B. C., and taken over by the Jews in the Saïte or in the Persian period, Gressmann argues for a much earlier origin. Here, however, a distinction may naturally be drawn between the earliest date when Amen-em-ope's teaching may have been known to the Hebrews and the date of Prov. xxii 17–xxiv 22; and in this difficult question it is well to remember that in Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia we find certain specific periods when there was a tendency to revive and re-copy ancient compositions, and that, although gnomic sayings must always have flourished in Palestine, the 'Wisdom' literature as a whole represents a distinctive tendency which comes after the age of the great prophets, and after the inauguration of post-exilic Judaism, and represents a very recognizable 'spirit of the age'. Good points are made by Gressmann on the activity of the old 'scribes', and on the biblical references to the desert or Arabian origin of Wisdom; but it is appropriate to recall the position of Teima and Petra, intermediary (as the archaeological evidence shews) between Egypt, Babylonia, Arabia, and Palestine; and as they flourished from the sixth century B. C. onwards, rather than at any much earlier date, it may be that it is to about this period that the desert and 'Wisdom' traits in the extant sources of the O. T. go back in the main.

The Book of Amos, Hebrew text edited with critical and grammatical notes by Rev. T. H. Robinson, D.D. (S.P.C.K., 1923), is a step in the right direction; and thanks are due to the Society and the author for a new venture which should prove a success. It differs from the old series by Bachmann (Berlin, 1890, &c.) in that the vocabulary is not given to each chapter but to the whole book, the notes are fuller, and there is a brief introduction, with special reference to the metrical questions. Teachers will be glad to use it, and it will be highly welcome to self-taught students. For the latter there is now a new boon in

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Prof. McFadyen's key to the exercises in Davidson's *Hebrew Grammar* (T. & T. Clark, 1924); it contains also numerous explanatory notes, and may be warmly commended. Here, also, may be mentioned a new series of glossaries to single books of the O. T. (Töpelmann, Giessen). Genesis, Isaiah, and Psalms have already appeared—the last by J. Herrmann. Some attention is paid to special grammatical and syntactical difficulties, and some corrupt readings are emended; in exceptional cases references are given. The series should prove valuable—more so, if, on the lines of Dr Robinson's *Amos*, the Hebrew text could be included. Of value also to students is a new French commentary on Ruth by Father Joüon, S.J., of the Institut Biblique Pontifical (Rome, 1924). It contains introduction, translation, and commentary, with special reference to the text. (Why הֵרָיוֹן is said to be of the form *qatalān* I do not know, p. 92; see Ges. § 85 *u*.) Particular attention is paid to the Arabic versions; there are good archaeological notes, especially on local custom. Critical questions are handled, and while the author inclines to a post-exilic date, the Authorities of the Institute insert a paragraph giving their reasons for thinking a pre-exilic date 'much more probable' (p. 13). It cannot be said, however, that Prof. Joüon has cleared up the peculiar difficulties of the book specified in the art. 'Ruth' in the *Ency. Brit.* (eleventh edition, vol. xxiii p. 939).

In *Amos and his Age* by Charles Knapp, D.D. (Murby, London), we have the result of an experiment in lectures connected with the Method of Teaching Scripture in Schools, delivered under the Delegacy for the Training of Teachers at Oxford. The aim is to place the story of the Hebrews in the general history of the nations, and to shew how their political experiences transformed their moral character; it is to make the Bible 'a library and a literature'. The little book takes the form of sketches, mere outlines for the teacher to fill out; the subject is arranged in eight lessons, with series of questions and useful diagrams illustrating the position which Hebrew religion holds in the evolution of the human race. There are biblical references, and teachers will find Dr Knapp's demonstration-lessons suggestive and stimulating.

Major Povah, B.D., in *A Study of the Old Testament* (Longmans, 1924), publishes the fruit of lectures in connexion with the Church Tutorial Classes Association, of which he is General Secretary. Canon Box contributes a brief foreword, emphasizing the present need for a sound constructive book based upon modern critical study. It is an eminently practical little book, with several original features, and, though elementary, covers much ground. It is well written, illumined with bright and topical parallels (e. g. pp. 34, 40), and suitable for beginners. It has no space to argue to the 'moderate critical position' from which it starts, and it does not take the reader very far. It assumes the

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ordinary 'evolutionary' point of view which believes that we can trace a simple progressive developement within the covers of the O. T., regardless of the religious history of Palestine itself—a more historical survey of Palestinian history and religion would lead to less schematic conclusions. It may be remarked, apropos of Jeremiah's celibacy and his policy of surrender (p. 33 n. 4), that an excellent parallel to the prophet's attitude may be found in Josephus who, too, thought that God was on the side of the Romans; and Josephus, by the way, was a married man.

Another elementary book, *Israel before Christ*, one of the series of 'The World's Manuals' (Oxford University Press), by the Rev. A. W. F. Blunt, is a fine example of popularization. With chronological chart, and a number of illustrations (though of unequal value), it ranges over a very wide field and gives an extremely useful condensation of social and religious developement within the O. T. It will be welcome to those who have neither time nor inclination for larger and more discursive works, and it is admirably calculated to give the reader an insight into the general course of O. T. study. Viewed critically, however, it adopts a perspective which can hardly stand against external evidence. For example, the patriarchal life (in Genesis) can scarcely be placed in the plane of Arab nomadism (p. 15); and the 'patriarchal religion' of which Mr Blunt speaks (p. 37) is that of sources which he himself would attribute to the ninth and eighth centuries, and which the present reviewer would bring down about a couple of centuries later. The conditions of *c.* 1400–1200, as known from external sources, hardly allow the *descriptions* in Judges, &c., which he dates about the seventh century, and the Amarna Letters point rather to the supremacy of Hittites over Egyptians than to the predominance of Hebrews or Israelites (p. 21). The picture of Canaanite religion (p. 22) quite ignores what has long been known from external and contemporary sources; and if the Israelite conquest was not complete till the time of David and Solomon (p. 27 sq.), should not the reader be told how much of the accounts of Joshua, Samuel, and Saul has been jettisoned? And so one could go step by step and mark the inadequacy of the general view of O. T. history which characterizes the 'moderate critical position' which has now become popular, but which external evidence and a more careful historical criticism combine to replace by another position. It is more pleasing, however, to note the many excellent pages, such as the useful summary of the prophets (p. 80), or the vivid account of the post-exilic religion. In effect, Mr Blunt has made good use of his authorities, and one is glad to have so handy a stepping-stone to the newer movements from the ordinary unreflecting attitude to the O. T.

A Dutch scholar, Dr A. H. Edelkoort (*Uittocht en Intocht*, Utrecht,

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1924), writes a detailed study of the history of Israel from the Exodus to the Settlement in Palestine, the special features of which are the theory of a twofold Israel, and the clever attempt to dovetail the biblical narratives and the Amarna Letters. His chief results, as usefully summarized and dated (p. 206 sq.), comprise the following: 1870 B.C., descent into Egypt; 1446, the Exodus; 1407, the southern tribes cross the Jordan by Jericho; 1400–1385, the central tribes cross by Adam and proceed to Gilgal; 1385–1380, the northern tribes settle down, and a few years later Deborah overcomes the Canaanites and seizes the Megiddo plain. The effort to combine the Amarna Letters with the exploits of the Israelites must be recognized as extremely ingenious, the more so as we are asked why are there no Amarna Letters from Jericho, Bethel, and Ai (pp. 140 sq., 170), if it be not that they were lost to Egypt and had been taken by Israel? Obvious difficulties to this procedure have already been pointed out by Prof. Burney (*Judges*, p. cxvii), and a closer study of the Amarna Letters themselves shews that the operations were not identical and that, as might be expected by readers of *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, the most arresting parallels are due to the nature of the routes and of the physical features which have imposed a certain similarity of strategy upon all military leaders throughout all ages. Further, not only do the Amarna Letters reflect a contest between Egypt and the Hittites, but the Egyptian stelae recently discovered at Beth-Shean prove that only a few years later Egypt had recovered possession of a considerable part of Palestine, and her armies were defending loyal Canaanite chieftains against the disloyal elements. The new stelae are of the first importance for any study of the political conditions reflected in the Amarna Letters.

Whereas the earlier history of Israel has a superior attraction for some scholars, to others the post-exilic history and the stages leading up to Christianity are the more fascinating. It is a commonplace that modern criticism has illumined centuries which once seemed a blank, and that through the recognition that our historical sources are due to exilic and post-exilic editors (D and P) new light has been cast upon the background of these late compilers. More than that, Assyrian and other external evidence has shewn how profound was the disintegration during the middle centuries of the first millennium B. C.; we may be said to pass from an old world to a new one, and the O. T. more naturally leads on to the rise of Christianity than reaches back to the historical and religious conditions prior to the reforming activity of the great prophets. Of special interest, therefore, is the excellent sketch by Prof. A. Causse of Strasburg, *Israël et la vision de l'humanité* (1924), wherein he seeks to trace the steps from the universalism of the prophets to the Greco-

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Jewish humanism of the Wisdom of Solomon, and that 'humanity' which found a new expression in the Kingdom of Heaven for all men of goodwill (p. 149). Naturally, the sketch is a reconstruction; but material abounds, the external evidence is invaluable, and the problem a far more practicable one than that of the beginnings of Israelite religion. The prophets are our starting-point, and we have to follow the particularist *versus* universalist tendencies and understand the part each played in preparing the way for the sequel. We have to mark the reaction against syncretism, and an intense, if narrow, Yahwism in its contest against a too tolerant internationalism. We see prophetism becoming moralism (p. 86), also the spread of an abstract deism, and how it was that Judaism appeared to foreigners to be a philosophic religion. In Philo the O. T. is denationalized: it is a philosophy, it has a more than Jewish significance. So, as we leave behind us the prophets, and pass through the post-exilic age, we are irresistibly reminded of the more or less contemporary movements in far-off Taoism and Confucianism. We have problems of theistic, deistic, and cosmic world-order; and exceedingly interesting questions arise of that great world of thought in the midst of which Palestine worked out its history from Jeremiah to Jesus. Prof. Causse is throughout stimulating, and even where one may not follow him, he has the merit of focusing attention upon enquiries which one is apt to overlook in one's more specialistic work.

Of three *Beihefte* of the *Z. A. T. W.* the first (No. 36) by Hedwig Jahnow is a scholarly study of Hebrew dirges, including a valuable contribution to the investigation of mourning customs. It attempts to reconstruct the feelings and ideas that operated, and to distinguish between the spontaneous and psychological features on the one hand, and those more conventional and systematized, on the other. The different types of dirge are analysed (e. g. the lament of sister over brother), and notice taken of the *motifs* and literary styles. An important chapter deals with the laments over dead gods (Tammuz, Adonis, &c.) and their traces in the O. T. There is a full treatment (textual, &c.) of the several dirges in the O. T. and in later literature (e. g. the Apocalypse, ch. xviii). Among the more significant developements studied is Isa. liii, where the hero, after Gunkel, is regarded as an *Idealgestalt* (p. 259). (English readers, though not unmindful of Gunkel's fine work, may recall the late A. B. Davidson's discussion *O. T. Prophecy*, pp. 416 sqq., a book which the present reviewer at least still finds one of the best of starting-points.) The idea of resurrection is held not to be influenced by any cult-figure; there is a mysteriousness in the chapter, a new religious experience (p. 261); and whereas the Hebrew dirges are usually *diesseitig* (p. 262, cf. p. 56), here death is not

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a deprival of all that is good in life. The chapter testifies to some new phenomenon, and it is very noteworthy how with Mowinckel, Gunkel, Sellin (see the *Expository Times*, January, p. 175 sq.), and Jahnow there is renewed interest in the problem of the Suffering Servant. Here may be mentioned a pamphlet by Prof. Böhl, *De 'Knecht des Heeren' in Jezaja 53* (Haarlem, 1923), who gives important Babylonian parallels and suggests that mystical cults, together with ideas both of an individual and of a collective nature, have been fused. In other words, there is something transcendental about the figure behind Isa. liii, and accustomed as we are to recognize the work of the great *reforming* iconoclastic prophets, here is a *synthesizing* figure of a higher and mystical order, so unique as to admit of the many diverse and partial interpretations which still divide students.

In *Beiheft*, No. 37, Prof. Ludwig Köhler of Zürich handles the stylistic features of Isa. xl–lv with text and textual commentary. He notes that the syntax is passing from parataxis to hypotaxis. The style is rhetorical, and to a special degree juridical; but it is rather repetitious. There is a certain poverty of expression, and Deutero-Isaiah seems to say more than he does. Originality, he points out, consists not in new ideas, but in the reshaping of old ones; and he urges a deeper study of the *motifs* which the O.T. writers use, and their vicissitudes. This greater attention to O.T. *style* and *ideas* is one of the most valuable of present-day tendencies, and Prof. Köhler's further studies will be awaited with interest.

Prof. Max Löhr in *Beiheft*, No. 38, in the first of a series of studies, deals rather briefly with the Priestly Code in Genesis. His view is that P may be a single *author*, but we have no single continuous *source* P so that we cannot speak of P as made in Babylon in Ezra's day. The Pentateuch is the work of Ezra and his colleagues: he had at his disposal much pre-exilic material, perhaps (in the case of the patriarchal narratives) a whole series of stories and possibly sacrificial and ritual laws from more than one sanctuary. All this Ezra brought to Palestine. Later are the chronological notices, such chapters as Gen. xiv, xxxiv, xxxviii, and xlix, and sundry glosses and miscellaneous changes (p. 32). In fact, the literary phenomena are very complex, and, in Löhr's opinion, the current literary critical theories are unsatisfactory. More stress is to be laid on the unity of Genesis; though, as is obvious, it is a post-exilic unity which is our starting-point and from which we must work backward. If Prof. Löhr's work is an indication that our literary theories are inadequate, he certainly does not point to any traditional or conservative position, herein differing entirely from the position advocated by the writer whom we have next to notice.

An article on 'The Main Problem of Deuteronomy' by Mr Harold M.

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Wiener, M.A., LL.B., which was first published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1920, pp. 46–82, reprinted 37 pp.), now appears in a German dress (Gütersloh; with introduction by Dr Kegel). Mr Wiener deals *inter alia* with the legal differences between Exodus and Deuteronomy, arguing that they are not such as to allow the conclusions of date and developement usually based upon them; and an interesting feature of the German edition is the addition of a few pages by Dr Knauth, Oberverwaltungsgerichtsrat, substantiating him. Important though this may be, one feels that we have too much the standpoint of the modern lawyer, and that as an Oriental work the O. T. must not be judged by western legal methods. In any event, the legal aspect of the Pentateuch proves to be uncommonly complex. Emphasis is laid upon the differences between camp-laws (Leviticus) and laws meant for the settlement in Canaan (Deuteronomy), and even this is inadequate when Lev. xvii modifies Ex. xx 24 for the desert period; 'it is plainly a camp-law and nothing else' (Eng. version, p. 20), although *v.* 7 treats it as permanent. It is interesting to observe that Mr Wiener brushes away the difference between Deut. i 22 sq., where the *people* suggest the mission of the spies, and Num. xiii 13, where it is a *divine* command; Orientals, he says, habitually think and speak in this fashion, and no Easterner would see any discrepancy (Eng. p. 5). Quite so, but the discrepancy remains, and Mr Wiener has rightly recognized a fact for which 'critics' have often been blamed, when ignoring the divine origin or authorship ascribed by tradition to some law or utterance. Mr Wiener concludes that in spite of a century of criticism not a shadow of a case can be made against the authenticity of the Mosaic speeches (p. 37)! On the other hand, some of his other views are noteworthy. The Pentateuch consisted of a whole library of short writings; these sustained accidental damage, and when it was sought to piece them together, many were fragmentary and the true order was entirely lost. An erroneous arrangement was often adopted, and sometimes lost matter was made good by composing supplementary material. Where the extant fragments could not be read, recourse was necessarily had to rewriting (p. 3 sq.). The position of the Levites was completely changed after the Exile as a result of Ezekiel's activity (p. 30). The Temple-priesthood glossed the sacrificial laws most freely and sometimes the gloss was a mistaken one (p. 21); they introduced readings that conferred larger dues on their own order (p. 27), and these were imitated at Shechem in the Samaritan Pentateuch, which shews a very late form of text. This is criticism of sorts—reminiscent of the eighteenth century—and it would be interesting to see what could be made of it by those who consider that the 'documentary theorists' have had their day. In *Early Hebrew History* (Scott, 1924) Mr Wiener first

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reprints two studies from the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for 1921: one on 'Some factors in early Hebrew history' (centrifugal forces, &c., personalities who moulded history); the other on 'The law of change in the Bible' (on the modification of laws, &c.). In the latter he comments on the free attitude to the Mosaic law, urges that laws 'to perpetuity' (לְעוֹלָם) are not to be taken too literally (the term suggests the idea of permanence), and begs the question by the statement that 'Moses carefully distinguished between that which was unalterable and that which could be, and in fact was, changed freely by himself and others as opportunity demanded' (p. 77). A third study is new, on 'the biblical doctrines of joint, hereditary, and individual responsibility'. It is an interesting contribution, since it tacitly recognizes the necessity of some sort of evolutionary or developement theory in order to understand the O.T. Attention is rightly drawn to the profound difference between chains of consequences, courses of events which seem unalterable, and the influence at particular times of men of outstanding personality. And what can be traced in the history of a people recurs in the life-history of individuals, a fact of importance for understanding Ezekiel's attitude to the individual. The essay as a whole is suggestive, but it is weakened by its adherence to an extreme and untenable traditionalist position. Further, Mr Wiener relies too much upon what the 'best minds' would think, or 'the considered and authoritative teaching of the O.T.' (p. 94), and the difference between responsible and irresponsible acts. Such a starting-point is hardly conducive to impartial criticism.

The name of Jean Astruc has again become prominent in O.T. controversy, and we welcome the reprint, from the *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, of the study by A. Lods and P. Alphandéry of Astruc and the biblical criticism of the eighteenth century. Astruc was not the first to note the difference in the use of the divine names—he was preceded by Witter in 1711 (p. 54); but he was the first to develope the clue, and Wiener, Dahse, and other moderns find early forerunners, when writers in 1754 and 1782 pointed out that the versions do not always support the particular divine name upon which reliance is placed. To-day we are able to distinguish between (1) mechanical reliance upon the presence of *either* Yahweh *or* Elohim, and (2) the fact that what seemed at the time the most significant clue led to the discovery of others which proved to be more important. That is why, as modern opponents commonly forget, Astruc's clue became of secondary value: for not only was it necessary to distinguish *two* Elohists, but the clue was deliberately rejected when other and more valuable criteria outweighed it.

In these circumstances it is good to have a second impression of

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Pentateuchal Criticism, by the Rev. D. C. Simpson, D.D. (with introduction by Bishop Ryle; Oxford Press, 1924). It is an adequate and clear account of the meaning of criticism, its history, the chief sources, the bearing of archaeology and other external evidence, and the divine purpose in Hebrew religion. There is a valuable appendix on the names of God in the Pentateuch, with reference to the objections of Dahse, Wiener, &c. The whole is a concise and readable introduction to the Pentateuchal problem from the point of view of the current position in O. T. criticism: thus no attempt is made to pass to the developements of Torrey, Kennett, Eduard Meyer, Hölscher, and others. An up-to-date book of this kind, with special reference to the objections brought by the opponents of O. T. criticism in general, fills a gap, and it should be widely known. Novel and of special interest are the opening pages on the *meaning* of criticism. Here, as Canon Simpson's examples shew, criticism (in art, &c.) essentially arises from our desire to answer our own questions, settle our doubts and difficulties, and satisfy our curiosity. Criticism, as such, is the effort to understand, to relate a thing to ourselves, and this leads us to the necessary recognition that it is not enough to answer our own questions, we have also to realize why our answers do not always satisfy others besides ourselves. And this means that the best position in O. T. criticism is that which most does justice to its rivals and opponents. To be able to understand —not necessarily to appreciate—an opposed attitude is a great stimulus to one's own, and because biblical criticism is, in its nature, the highest and most responsible of tasks, the position of one's rivals or colleagues always repays the most careful attention as a means of correcting or strengthening one's own.

An effort to substantiate a traditional position will always be approached with respect. *In and Around the Book of Daniel* by the Rev. Charles Boutflower (S.P.C.K.) makes this attempt and contains much of interest, although he ignores the possibility of a mediating position such as that illustrated, e. g., by Winckler (*K. A. T.* pp. 285, 287). But Dr Pinches, in a Preface, states that 'as in the case of the Book of Jonah, the critics attack the Book of Daniel, aiming through them their shafts at the Churches' (p. v); and the author, at the close, referring to Christ's use of and reliance upon the Book, says that Christ is the mysterious Being seen by Daniel, and Daniel's Fourth Kingdom is the Roman power, the 'little horn' being the Papacy. Then come these words: 'Yet in both these points the critics hold entirely different views; i. e. they are wiser than Christ: Christ the Teacher of the Gospel pages, Christ the Revealer of the Revelation! Now *that* Higher Criticism, which, consciously or unconsciously, claims to be higher than Christ, comes to us really from beneath. It is the dragon

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who gives it "his power and his throne and great authority".' I can only suppose that a book which sounds this note does not invite criticism, and I refer readers to Canon Simpson's admirable pages upon criticism and religion.

Another difficult book to handle is *Sacrifice and Priesthood: Jewish and Christian*, by the Rev. S. C. Gayford (Methuen). Partly it is an interesting contribution to O. T. ideas of sacrifice, an analysis of the kinds of sacrifice, and a discussion of the fundamental ideas. Here there is much that is informing and helpful. But partly it is bound up with the Sacrifice of Christ and the Epistle to the Hebrews; it leads on to a particular interpretation, which has no natural connexion with the older ideas, and it becomes an earnest treatment of the Eucharistic Offering with special reference to current controversies. If such a book is to be reviewed from a purely critical standpoint, then it may be said that in many ways it is exceedingly suggestive and thought-provoking. It raises the question, one of methodology, What shall be the truly primitive idea of sacrifice? Shall it be that which recurs at great creative movements? that which is most pregnant and most capable of inaugurating a new stage? Mr Gayford argues that the Prophets and the Law are not really antagonistic (p. 5 sq.); but since it is possible to distinguish between the *typically* prophetical and the *extreme* legal tendencies, and equally between the more *religious* and the more *magical* trends of sacrifice, one feels that he has not sufficiently separated the evidence. So he takes the Priestly Law as authoritative for the Christian age (p. 9), although the Founder of Christianity surely comes before us as the 'prophet' denouncing the sterility of contemporary religion (cf. for the O. T., p. 6) and not as the author of the 'priestly' interpretation that we find in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The O. T. prophets purified the old religion, and P shews us the subsequent adjustment; we cannot merge into one the prophetical and the priestly stages—the individualists and the organizers of a social-religious cult. Moore, in his fine article on 'Sacrifice' in the *Ency. Biblica*—referred to by Mr Gayford—points out how the author of the Epistle goes far beyond the old ideas (§ 58); and, in fact, the gulf between the old and the new is such that Mr Gayford's interpretation of the Epistle must be left to the N. T. scholars. No doubt blood-rites were the vehicle for the profoundest ideas of life and death, kinship and unity, and they would be more persuasive and effective than purely spiritual and ethical teaching; but one cannot resist the conviction that the 'prophetical' insistence upon the spiritual union of God and the humble individual precedes the 'priestly' endeavour to safeguard the holiness of God, and to furnish concrete rites for the edification of the faithful, and that what happened in early Palestine and again at the birth of

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Christianity will recur at this age. Mr Gayford, following on the lines of Robertson Smith, is more concerned to trace a real relationship between primitive and advanced ideas of blood-rites and sacrifice; and this is an important principle, the outcome of which it is impossible to foresee. Thus, if the idea of divine communion retired into the background in Israel (p. 15), do not the licentious rites shew how it could be sustained in a grossly realistic manner? And if the blood is the life, does not the similar treatment of animal and human blood point to an earlier recognition of the sanctity of animal life, reminiscent of animal-cults elsewhere, and the preservation of both human and animal life in the care of the god? Mr Gayford's study opens up many important enquiries, and although, as already stated, we must keep his interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews apart from his treatment of the O.T. evidence, the theory of a constantly repeated sacrifice (p. 127 *et al.*) is of peculiar interest to the student of religions for its affinity to the Brahman theories of sacrifice and the ever-repeated self-sacrifice of Prajāpati (cf. *Ency. Brit.*, vol. iv p. 380 *d*).

Jacob Hoschander, Ph.D., of the Dropsie College, Philadelphia, in *The Book of Esther in the Light of History*, submits the much-discussed book to a fresh examination in the light of external history, and offers a new interpretation in support of its historical value. The essence of his argument is that Zoroastrianism and Judaism had much in sympathy with one another until Artaxerxes II introduced an innovation in the shape of the erection throughout the Persian Empire of images of the licentious goddess Anahita. This change offended many Persians, and, still more, all the Jews. Perhaps it was a political measure for the consolidation of the empire: at all events it meant a crisis in Judaism, and led to the persecution of the Jews, and to their subsequent retaliation. The theory is worked out with considerable ingenuity. The tradition of the golden image erected by Nebuchadnezzar is held to be based upon the innovation of Artaxerxes II, and the date of the proposed extermination of the Jews is fixed at 392 B.C. The events are worked in with the account of Ezra's high favour at court—it was when Esther enjoyed the royal favour—and whatever be thought of Dr Hoschander's argument, and it suffers from the attempt to prove too much, he has the merit of emphasizing two facts: (i) the obvious effect of the innovation of Artaxerxes II on the Jews, and (ii) the likelihood that the tradition of the escape of the Jews in the Book of Esther has some historical basis. Here may be added the *Descriptive Catalogue of Genizah Fragments in Philadelphia* by the late B. Halper, Ph.D., also of Dropsie College. Like all Halper's work it is painstaking and sound, for he had a good knowledge of Semitics (especially Arabic), and his many contributions to Semitic philology and Jewish literature make

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us deplore all the more his early death. He will perhaps be always best known for his admirable anthology of Post-Biblical Hebrew Literature (text, translation, notes, and glossary) issued by the Jewish Publication Society in 1921.

Under the title *The Heptadic Structure of Scripture* (Marshall, London), Mr R. McCormack shews how 7 and multiples of 7 prevail throughout the Bible and the universe. The number of sentences in the Bible may generally be divided into sections of 7 each; in each section the number of words and even of letters is usually a multiple of 7, and most words, either singly or in combination with others from the same root or with similar meaning, occur a multiple of 7 times—and so forth. Fishes, reptiles, and aquatic mammals fall into 7 × 2 orders, hydrogen and the six inert gases make up 3 × 7 non-metals, there are 7 × 5 primitive factors of the mind in phrenology. Mr McCormack at least illustrates the fascination of numbers and the desire at all costs to be heptadic.

The symbolism of numbers enters also into Mr Maurice H. Farbridge's *Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* (Kegan Paul). He covers a wide field, and surveys tree, plant, and flower symbols, the symbolism of the Mesopotamian pantheon, symbolism in burial and mourning customs. It is a painstaking compilation, with a store of much curious material that is always worth consulting; although, as may be imagined, caution is always necessary in works of this kind. There are many hints that would repay closer attention, and a more systematic study would undoubtedly be welcome. But Mr Farbridge must reconsider his etymologies, some of which are terrible enormities. Now that Semitic triliteral roots are being reduced to a relatively smaller number of biliterals, each with some fundamental meaning (e. g. pp. 113, 144), there is room for the wildest etymologies, and one fearfully awaits the day when we shall have a theory of twenty-two fundamental root-ideas, corresponding to the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. That an attempt along these lines was made many years ago will not preclude some fresh adventurer.

It is the same propensity for philological monstrosities which prejudices one against Mr L. A. Waddell's book on *The Phoenician Origin of Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons* (Williams & Norgate). No one can object to a temperate endeavour to trace the wanderings of the Phoenicians—they come as a change after the Egyptian migrations beloved of the 'new' school of ethnologists—and every one will admire the author's assiduity; but when we read the sub-title and learn that there are Phoenician and Sumerian inscriptions in Britain, it is difficult to follow the argument seriously. There is much miscellaneous and interesting matter and many observations of importance; but the author does not

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prove his case, the main support of which are the offending philological sins. That the Sumerian *Gal Kud* means 'girl' (slang 'gal'), 'good', is only one among other astonishing suggestions, and when Van (Ararat), Ban (Bantry, &c.), Wan (Wanstead, &c.), Win (Winchester, &c.), Fin (Finchley, &c.)—not to mention other elements—are mingled higgledy-piggledy, we feel that all things are possible—though hardly expedient.

The *Journal* of the recently founded Palestine Oriental Society contains much of interest for students of the O. T. A study of modern Palestinian parallels to the Song of Songs by St. H. Stephan (reprinted from vol. ii pp. 199–278) comprises fifty-four folk-songs in the native dialect with transliteration, translation, and notes, and Mr Stephan draws attention to many points of contact with the old Hebrew collection. Mr Abinoam Yellin, fresh from Cambridge, describes various Genizah fragments in the Jerusalem National Library (vol. iii). Mr Israel Eitan illustrates the value of Ethiopic for Biblical exegesis and lexicography: the 'Hippa'el-Nif'al' conjugation is studied by Mr David Yellin. Mr T. Canaan has a valuable survey of the evidence for Mohammedan saints and sanctuaries in Palestine (vol. iv 1–84). Problems of topography are discussed by F. M. Abel (*South Palestine after the Mosaic Map of Medaba*, iv 107 sqq.) and Prof. Albright. The latter, always illuminating, contributes an interesting, though rather speculative, article on Egypt and the early history of the Negeb where, *inter alia*, biblical data (e. g. the raid on Shechem, Gen. xxxiv) are precariously connected with the details of the Amarna Letters, and Judges i 22 sqq. is combined with the Hyksos evacuation of Palestine. Father Dhorme, for his part, writes on the Ḥabiru and denies their identity with the Hebrews: 'le mouvement des Ḥabiri est l'insurrection de l'indigène contre l'étranger. L'invasion d'Israël est l'installation de l'étranger chez l'indigène' (iv 168). One cannot fail to observe how external evidence and criticism are combining to force a reconsideration of many of the familiar problems.

STANLEY A. COOK.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1925 (Vol. xcix, No. 198: S.P.C.K.). H. F. B. COMPSTON New light on Captain Coram—D. L. UFFELMANN A great lady and her travels in the xiiith century—W. H. RIGG The personality of John the Apostle and the Fourth Gospel—W. LOCKTON Sacrifice and the Eucharist—G. L. HEAWOOD History as a factor in moral education—M. LUCE Poetry and Prose—Z. The Bishop of Massachusetts and fifty years of change—F. H. SMITH Indian studies—The later non-jurors—C. JENKINS A new catalogue from Mt. Athos—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1925 (Vol. xxiii, No. 2: Williams & Norgate). JAMES WARD The Christian ideas of faith and eternal life—E. HOLMES Our debt to the ancient wisdom of India: Nirvana—E. UNDERHILL Our two-fold relation to Reality—THE EDITOR The need for a philosophy of labour—J. A. CAMPBELL Brown furrows and green fields—C. F. THWING Ruling ideas in America—H. RUSSELL An ominous cloud—S. ALEXANDER The artistry of truth—A. Y. CAMPBELL The basis of Greek Tragedy—F. A. MACCUNN The 'St Joan' of Charles Péguy—B. H. STREETER Dream symbolism and the mystic vision—J. R. MOZLEY Francis William Newman—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1925 (Ninth Series, No. 1: Hodder & Stoughton). THE EDITOR Current issues—G. W. WADE The ten best books on the Apostolic Age—W. EMERY BARNES Bible and Kor'an—J. P. NAISH The Book of Job and the early Persian period—Literary illustrations of the First Epistle to the Corinthians—I. LOGAN Prophecy and sacrifice—Notes and notices—Reviews.

February 1925 (Ninth Series, No. 2). THE EDITOR Current issues—C. J. GADD The Nabopolassar Chronicle again—J. P. NAISH The Book of Job and the early Persian period—THE EDITOR The ten best books on the Parables—A. T. CADOUX The feeding of the multitude—B. BLAKE The apocalyptic setting of the Epistles to the Thessalonians—Notes and Notices—Reviews.

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March 1925 (Ninth Series, No. 3). THE EDITOR Current issues —A. KELLER A theology of crisis—C. J. CADOUX The visits of Jesus to Jerusalem—A. T. ROBERTSON Some interesting readings in the Washington Codex of the Gospels—Literary illustrations of the First Epistle to the Corinthians—W. ROBINSON Gnosticism and Life—J. M. MCWILLIAM A criticism of Pessimism—Notes and notices—Reviews.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1925 (Vol. xxiii, No. 1: Princeton University Press). G. JOHNSON Some religious implications of contemporary philosophy—F. D. JENKINS Modern philosophical views of space in relation to omnipresence—G. M. PRICE Modern botany and the theory of organic evolution—J. G. MACHEN The modern use of the Bible—O. T. ALLIS A modernistic view of Jeremiah—Notes and notices—Reviews.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, 1924 (Third Series, Vol. iv, Nos. 1, 2: 82 Rue Bonaparte, Paris). J. DAVID Les éclaircissements de saint Athanase sur les psaumes, fragments d'une traduction en copte sahidique—L. MARIÈS Le commentaire de Diodore de Tarse sur les psaumes: examen sommaire et classement provisoire des éléments de la tradition manuscrite—R. P. BLAKE Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque patriarcale grecque à Jérusalem (*suite*)—Mélanges: I N. ADONZ Note sur les synaxaires arméniens: II E. PORCHER Les dates du patriarchat d'Isaac—Bibliographie: A. Rücker *Die syrische Jacobsanaphora nach der Rezension des Ja'qôb(h) von Edessa* (E. TISSERANT).

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, Jan. 1925 (Vol. xxi, No. 1: 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). P. BATIFFOL Les recours à Rome en Orient avant le concile de Chalcédoine—P. G. THÉRY Le texte intégral de la traduction de Pseudo-Denis par Hilduin (*à suivre*)—P. O'SHERIDAN Ce qui reste de la plus ancienne Vie de Ruysbroek (*à suivre*)—Notes et Mélanges: P. GUILLOUX Saint Augustin savait-il le grec?—P. MAERE Omnia cadunt!—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte (Vol. xliii, No. 2: F. A. Perthes, Gotha-Stuttgart). C. SCHMIDT Studien zu den alten Petrusakten—J. GEFFCKEN Der Brief an Diognetos—K. BAUER Zu Augustins Anschauung von Fegfeuer und Teufel—F. ROTH Die geistliche Betrügerin Anna Laminit von Augsburg—E. HIRSCH Osianders Schirmschrift zum Nürnberger Reichstage—O. CLEMEN Bugenhagen und Spalatin.

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The Journal
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NOTES AND STUDIES

MARCAN USAGE: NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL, ON THE SECOND GOSPEL

(*continued*).

VI. *The use of numbers in St Mark's Gospel.*

IT is my firm conviction that the Mark which lay before the later Synoptists, St Matthew and St Luke, was no other than the Mark which we possess. Abstraction has indeed to be made of *various readings* which in the natural course of transmission by scribes may have crept into the text of Mark between its original publication and the particular copies which, ten or twenty years later, lay before the other two evangelists: or again it is conceivable (though not very probable) that the true reading of Mark might in individual cases survive only in Matthew, or in Luke, or in Matthew and Luke, and have been lost in all the direct tradition of manuscripts and versions. But various readings are one thing, recensions are another. And the evidence for an *Ur-Marcus*—that is to say, for an original Mark of which the Gospel we have is a *recension* or new edition—crumbles on examination into nothing.

In the book which is the starting-point of all detailed criticism of the Synoptic problem, Sir John Hawkins's *Horae Synopticae* (ed. 2 p. 152) this conclusion is nearly but not quite reached. 'The Petrine source used by the two later Synoptists was not an *Ur-Marcus*, but St Mark's Gospel almost as we have it now. Almost; but not quite. For instance, a later editor's hand is very probably to be seen in . . .' and Sir John proceeds to enumerate nine passages. Now of these nine, three are cases of large numbers, 2,000 (v 13), 200 (vi 37), 300 (xiv 5), all three omitted by both Matthew and Luke, two of them found in St John:

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and it seems to be suggested that these two may owe their place in our present Mark to the influence of the 'Johannine tradition'.[1]

Therefore it may be useful, so far as these three passages are concerned, to lay the ghost once for all, and to shew that it is Marcan usage to note numbers, and Matthaean and Lucan usage to tend to omit them. As we should expect, there is no universal rule to be laid down: sometimes both the two later evangelists retain the detail, but sometimes one omits, sometimes the other, and sometimes both. It is entirely in line with what happens in similar cases that there should be a proportion of instances in which their observed habit of omission of numbers should lead both to omit on the same occasion.

That Mark is fond of numerals is then a matter of fact which this instalment of my Notes is intended to prove: and if it is proved, the presumption is that the three doubtful or disputed numbers are genuine also.[2] But that is only one side of the argument. The other side is that the natural tendency of an educated writer of ancient times would be to omit numbers. For that assertion I am glad to be able to base myself on the testimony of Père Hippolyte Delehaye, written down without any reference to the Gospels but therefore the more impartial (I have quoted it once in print, but it will bear quoting again): 'Les procédés de la rhétorique des anciens les amenaient à ne point multiplier les noms de personnes et de lieux, à éviter de donner des chiffres exacts'.[3] Persons, places, numbers: Mark is no rhetorician and is full of all three, Matthew and Luke are in nearer touch with the literary habits and presuppositions of their time, and tend, irregularly no doubt and so in a sense capriciously, to improve on their exemplar by omitting them.

There are certain numbers which refer to significant periods or events of our Lord's life, and these naturally recur in the other Synoptic Gospels:

1. Mark i 13 the 'forty days' of the Temptation: Luke iv 1, 2, Matt.

[1] I should reverse the argument, and see here proof of the dependence of the Fourth Gospel upon the Second: the numbers are not the only points of contact, and on Sir John's argument ἀγοράσωμεν and φαγεῖν (vi 37 = Jo. vi 5), ἀνέπεσαν and ἄνδρες (vi 40, 44 = Jo. vi 10) ought all to have come into Mark from the 'Johannine tradition'. It must always be borne in mind that for fifty years after its composition St Mark's Gospel was the standard source of the evangelic history. Not only Matthew and Luke, but John and Pseudo-Peter as well, depend on him.

[2] I venture here to cite the final sentence of a letter from Sir John Hawkins to myself (under date June 1, 1920): 'What you say about Mark's *constant* fondness for numerals is a weighty argument for the genuineness of the 200 and 300 and 2,000 about which I was doubtful'.

[3] *Saint Martin et Sulpice Sévère* p. 82 (*Analecta Bollandiana* vol. xxxviii, 1920).

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iv 2 (Matthew, however, makes it 'forty days and forty nights' of fasting).

2. Mark viii 31, ix 31, x 34, the prophecies of the Resurrection 'after three days': Matthew and Luke, however (with the Creed-form of St Paul 1 Cor. xv 4), prefer the phrase 'on the third day', Matt. xvi 21, xvii 23, xx 19, Luke ix 22 (in ix 44, parallel to Mark ix 31, he omits all details), xviii 33; just as the printed texts make them, save in Luke xviii 33, prefer ἐγερθῆναι (ἐγερθήσεται) to Mark's ἀναστῆναι (ἀναστήσεται).[1]

3. Mark ix 5, the 'three tabernacles' of the Transfiguration, is repeated in Matt. xvii 4, Luke ix 33.

There are also certain numbers which enhance the wonder of the miracles wrought by Christ, and, probably for that reason, are retained by Matthew and Luke:

4. Mark v 25 the woman who had had 'an issue of blood twelve years': repeated in Matt. ix 20, Luke viii 43.

5. Mark vi 38, 41, 43, 44: viii 2, 5, 6, 8, 9: viii 19, 20. The two accounts of the feeding of the multitude, and the summary reference to them by Christ, are incorporated by Matthew without the omission of any of the numbers which point either to the size of the multitudes (five thousand; four thousand), their long fast on the second occasion (three days), the small amount of provision (five loaves and two fishes; seven loaves and a few tiny fishes) and the large amount that remained over (twelve κόφινοι; seven σπυρίδες): indeed he adds on each occasion that the numbers of the multitude exclude 'women and children'.[2] Luke of course has only the first account of feeding: but there he, like Matthew, repeats the five loaves and two fishes, the twelve basketsful, and the five thousand 'men'.

6. The references to 'the Twelve', common in St Mark (iii 14, [15], iv 10, vi 7, ix 35, x 32, xi 11, xiv 10, 17, 20, 43), are rarer in Matthew and Luke, and form a transitional use to their treatment of other numbers given in St Mark. As I discussed this point fully in the last instalment of Notes on Marcan usage (*J. T. S.* April 1925, xiv 232, 233), no more need be said here than that Matthew never says οἱ δώδεκα but only εἷς τῶν δώδεκα (twice), οὗτοι οἱ δώδεκα (once), οἱ δώδεκα μαθηταί (four times), οἱ δώδεκα ἀπόστολοι (once), while Luke has οἱ δώδεκα five times, οἱ ἀπόστολοι four times—in Luke ix 1 it is not certain whether we should read 'the Twelve' or 'the twelve apostles'. In any case 'the Twelve' is characteristically Marcan.

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[1] B in Matthew $^{2}/_{3}$ gives ἀναστήσεται. And D latt. in Matt. $^{2}/_{3}$ give or represent μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.

[2] Presumably because Mark vi 44 (cf. Jo. vi 10) speaks of πεντακισχίλιοι ἄνδρες. In Matt. xvi 9, 10 the precise numbers of the κόφινοι and σφυρίδες are omitted.

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From this point onwards I record Mark's mention of figures in the order in which they are found in his Gospel, including two instances (**8, 28**: iv 4–8, xiii 35) which illustrate his passion for precision though no actual figures are given.

7. ii 3 *παραλυτικὸν αἰρόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων.* Omitted by both Matthew and Luke, who doubtless considered that it was sufficient to say that the paralytic was brought 'on a bed'.

8. iv 4–8 *ὃ μὲν ἔπεσεν παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν . . . καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸ πετρῶδες . . . καὶ ἄλλο ἔπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀκάνθας . . . καὶ ἄλλα ἔπεσεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν καλὴν . . . καὶ ἔφερεν εἰς τριάκοντα καὶ εἰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ εἰς ἑκατόν.* Mark, that is, is careful to make a parallelism between three classes of seed that did not germinate at all, and three that did—that is the meaning of the change from singular to plural—producing respectively thirtyfold, sixtyfold, and a hundredfold. Both Matthew and Luke miss the parallelism, and the one gives the plural all through, the other the singular, so that in both the implication is that only one class out of four came to any good, an implication that is definitely absent from St Mark's account.

9. iv 8, 20 *εἰς τριάκοντα καὶ εἰς ἑξήκοντα καὶ εἰς ἑκατόν . . . ἐν τριάκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἐν ἑκατόν.*[1] Matt. xiii 8, 23, retains the numbers on both occasions, though on both he inverts their order, 'a hundred', 'sixty', 'thirty': Luke drops all distinction between the three numbers, giving in the parable only 'a hundredfold' and no number at all in the interpretation, viii 8, 15.

10. v 11, 13 *ἀγέλη χοίρων μεγάλη . . . ὡς δισχίλιοι,* 'a great herd of swine . . . about two thousand'. The number disappears from both the other accounts, Matthew being content with *ἀγέλη χοίρων πολλῶν*, Luke similarly with *ἀγέλη χοίρων ἱκανῶν*. Probably both of them—Luke at any rate—felt that the figure might be thought exaggerated. In fact all Mark's larger cyphers are dropped (apart from those of the miracles of Feeding, see **5** above), such as the 200 *δηνάρια* of **14**, vi 37, or the 300 of **30**, xiv 5, and it is only the smaller ones that have a chance of surviving.

11. v 42 *ἦν γὰρ ἐτῶν δώδεκα,* of the daughter of Jaeirus. Luke retains the note, but transfers it to the beginning of the story (viii 42), adding that she was an only daughter, *θυγάτηρ μονογενής*. Matthew, who reduces the whole episode, like the preceding episode of the demoniac, to the smallest possible compass, omits.

12. vi 7 *ἤρξατο αὐτοὺς ἀποστέλλειν δύο δύο.* Both Matthew and Luke omit the 'two and two': Luke, however, has an equivalent statement in his record of the Mission of the Seventy (or Seventy-two) x 1 *ἀπέστειλεν*

[1] On the reading and interpretation of *εις, εν* in these verses, see *J. T. S.* Oct. 1924, xxvi 16.

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αὐτοὺς ἀνὰ δύο, and it might be thought that he has simply transferred it from the one place to the other. But it would seem that it was our Lord's constant habit to send his disciples in pairs: see **22** (xi 1) and **31** (xiv 13) below, and compare the lists of the Twelve in Matt. x 2, Acts i 13. The balance of probability suggests therefore that Luke derived his ἀνὰ δύο of the Seventy from his special source at that place: there are other instances where he suppresses in what he borrows from Mark features which he retains in non-Marcan portions of his Gospel. If Dr Streeter is right in his thesis that Luke came across Mark's Gospel when he had already composed the first draft of his own, it is not really surprising that in order to provide room for the new material he had to make excisions on a rather drastic scale. One may go further and conjecture that, just because Mark's non-literary Greek offered so many stumbling-blocks to his sense of style, he treated it throughout in a more ruthless temper and altered things that in a source presenting fewer solecisms he might have let pass.

13. vi 9 μὴ ἐνδύσησθε δύο χιτῶνας. The detail goes to heighten the ascetic character impressed by our Lord on the preparations for the Missionary journey of the Twelve: and Matthew and Luke, who emphasize this aspect to a still further point than Mark—they agree, according to the critical texts, in refusing the staff which Mark allows[1]—naturally repeat it.

14. vi 37 ἀπελθόντες ἀγοράσωμεν δηναρίων διακοσίων ἄρτους; 'Are we to go and spend ten pounds on bread for them?' The naïve question of the disciples seemed a reflexion on their faith, and the whole clause disappears in both Matthew and Luke. But the Fourth Evangelist (Jo. vi 7) took it over from Mark, turning it into a statement of fact 'Ten pounds' worth of loaves would not be enough', and putting it into the mouth of Philip. Compare the case of the three hundred δηνάρια, **30** below.

15. vi 40 κατὰ ἑκατὸν καὶ κατὰ πεντήκοντα. Matthew omits entirely: Luke characteristically omits the higher number and contents himself (ix 14) with ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα. It is curious that in the story of Obadiah's hiding the prophets 'by fifties' in the cave, 3 Reg. xviii 4, 13, verse 4 gives the κατὰ πεντήκοντα of Mark, verse 13 the ἀνὰ πεντήκοντα of Luke.

16. vi 48 περὶ τετάρτην φυλακὴν τῆς νυκτός. Matthew keeps the phrase: Lucan parallels fail us till chapter ix of Mark, but see below on no. **28**.

17. viii 14 εἰ μὴ ἕνα ἄρτον. 'They had forgotten to bring loaves, and had not more than one loaf with them in the boat.' As so often in the

[1] There is some authority in both Matt. x 10 and Luke ix 3 for ῥάβδους in place of ῥάβδον. In Luke it is quite inadequate: but in Matthew it includes C L W Δ a k and may possibly be right.

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case of Mark's dittographies, Matthew is content with one half of the double phrase, and omits the 'one loaf'.

18. ix 2 *μετὰ ἡμέρας ἕξ*, 'five days after' [i. e. after the Great Confession of viii 29] 'Jesus takes with him Peter and James and John'. Matthew retains the precise date: Luke ix 28 turns it into a round number, 'about a week', *ὡσεὶ ἡμέραι ὀκτώ*.

19. ix 43, 45 *τὰς δύο χεῖρας . . . τοὺς δύο πόδας*. There is no parallel in Luke: in Matthew's abbreviated account (xviii 8) the numerals remain, the articles disappear; Mark's phrase, however, is good Greek for 'your two hands', 'your two feet'.

20. x 30 *ἑκατονταπλασίονα νῦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ*. To the other two Synoptists the phrase had a touch of exaggeration about it, and Matthew (xix 29) reduces it to *πολλαπλασίονα*, Luke (xviii 30) to *ἑπταπλασίονα*.[1]

21. x 35, 41 *οἱ δύο . . . οἱ δέκα*. The reading *οἱ δύο* is only given by B C 579 and the Egyptian versions: but it is in accordance with 'Marcan usage', and *οἱ δύο . . . οἱ δέκα*, 'the two . . . the ten', mutually support one another. There is no Lucan parallel: Matthew has 'the ten', but has only 'the sons of Zebedee' without 'two'.

22. xi 1 *ἀποστέλλει δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ*. So Matthew and Luke: but contrast Matthew in no. **31**. As I have suggested on no. **12** above, it seems to have been our Lord's regular custom to send out his disciples in pairs.

23. xii 20, 21 *ἑπτὰ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ἔλαβεν γυναῖκα . . . καὶ ὁ δεύτερος ἔλαβεν αὐτὴν . . . καὶ ὁ τρίτος ὡσαύτως· καὶ οἱ ἑπτὰ οὐκ ἀφῆκαν σπέρμα*. The numerals are an integral element of the point of the problem put to our Lord, and so both the other accounts retain them all.

[24]. xii 42 *μία χήρα πτωχὴ ἔβαλεν . . .* Matthew omits the episode: Luke substitutes *τινὰ χήραν πενιχράν*. I have put this instance in brackets, because Luke clearly regarded *μία* not as the numeral but as in effect the indefinite article: and in this I believe he interpreted Mark correctly. Mark's style is so naïve that it is not probable that he meant to emphasize any contrast between *πολλοὶ πλούσιοι* and *μία πτωχή*, any more than between *μία χήρα* and *λεπτὰ δύο*. There were 'plenty of rich people', and then there was 'a poor widow'. Mark is fond of *εἷς* (generally with a following genitive[2]), and Luke almost invariably

[1] I follow Burkitt (*Gospel History and its Transmission* p. 50) in reading 'sevenfold' in Luke with D Old Latins (including St Cyprian and Jovinian) and perhaps the Diatessaron. St Jerome *adv. Jovin.* ii 19, 26 asserted that Jovinian, for reading *septies*, 'aut falsarii aut imperitiae reum teneri': the question now is whether the tables should not be turned.

[2] In two or three cases Mark has *εἷς ἐκ*, ix 17 *εἷς ἐκ τοῦ ὄχλου*, xiv 18 *εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν*, and according to some authorities in xiv 20 *εἷς* [*ἐκ*] *τῶν δώδεκα*. I think this

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changes it to τις. Just as in late Latin and in the Romance languages, so in Greek also (in the κοινή and in modern Greek), the place of an indefinite article came gradually to be supplied by the numeral 'one'.

25. xii 42 ἔβαλεν λεπτὰ δύο, ὅ ἐστιν κοδράντης. Luke xxi 2 keeps the 'two mites' (omitting Mark's parenthetical explanation for his Roman readers, 'which are a farthing'), because the story turns on it.

[**26**]. xiii 2 καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλος ἀναστήσεται ἄνευ χειρῶν. A 'Western' reading of D W and O. L., depending on xiv 58 xv 29: hardly genuine, or why should both Matthew and Luke have omitted it?

27. xiii 27 ἐπισυνάξει . . . ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων. The 'four winds' are simply a variation of the proverbial 'four quarters' of the earth, north, south, east and west. The phrase is taken from Zach. ii 6 (10) and is copied by Matthew xxiv 31: Luke omits the whole verse.

28. xiii 35 ἢ ὀψὲ ἢ μεσονύκτιον ἢ ἀλεκτοροφωνίας ἢ πρωί. A popular way of representing the four watches (cf. 'the fourth watch', no. **16** above), into which Roman usage divided the twelve hours of the night, so as to secure that no guard should be on watch for more than three hours: Vegetius *de re militari* p. 83, quoted by Blass (I owe the ref. to Swete *ad loc.*) on Acts xii 4. Matthew omits the details: when Luke writes (xii 38) 'whether in the second or in the third watch', he may be meaning to suggest the two central watches, i. e. the darkest hours, or he may be reproducing the Jewish terminology of three watches, the second being φυλακὴ μέση (Judges vii 19), the third φυλακὴ πρωΐα (Ps. cxxix [cxxx] 6).

29. xiv 1 ἦν δὲ τὸ πάσχα καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας. Matthew retains the phrase: Luke paraphrases with ἤγγιζεν. If μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας means—see Field's admirable note on Matt. xvi 21—nothing else than τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, i. e. as we should say 'after two days', it follows that μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας must be equivalent to τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ (if that phrase were used), and mean 'next day'. The only exact parallel appears to be Hosea vi 2 ὑγιάσει ἡμᾶς μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ ἐξαναστησόμεθα (quoted by Tertullian *adv. Marcionem* iv 43); for if, as Field assumes, the healing and the rising up refer to successive days, μετὰ δύο ἡμέρας must there again mean 'next day'. I do not feel entirely clear about this: but there is no real doubt as to the day of the week which Mark intends in this passage to identify. For in verse 12 the day before the Crucifixion, that is the Thursday, is called 'the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover': by Roman reckoning the lambs were slain on the same day that they were eaten, and on that day the leavened bread would be cleared away and

is one of Mark's latinisms: and as *unus ex* (*de*) is the only possible rendering in Latin of εἷς with a following genitive, it is futile of editors to cite the Latins, where ἐκ is doubtful in the Greek.

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unleavened bread substituted, and it is Roman reckoning which Mark follows—by Jewish reckoning the lambs were slain on the afternoon of the 13th Nisan, and, a new day beginning at sunset, they were eaten on the evening of the 14th. But if the events of Thursday commence with xiv 12, then xiv 1–11 are the events of Wednesday at latest. But of Wednesday too at earliest, if tradition following the Fourth Gospel rightly places the Triumphal Entry on Palm Sunday: for xi 12 refers then to the morning of Monday, and xi 20 to the morning of Tuesday. The new day of xiv 1 can therefore only be Wednesday.

30. xiv 5 *ἠδύνατο τοῦτο τὸ μύρον πραθῆναι ἐπάνω δηναρίων τριακοσίων.* The figure was large, £12 or so, and no doubt seemed exaggerated: Matthew omits it, and there is nothing to correspond to it in Luke's account of an anointing (vii 36–50). But the Fourth Gospel (Jo. xii 5) —just as with the 200 *δηνάρια* at the Feeding of the multitude, no. **14** above—follows Mark and retains it.

31. xiv 13 *ἀποστέλλει δύο τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ.* Mark once more notes (see nos. **12** and **22** above) that disciples were sent in pairs: Matthew, as in no. **12**, omits, Luke xxii 8, presumably from independent knowledge, inserts the names, Peter and John.

[**32**]. xiv 20 *ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸ ἓν τρύβλιον.* So B C*? Θ 565: the rest omit *εν*, and I think it may represent a marginal variant *ἐν* for *εἰς* (from Matthew xxvi 23 *ἐν τῷ τρυβλίῳ*). Therefore I have put it within brackets, for in that case it has no bearing on our problem, not being a numeral. But if *ἓν* is right, Matthew omits it: Luke has nothing strictly parallel.

33. xiv 30, 68, 72*a*, 72*b* (the two cock-crowings and three denials) *σήμερον ταύτῃ τῇ νυκτὶ πρὶν ἢ δὶς ἀλέκτορα φωνῆσαι τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ . . . καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἔξω εἰς τὸ προαύλιον [καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν] . . . καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ δευτέρου ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν· καὶ ἀνεμνήσθη ὁ Πέτρος τὸ ῥῆμα . . . ὅτι Πρὶν ἀλέκτορα δὶς φωνῆσαι τρίς με ἀπαρνήσῃ.* Admittedly all three Synoptists record a triple denial: admittedly Mark, and Mark only, speaks of a second cock-crowing. But so strong was the reciprocal influence exerted by the later accounts on the text of Mark that not many authorities in St Mark other than the Syrian recension (the *Textus Receptus*) give all four references to the second crowing, and one first class authority, ℵ (with 579 and c) omits it on all four occasions. (1) Verse 30: *om δίς* ℵ C* D W 579 a c ff i k arm aeth. (2) verse 68: *om καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν* ℵ B L W Ψ* 579 c syr-sin sah. (3) verse 72*a*: *om ἐκ δευτέρου* ℵ L 579 c. (4) verse 72*b*: *om δίς* ℵ C* W Δ Σ 579 c aeth. Our best authorities (B D the chief Old Latins syr-sin sah) all give three out of the four references: but they differ as to the one they omit, for B syr-sin sah have the first, third, and fourth, D and the Old Latins give the second, third, and fourth. Thus the third and fourth references are

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above cavil: the first is implied by the fourth, and it is further an observed rule[1] that scribes are more prone to the influence of their prejudices—in this case to the influence of the parallel accounts—on a first occasion, but defer to the authority of their exemplar if the reading they have tampered with recurs once again or oftener: only about the second can there be any doubt. Here ℵ B omit, and Westcott and Hort do not even give *καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν* a place in the margin. Tischendorf, against ℵ B, puts the words in the text, and I am sure he is right. The evidence of ℵ L W 579 c—five witnesses for omission out of the nine—is nearly worthless, since they omit on one or more of the other occasions: the documents of the Sahidic version are divided, see Horner *ad loc.*: so that B Ψ* syr-sin are the only unimpeachable authorities for omission. But it must not be forgotten that the influence of the parallel accounts, in the case of a complete statement like *καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν*, which could be simply dropped without apparent injury to the context, would be powerful for omission. And if ever internal evidence is allowed the decisive word, it guarantees (as I think) the genuineness of the phrase in dispute. I cannot believe that any other than the Evangelist put in the dramatic touch which is needed for the developement of the story.

34. xiv 41 *καὶ ἔρχεται τὸ τρίτον.* Mark does not mention that our Lord went away and prayed a third time, though of course he implies it; but because his story is told, here as elsewhere, from the point of view of the disciples' experience he does mention his third coming to the disciples. Matthew xxvi 44 fills up what Mark implies, and transfers 'the third time' to Christ's prayer. Luke omits the repeated coming and going, and concentrates the whole story into one withdrawal and one return.

35. xiv 58 *ἠκούσαμεν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ὅτι Ἐγὼ καταλύσω τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον τὸν χειροποίητον καὶ διὰ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἄλλον ἀχειροποίητον οἰκοδομήσω*, and xv 29 *Οὐὰ ὁ καταλύων τὸν ναὸν καὶ οἰκοδομῶν [ἐν] τρισὶν ἡμέραις* (cf. xiii 2, no. **26** above, if the reading were genuine). Matthew retains, both at the Trial and at the Crucifixion, doubtless because of the reference to the Resurrection: Luke omits the whole episode of the 'false witness'.

36. xv 1, 25, 33, 34 *πρωὶ συμβούλιον ποιήσαντες . . . ἦν δὲ ὥρα τρίτη καὶ ἐσταύρωσαν αὐτόν . . . καὶ γενομένης ὥρας ἕκτης σκότος ἐγένετο ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν γῆν ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης. καὶ τῇ ἐνάτῃ ὥρᾳ ἐβόησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς φωνῇ μεγάλῃ.* Only Mark enumerates the synchronisms of all the four watches of Good Friday: both Matthew and Luke omit the notice of the third hour.[2]

[1] See Wordsworth in the *Epilogus* to the Vulgate Gospels, p. 727 'saepe enim scribae quod primo loco pro mendo habebant, secundo pro uero agnoscunt'.

[2] The Fourth Gospel has *ἦν δὲ πρωί* xviii 28, *ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἕκτη* xix 14, but I forbear to discuss the difficulty here.

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Of these thirty cases (nos. 7 to 36) I put aside three, nos. **24 26** and **32**: there remain twenty-seven. Three times only out of this total, **13, 22, 23,** do both Matthew and Luke retain the numbers; but in order to be scrupulously fair I add on the same side the three occasions on which Matthew retains when there is no Lucan parallel, **16 19 27,** and the one occasion where Luke retains when there is no Matthaean parallel, **25.** Against these we have to set seven passages where both omit numbers, **7** (8) **10 12 14 33 36,** and one where both bring the number down, **20,** as well as three passages where Matthew omits but there is no parallel in Luke, **17 21 30.** In the nine remaining instances one or other of the later Synoptists fails to reproduce the precision of Mark: in four, **11 15 28 31,** Matthew omits while Luke retains, in four more, **9 29 34 35,** Luke omits while Matthew retains, and in one, **18,** Luke changes a precise number to a round one.

That is to say, it is more common for both of them to omit than for both of them to retain a number given in Mark: and it is vastly more common (about three times in four) for one or other of them to omit a number than for both of them to retain it.

This clear and decisive result (as I think it) tallies with a feature noticed in the last section of the Notes on Marcan Usage (*J. T. S.* April 1925, xxvi 237), namely the ascending scale of adjectives with which Mark is careful on different occasions to estimate the size of the crowd.

As the result of our enquiry, it is not too much to say that the suggestion that some of the numbers in Mark are not original because both Matthew and Luke omit them cannot maintain itself in face of the argument from Marcan usage. One more nail has been driven into the coffin of that old acquaintance of our youth, *Ur-Marcus.* He did enough harm in his time, but he is dead and gone: let no attempts be made to disinter his skeleton.

C. H. TURNER.

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THE JAMNIA PERIOD IN JEWISH HISTORY.

I.

THE request made by R'Jochanan ben Zakkai, when he secured the favour of Vespasian, that the Sanhedrin should be allowed to settle at Jamnia[1] is clear evidence of his wisdom and knowledge. The town itself had remained loyal to the Romans, and the Jewish population, hitherto in the majority[2] had just been considerably weakened by the importation of an alien element.[3] Neither in Jamnia nor anywhere in the neighbourhood could rebellion be even suspected. The Jewish population in the Plain of Sharon too had suffered but little in the war, and besides the whole plain from Carmel to Gaza, with the low hills of the Shephelah, was amongst the most fertile and desirable land in Palestine. The fertility of Lydda is specially mentioned[4] and from Ganoth Zeriphim, near Joppa,[5] the firstfruits of the wheat had been taken for presentation in the Temple. Nowhere else in the Holy Land could the maximum return be so easily secured with the minimum of labour. We need not then be surprised that the population was large, though of course the numbers given must be discounted in view of the manifest megalomania of the recorders.

The little Jewish State, to some extent administered from Jamnia from A.D. 70 to 135, is defined as extending from Antipatris to Gibbethon, the latter of which must have been somewhere in the Philistine country, as Bethshemesh is mentioned as having been between them.[6] There we have it stated that there were no fewer than 600,000 villages, and that Bethshemesh was the smallest. Elsewhere[7] the population

[1] *Ab. d'R'Nathan* iv; *Gittin* 56 *a*. That the assembly at Jamnia was no ordinary Rabbinical *Beth din* (Court of Justice) but regarded itself, and was regarded, as a continuation of the Great Sanhedrin of Jerusalem is clear from the Jewish sources, and has been fully shewn by Bacher (art. *Sanhedrin*, Hastings *DB* iv 398 *b*), who says: 'At Jabneh (Jamnia) an assembly of Teachers of the Law constituted itself, and regarded itself as a continuation of the Great Sanhedrin. . . . This new Sanhedrin, as constituted at Jamnia, had many points of close contact with the old Council of Jerusalem.' There were seventy-two elders present at the Jamnia assembly when Eleazar b. Azariah was associated with Gamaliel II as President (Mishnah *Zebachim* i 3). Naturally its legislative authority was not fully recognized at first, but grew. See also Schürer *G. J. V.*[4] i 657 f (= E. T. vol. ii 275 ff; cf. 273 ff).

[2] Philo *Leg. ad Caium* xxx.

[3] Jos. *Bell. Jud.* iv 8. 1.

[4] T. B. *Keth.* 111 *a*.

[5] M. *Men.* vi 2.

[6] T. J. *Taan.* iv 5; Midrash *Echa* on Lam. ii 12.

[7] Midrash *Shir* on Canticles i 16

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is said to have been equal to those who came out of Egypt. Then it is recorded[1] that within the same limits R'Akiba had 24,000 pupils.

Jamnia itself, though less important than Lydda, at which place we hear[2] of merchants, and[3] of trade in pottery, would be freer from bustle and traffic, and more suitable for administration and scholastic work, and the more likely choice of[4] an old man. It accordingly became the official meeting-place of the Beth Din or supreme Rabbinical Court, corresponding to the old Sanhedrin; but the leading teachers established themselves in the most important centres around. Thus R'Akiba had his school at Bene-Berak (Ibn Ibrak); R'Tarphon at Lydda (Lud); R'Elazar at Modin (el-Medyeh); R'Jehoshua at Pekiin, between Lydda and Jamnia; R'Nachum Ish Gamzu, probably at his native Gimzo (Jimzu). All these lie within a few miles of one another. In addition we have other rabbinical centres in the neighbourhood frequently mentioned, chief of which are Beth Dagon (Beit Dajun); Beth Sipuriyeh (es-Saphiriyeh); Kefr Tabi (Kefr Tab); and Ono (Kefr Ana). Furthermore we find mention of native and resident rabbis at Joppa, Caesarea, Antipatris, as well as others belonging to Sycominum[5]; Haifa[6]; Sikhnim[7] and other places in Galilee, but all in association with Jamnia. In the hill country of Judah R'Ishmael taught and practised vine-culture[8] at Kefr Aziz (Khurbet Aziz, seven miles south of Hebron), and we find R'Jochanan ben Zakkai residing at Beror-chail (probably Burer, by Gaza) whither he seems to have retired about five years after the Fall of Jerusalem.[9]

II.

With the destruction of the Temple and the City we might have expected that Judaism would decline and disappear. With the downfall of the state, however, the principle was announced:[10] 'The Law is the Heritage of Israel'; and that principle was so developed by the brightest constellation of teachers that Judaism has ever produced that, without Temple, Priest, or Sacrifice, Rabbinical Judaism rose from the ashes of the old faith with an assured existence of two millenniums. When the Mishnah was written down, the merits of these teachers were acknowledged in the following terms:—'Since the death of R'Meir (second Tannaitic generation A.D. 130–160) the speakers of parables have ceased; since that of Ben Azzai the assiduous are no more;

[1] T. B. *Sanh.* 94*b*; *Yeb.* 82*b*. These numbers are of course not to be taken literally.

[2] M. *Bab. Metz.* iv 3.

[3] M. *Kel.* ii 2.

[4] T. B. *Rosh ha-shanah* 31*b*.

[5] T. B. *Bab. Bath.* 119*b*.

[6] Midrash *Shem.* 14.

[7] T. B. *Rosh ha-shanah* 29*a*.

[8] M. *Kil.* vi 4.

[9] T. B. *Sanh.* 32*b*.

[10] T. B. *Succah* 42*a*.

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since that of Ben Zoma (rather earlier in second century than Meir) there are none studious; since that of R'Jehoshua (end of first and beginning of second century A. D.) loving-kindness has left the world. Since the death of R'Shimeon ben Gamaliel locusts and many evils have come; since that of R'Elazar ben Azariah (end of first century A. D.) the learned have ceased to be rich; since that of R'Akiba (martyred *c.* A. D. 135) there is no reverence for the Law; since that of R'Chanina ben Dosa (end of first century A. D.) there are no wonder-workers; since that of R'Jochanan ben Zakkai the splendour of wisdom has gone'.[1]

One of the most distinguished teachers of the period, whom we shall have occasion to quote most frequently, R'Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (end of first and beginning of second century A. D.), brother-in-law of Rabban Gamaliel II, is unnamed in the list given. This probably arises from the fact that he died in Caesarea and practically excommunicated.[2] Thus even here we have an indication that within rabbinic circles there was difference of opinion and lack of harmony. The Sadducees may be left out of account, as they were a weak and diminishing community[3]; but the two Pharisaic parties, the schools of Hillel and Shammai, both survived the Fall of Jerusalem, and their representatives appear in disputation over many questions. Both contributed to the interpretation of the Law and to the establishment of the Faith. The School of Hillel was inclined to take the broader and easier view of each question, while that of Shammai adopted the narrower and stricter. The heads of these schools are themselves characteristically set forth in the admonition, 'Let a man be ever mild like Hillel, and not passionate like Shammai'.[4] Accordingly we have two Schools of Interpretation of Scripture. Beth Hillel declared that the Torah spoke according to the language of men[5]; Beth Shammai treated Scripture as something quite apart from all human speech, and attempted to expound innumerable doctrinal and legal decisions from every pleonasm and rhetorical expression, from the very tittles of the letters.[6] With these dividing principles before us we shall now look at the nature of the Reconstruction carried through at Jamnia, and the work of the leading teachers.

R'Jochanan ben Zakkai was already a very old man. He was the youngest of Hillel's pupils,[7] and had been described by him as a father of wisdom to coming generations.[8] He had taught under the shadow

[1] M. *Sota* ix 15; T. B. *Sota* 49 *a* and *b*.
[2] T. B. *Sanh.* 68 *a*.
[3] M. *Yad.* iv. 6, 7, and 8.
[4] T. B. *Shabb.* 30 *b*.
[5] T. J. *Ned.* i 1; T. B. *Sanh.* 90 *b*; T. B. *Bab. Metz.* 31 *a* and *b*.
[6] T. J. *Sota* v 7; T. B. *Menach.* 29 *b*.
[7] T. B. *Bab. Bath.* 134 *a*.
[8] T. J. *Ned.* v 6

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of the Temple wall,[1] and forty years before the Destruction of the Temple had, within the House itself, on the ground of Zechariah xi 7 foretold the coming event.[2] It was only natural then that he should profess no purpose of Reform. He sought only the preservation of what had been received and accepted. Still certain changes had to come. Temple, priest, and sacrifice had gone. In place of these he proclaimed the principle, 'I will have mercy and not sacrifice'. The synagogue at Jamnia, in things necessary, took the place of the Temple. That the Calendar might be kept in order, observations of the New Moons were reported at Jamnia. There they were probably checked by certain rules known to the authorities. We read of something of this kind called *Sod Ha-'Ibbur*, and we are told that Rabban Gamaliel had Tables showing *the Phases* of the moon,[3] and even something of the nature of a telescope for use on land and water.[4] In this manner the way was being cleared for the Astronomical Arrangement of the Calendar by R'Hillel II in A.D. 358. The Blowing of the Shophar (ram's horn) was also allowed at Jamnia to the full extent that it had been practised in the Temple at Jerusalem. Matters concerning the priests were discussed, but they could meanwhile have only an antiquarian or sentimental interest.[5]

R'Jochanan had been a diligent student of Scripture. It was said there was no section that he had not fully taken up,[6] and he is said to have been the first to make use of the Haggadah. His whole aim was to enter into the spirit of the writings, and where difficulties were met he sought for means of harmonizing the differences. Of this we have an example in his explanation of the discrepancy between the numbers of the Levites and the redeemed first-born, in which he seeks to show that this is to be accounted for by the fact that the first-born, who were also Levites, were not to be redeemed, and are accordingly not reckoned.[7] Through him the school of Hillel maintained its position in the matter of administration, and took precedence for a time at least in teaching also. He was succeeded by Rabban Gamaliel II, when he had attained the age of thirty. He had many difficulties to meet, and they were sometimes overcome only by use of the *Cherem* (Ban). He always tried to decide on the principle of 'What does the Law mean?' and he sought to leave the application to others.[8]

During R'Jochanan's later years (*ante* A.D. 100) there had been

[1] T. B. *Pes.* 26 *a*.
[2] T. B. *Joma* 39 *b*.
[3] M. *Rosh ha-shanah* ii 8.
[4] T. B *Erubh.* 43 *b*.
[5] M. *Shek.* i 4; *Eduy.* viii 3.
[6] *Ab. d'R'Nathan* 14 and 25; Midrash *Shir* on Canticles i 3.
[7] M. *Yad.* iv 6, 7, 8; T. B. *Bechor.* 5 *a*; *Bammidb. rab.* 4.
[8] M. *Peah* ii 4; *Demai* iii 1; T. B. *Bab. Metz.* 74 *a*; *Derech Eretz* 1.

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associated with him his friend, and almost contemporary, the genial and devout Nechuniah ben Hakkana. He taught on the lines of the Seven Rules laid down by Hillel, but mainly on the principles of the General and the Particular—Rule V.[1] We have very little that is certain of his exposition, but he takes a place of distinction as the teacher of R'Ishmael of Kefr Aziz.[2] Courteous and kindly[3] he made a great name for himself by his helpfulness to the families of those absent in the war of Bar-Cochab (A.D. 132–135),[4] and it was probably in connexion with such action that he was put to death.[5] He was greatly respected even by his opponents, who paid him a visit of consolation when his son died,[6] while even R'Akiba pronounced a eulogy on him when he was martyred.[7] He was not only a true representative of Beth Hillel, but became the main link between the great founder of the School and the later Judaism, having by explanation and modification extended the Seven Rules of Hillel to the number of Thirteen. As he left them they find a place in every Jewish Prayer Book to-day. He was indifferent to the individual words and sounds, and sought to explain Scripture according to the plain sense, without seeking for any underlying hidden meaning. His aim is to work out logically the certain meaning of the Bible Text.

R'Eliezer ben Hyrcanus (of Lydda), brother-in-law of Rabban Gamaliel, belongs to the same school. He was one of the five famous pupils of R'Jochanan, and in the matter of Tradition he occupied a somewhat similar position. He would permit no new developement of the text, but allowed only what had been transmitted and explained by the accepted rules. What he had not heard was for him undecided[8]; otherwise his conservatism placed him in the school of Shammai.

The great light of this latter school was R'Akiba ben Joseph, who also learned the outline of his system from his teacher, R'Nachum of Gimzo, under whom he had studied for twenty-two years.[9] According to the system of these teachers the minute details of Scripture—any seemingly superfluous expressions, and especially the use of the Infinite Absolute with the Verb, as also the Hebrew particles *gam*, *eth*, *aph*, *kol*, *rak*, *min*, *ach* were of the greatest importance. The name given to this method is that of *RIBBUI* and *MI'UT*, or Extension and Limitation. We read of Rabbi Akiba studying all the *Eths* and *Gams* of Scripture.[10] Regulations not obtainable from the plain text were thus

[1] T. B. *Shebu'oth* 26 *a*.
[2] M. *Kil.* vi 4; T. B. *Keth.* 64 *b*.
[3] *Aboth* iii 16.
[4] T. B. *Ned.* 66 *a* and *b*.
[5] *Mechilta*, Mishpat 18.
[6] T. B. *Moed Kat.* 28 *b*.
[7] *Mechilta*, Mishpat 18.
[8] T. B. *Succah* 27 *b*.
[9] T. B. *Chag.* 12 *a*; *Bereshith Rab.* 1.
[10] T. B. *Shebu'oth* 26 *a*; *Bereshith Rab.* 1.

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derived, Accordingly we learn that the *Gam* in Num. xviii 28 was understood to be an extension, and to mean some addition to the text. And so it was interpreted as referring to an agent who might be sent to present the offering. Thence the principle was derived that 'things done by an agent were done by one's self'. The *Eth* in Deut. x 20 was understood to include an extension of the persons to whom the fear of the Lord was due, and so made to include the rabbis. Then the *Ach* in Exodus xxxi 13 was read as allowing a limitation or easing of the Sabbath Law where life was in danger.[1]

The followers of Akiba found indications of an intended extension in the repetition of a word, in the conjunctions *'O* and *Vav* ('or' and 'and'), and of an intended limitation in emphasis on a demonstrative or suffixed pronoun, and in the definite article, for examples of which see Mielziner.[2] We can understand that the School of Hillel was, in virtue of disputes[3] arising, forced to give attention to this method also, and accordingly we read of R'Jochanan's having studied it, and of questions on it arising between R'Ishmael and R'Akiba.[4] One of these discussions indicates one direction in which this system was leading. R'Ishmael asked R'Akiba what was meant by the *Eth* in Gen. i 1[5] and the answer was that it indicated the difference between the Subject and the Object of the Verb.[6] The study of such detail was bound to lead to the formulating of the grammar of the language, and at the same time to a noting of differences of readings in the transmitted text. In this connexion it may be noted that a great many of the variant readings known as *Qri* and the *Kethibh* of the Old Testament differ only in the matter of *Vav* and *Yodh*, and as these letters hardly differed at all in the Hebrew Alphabet of the second century, as shown by the Kefr Birim Inscription, it would be necessary to note these specially during this period.

III.

There is another point of some importance to be noted in connexion with differences between the Schools of Hillel and Shammai that was under discussion before our period commenced, and lasted till after its close; that is the doubt regarding the canonicity of certain books. In virtue of one passage in the Mishnah[7] in which it is questioned whether two of the Hagiographa 'defile the hands' (an idiom indicating 'canonicity'), this question is better known than most others belonging to the time. In the Wisdom of Solomon (ii 1–10) we have

[1] T. B. *Pes.* 22 *b*; *Yoma* 85 *b*; *Kidd.* 41 *b*.
[2] *Introduction to the Talmud* pp. 182 ff.
[3] T. B. *Shebu'oth* 26 *a*; *Sanh.* 51 *b*.
[4] Toseph. *Shebu'oth* i 7.
[5] *Bereshith Rab.* 1.
[6] T. B. *Chag.* 12 *a*.
[7] *Yad.* iii 5.

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a passage in which the author speaks of Ecclesiastes in such a manner that one can hardly think that he considered it canonical. That, however, is the only indication from the Jewish-Hellenistic School. All other references have to do with Beth-Shammai, and the problem as to books concerning which doubts existed was ultimately solved by members of that school deciding on the lines of Beth Hillel. The books in question are eight in number, and embrace Canticles, Koheleth, Esther, Ruth, Ezekiel, Proverbs, Jonah, and Chronicles.

In the Mishnah passage already indicated [1] we read, 'All the Hagiographa defile the hands. Canticles and Koheleth defile the hands'. R'Jehudah says 'Canticles defiles the hands, but regarding Koheleth there is a difference of opinion'. R'Shimeon says that Koheleth is of the light things of Beth Shammai, and of the weighty things of Beth Hillel. R'Shimeon ben Azzai says, 'I received from the mouth of the seventy-two elders on the day that they seated R'Elazar ben Azariah in the Council that Canticles and Koheleth defile the hands'. R'Akiba says, 'Far be it from any man in Israel to think that Canticles does not defile the hands, for the whole world is not equal to the day when Canticles was given to Israel, and if there was a difference of opinion it was only concerning Koheleth'. R'Jochanan ben Jehoshua, brother-in-law of R'Akiba agrees with Ben Azzai. Thus they differed and thus they taught. This passage is supported by another Mishnah [2] which sums up as follows, 'According to the words of Beth Shammai, Koheleth does not defile the hands, but according to Beth Hillel it does'. The question of these books is raised in the Gemara. There R'Meir [3] says that Koheleth does not defile the hands, and that there is a difference of opinion as to Canticles. R'Jose says that Canticles defiles the hands, and that there is a difference of opinion as to Koheleth. R'Shimeon says that Koheleth is of the light things of Beth Shammai, and of the weighty things of Beth Hillel, but Ruth, Canticles, and Esther defile the hands. He speaks in the name of R'Jehoshua. R'Shimeon ben Menasia says that Koheleth does not defile the hands, because it is merely the wisdom of Solomon.

Other passages give reasons for the differences of opinion. We read,[4] 'At first they made Proverbs, Canticles, and Koheleth apocryphal, because they had pictorial expressions, as in Prov. vii 7–20; Cant. vii 12 seq.; Eccles. xi 9. This lasted till the Men of the Great Synagogue came and discovered the solution'. Again we read,[5] 'R'Jehudah ben R'Shemuel bar Shilath says in the name of Rabh (*ob.* A. D. 247). "The Wise men sought to make Koheleth apocryphal because its words (i 2 and vii 3) were contradicting one another.

[1] M. *Yad.* iii 5. [2] M. *Eduy.* v 3. [3] T. B. *Meg.* 7 *a*.
[4] *Ab. d'R'Nathan* i. [5] T. B. *Shabb.* 30 *b*.

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Why then did they not make it apocryphal? Because its beginning (i 3) and its conclusion (xii 13) are the words of the Law"'.[1]

One of these Gemara passages mentions Ruth and Esther. Of the former we have no further note, but Esther is more fully discussed. Perhaps the low estimate in which Purim was held had something to do with the doubts considering this book. Regarding that Feast we learn[2] that the use and wont of the place of celebration was recognized, and that Prayer in connexion with the reading of the Roll was optional. Then regarding the book itself, R'Eliezer says that Esther was given by the Holy Spirit, for it says, 'Haman said in his heart'; R'Akiba says that Esther was given by the Holy Spirit, for it says, 'Esther obtained favour from all that looked upon her'; R'Meir says that Esther was given by the Holy Spirit, for it says, 'And the thing was known to Mordechai'; R'Jose says that Esther was given by the Holy Spirit, for it says, 'But on the spoil laid they not their hand'.

Then the following incident is related,[3] 'When Levi bar Shemuel and Rabh Huna bar Chayya were arranging the coverings of the books in the house of R'Jehudah (*ob.* A.D. 200), they brought the Roll of Esther, and said, "This is Megillath Esther". He did not ask a covering, but said to them "In this manner also it will be shown to be apocryphal (apheqritha)"'.

Of a still later period we have this record,[4] 'Rabh and Rabh Chaninah and R'Jochanan and Bar Kapparah and R'Jehoshua ben Levi say (*c.* A.D. 240), that the Roll of Esther was given to Moses on Sinai, for there is neither before nor after in the Law. R'Jochanan (*ob.* A.D. 279?) and R'Shimeon ben Lakish (a contemporary) express an opinion. R'Jochanan says, "The prophets and the Hagiographa will in the future be abolished, but the Five Books of the Law will not". R'Shimeon adds, "Also the Roll of Esther and the Halachoth are not to be abolished"'.

Ezekiel is dealt with in three passages[5] all practically the same. 'R'Jehudah says in the name of Rabh (*ob.* A.D. 247), "Let Chananyah ben Chizkiah be of blessed memory, since but for him the book of Ezekiel would have been made apocryphal, on account of its words contradicting those of the Law, in that Exek. xlvi 6 is against Num. xxix 2." "Why was it not made apocryphal? They brought him 300 jars of (lamp) oil, and he sat in his upper room and solved the contradiction.". The solution is given from Ezek. xlvi 7 in the words, "according as his hand shall attain unto". The passage in Chagigah adds, "Our rabbis relate the incident of a child that was reading the

[1] Cf. also Midrash *Koheleth rabba* on Eccles. i 3, and on xi 8.
[2] M. *Meg.* iv 1. [3] T. B. *Sanh.* 100 *a*. [4] J. *Meg.* i 5.
[5] T. B. *Shabb.* 13 *b*; *Chag.* 13 *a*; *Men.* 45 *a*.

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book of Ezekiel in the house of his rabbi. The rabbi was explaining the word "chashmal", and fire came out of chashmal and burned him. Accordingly they wished to make Ezekiel apocryphal. Chananyah ben Chizkiah said to them, "If this is wise, then all are sages"'.

Regarding Proverbs we have one reference,[1] 'They sought to make Proverbs apocryphal because its words were contradicting one another. And why did they not make it apocryphal? The answer was given, "Did we not weigh fully Koheleth and find the solution? Here also we have solved the matter. And what were the contradictions? Answer a fool according to his folly, and Answer not a fool according to his folly. (Prov. xxvi 4–5.) There is no question; here it is in the things of the Law, there in the things of the world"'.

The question regarding Jonah appears in the Midrash,[2] where an explanation of the words 'sar chamishim' in Isaiah iii 3 is offered. The whole matter, however, is merely a Jewish play with figures. It reads, 'To the 24 books add 11 from the Twelve (Minor Prophets) leaving out Jonah, which is a book by itself, then the Six Sedarim (of the Mishnah) and the Nine Perakim of Torath Kohanim (Siphra); these are Fifty'.

The phrase 'a book for itself' occurs regarding Num. x 35–36, but on that passage no such question is raised.[3] Furthermore the reference to Jonah has no real connexion with canonicity, but simply indicates that the book dealt with the Gentiles and not with Israel.

Our last reference, also in the Midrash,[4] states that R'Shimeon in the name of R'Jehoshua ben Levi and R'Chama Abu R'Hoshaya in the name of Rabh (*c.* A.D. 250) say that Chronicles was not given except as a Midrash (*darash*).

When we examine all these evidences we observe that in no case was the Canonicity of a book questioned on account of authorship or date, or on the ground of any external evidence. Concerning Chronicles we have only an expression of opinion, and that of very late date. The same may be said of Jonah. The quotation given concerning it shows that the Mishnah had been already codified, and that Siphra was in written form. The question of Ruth hardly arises. The objectors to the book of Ezekiel are not named, but they seem to have belonged to Beth Shammai, and the decision was given by a member of that School before the settlement at Jamnia. The objections to Proverbs were never serious, and they were easily disposed of. Esther, Canticles, and Koheleth seem to have been most frequently doubted, but the case was settled in favour of all three by the middle of the third century.

[1] T. B. *Shabb.* 30 *b*.
[2] Midrash *Bammidh. rabba* 18.
[3] T. B. *Sanh.* 116 *a*.
[4] Midrash *Vayyik.* 3.

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One point requires attention. Ben Azzai seems to declare that the canonicity of Canticles and Koheleth was decided in a full Sanhedrin at Jamnia, on the day of the deposition of Rabban Gamaliel, and that is frequently accepted as the date of the formal and authoritative closing of the Old Testament Canon. There is reason for serious doubt on that point. There was much to do that day in connexion with the questions in dispute between Rabban Gamaliel II and his colleagues. These questions dealt with (*a*) a first-born animal wounded on the lip, (*b*) whether Evening Prayer was optional or obligatory, and (*c*) concerning the New Moon. No question of the canon was involved, and there would not be time for discussing it that day. Besides we may be sure that questions on which Beth Hillel and Beth Shammai differed would be kept in the background on such an occasion. The most that could have reached the ears of Ben Azzai would be some incidental remark. Besides, the question was not settled, for the discussions on Esther, Canticles, and Koheleth as between R'Akiba and his companions, as given above, clearly point to a later date, say A.D. 115 and further till the year A.D. 200 the matter was still being discussed. There never seems to have been a formal canonizing of any portion of the Old Testament (any more than of the New) by any judicial authority. The books gradually made their way to universal acceptance in the synagogue and in the church, and in these disputes on the part of individuals or schools we see the process in operation.

IV.

In the little State—or, perhaps we should rather say autonomous district—that the Rabbinical authorities sought to administer from Jamnia, they evidently set before themselves the ideal of a people submissive to the Torah, but even more so to its rabbinic interpretation. The ideal is set forth in what they tell us[1] of an earlier time, that between Gabbatha and Antipatris there was neither male nor female child, nor man nor woman, who was not familiar with all the decrees concerning ceremonial purity. Elsewhere[2] the complaint is made that since the Temple was destroyed the Wise Men have become like scribes, the scribes like schoolmasters, the schoolmasters like illiterates, and the illiterates lower still, no one seeking and no one asking. The fact is that with the settlement on the Plain of Sharon the rabbis came into contact with the peasantry (Am-Haaretz), who cared little for the subtle distinctions they made, and so were despised by the 'learned'. It was the old position, 'This people who knoweth not the Law are cursed' (John vii 42). The question is asked, Who is the Am-haaretz? and

[1] T. B. *Sanh.* 94 *b*.

[2] T. B. *Sotah* 49 *a* and *b*.

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the answer is given, 'Every one who does not read the Shema in the evening and in the morning, these are the words of R'Eliezer; R'Jehoshua says, Every one who does not wear phylacteries; Ben Azzai says, Every one who has no tassels on his garment.[1] R'Meir says that a man is obliged to thank God every day that he was not made a Gentile, nor a woman, nor an illiterate'.[2] It was forbidden to associate with illiterates even on a journey, intermarriage with them was discouraged, and they might be inhumanly treated. They seem to have returned the rabbinical compliments in kind, for R'Eliezer tells us,[3] 'If we were not necessary to them for business, they would kill us. The hatred of the illiterates towards the disciples of the wise, is greater than that of the Gentile toward Israel, and their wives are worse than they'.

With the Samaritans at Nablus, twenty miles distant, the rabbis must have come into contact, and so we hear of them too. Sometimes they are spoken of in a favourable, and sometimes in a hostile manner. Meat slaughtered by the Cuthean was allowed,[4] their unleavened bread was permitted,[5] and one might legally fulfil his Passover obligations with it.[6] R'Eliezer allows their cooked food also[7]; R'Shimeon ben Rabban Gamaliel II even admits that in the observance of every precept the Cutheans were more exact than the Israelites[8]; and R'Meir permits circumcision by a Samaritan where there is no medical Israelite.[9] But on the contrary R'Eliezer at another time declared,[10] 'He that eateth a bit of Samaritan bread is as he that eateth swine's flesh'. As time passed the feeling toward the Samaritans increased in bitterness, probably on account of their attitude to Bar Cochab, and it was forbidden to trust them with the books of the Law,[11] while it was declared that they had no share in the World to Come.

V.

On the part of the Greco-Roman (Gentile-heathen) authorities the Jews enjoyed considerable liberty, and there seem to have been often friendly relations, and even a kind of social intercourse between the two parties. Rabban Gamaliel II secured his position by an official visit, presumably about the year A.D. 75, to the Viceroy of Syria,[12] and was by him confirmed in his office. R'Chananyah (A.D. 70–90) exhorted men to pray for the Gentile authorities,[13] and we have it on record that

[1] T. B. *Pes.* 49 *b*.
[2] T. B. *Men.* 43 *b*.
[3] T. B. *Pes.* 49 *b*.
[4] T. B. *Chul.* 3 *b*.
[5] T. B. *Kidd.* 76 *a*.
[6] T. B. *Chul.* 4 *a*.
[7] T. J. *Ab. Zar.* v 4.
[8] T. B. *Chul.* 4 *a*.
[9] T. B. *Ab. Zar.* 26 *b*.
[10] M. *Shebu'oth* viii 10.
[11] T. B. *Chag.* 13 *a*.
[12] M. *Eduy.* vii 7.
[13] *Aboth* iii 2.

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permission was granted through him for the rebuilding of the Temple, but through local intrigue it was prevented, a limitation as to measurement being later introduced, which made its erection impossible.[1]

We need not attach much importance to the reported discussions between various rabbis and the emperors. Caesarea is called in the Jerusalem Talmud 'Metropolin shel melachin' ('Metropolis of Kings'), and every high Roman official was 'a king' to the Jew. Among stories connected with such conversations is that between a Roman and the daughter of Gamaliel concerning the abstraction of Adam's rib for the creation of Eve.[2] It reads thus :—Caesar, quoting Gen. ii 21, said to Rabban Gamaliel, 'Your God is a thief'. The rabbi's daughter intervening said, 'Let me answer him' and turning to Caesar said, 'Name me a judge to decide my cause, for thieves came to our house last night and stole from us a vessel of silver, but left us one of gold'. 'Would that such might come to me every day', said the king. 'And was it not beautiful then that God took a rib from our father Adam, and gave him a maid to wait on him'. Then we have again the story of the daughter of a Roman (the common editions of the Talmud call him 'emperor', the earlier editions 'kopher' or 'unbeliever') who asked R'Jehoshua how he, being so ugly, could be a man of so great learning. He asked where her father kept his wine, and on being told in vessels of earthenware, he pointed out that she ought to put it into vessels of silver and gold. When she had done this it became sour, and thence the girl learned that great learning was not inconsistent with an unprepossessing appearance.[3]

One incident of these years brought the Jamnia leaders into close touch with the Gentile world, the journey which was undertaken to Rome about the year A.D. 95 by Rabban Gamaliel of Jamnia, R'Elazar ben Azariah of Emmaus, R'Jehoshua ben Chananyah of Pekiin, and R'Akiba. We are told that they went and taught in Rome, and that they met and discussed various problems with various classes of the people.[4] There they came into contact with a Senator, and were enabled to rescue themselves from imminent death, but at the cost to him of his life.[5] The Jews seek to identify this senator with Flavius Clemens, whom the Christians claim as the author of I Clement. In connexion with this visit to Rome a typical story is told of R'Akiba. When they heard the tumult in the city, his companions began to weep, but Akiba to laugh. They said to him, 'Why dost thou laugh?'. He said to them, 'Why do ye weep?' They answered, 'These heathen are bowing to their images and offering incense to their idols. They

[1] Midrash *Bereshith rabba* 64.
[2] T. B. *Sanh.* 39 *a*.
[3] T. B. *Taan.* 7 *a*.
[4] Midrash *Shem. Rab.* 30.
[5] T. B. *Gitt.* 56 *b*; *Ab. Zar.* 10 *b* and 11 *a*; Midrash *Debhar. Rab* . 2.

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dwell secure and quiet; but as for us, the House, the footstool of our God, is burned with fire. Shall we not weep?' He answered them, 'Therefore I laugh, if it is so to those that transgress His will, how much more will there be at last to those that do His will!'[1]

But even in their Palestinian home there must have been during this whole period a feeling of insecurity and unrest. The imposition of the Didrachm for the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and its systematically enforced payment, was in itself a grievance, and the abuses of authority in its collection caused much heart-burning.[2] Nerva indeed removed some of the asperities, and claims credit for it on his coin with the legend, 'Fisci Judaici calumnia sublata'; but that was probably only a measure of temporary duration.

The search for members of the House of David ordered by Domitian (81–96), as recorded by Eusebius from Hegesippus, must have threatened Gamaliel. Then the years 115 to 117 must have been a time of anxiety for the Jamnia State. The Jews in the East had been disaffected against Rome and had supported the Parthians. Trajan was at Antioch in 115, and returned to Cilicia in 117. During the time of his absence the Jews in Egypt and Cyrene rose and massacred 200,000 Greeks. In Cyprus too they left no one alive.[3] Hadrian took action against them, and slew as many as had perished under Nebuchadnezzar or Titus. Then Mesopotamia rose and had to be dealt with. All these risings meant anxiety for Palestine. There was ground for suspicion too, for there can be little doubt that all these insurrections had been arranged from the Jamnia centre. R'Akiba had journeyed through Galatia, Africa, Arabia,[4] and Cappadocia,[5] and he had gone to Babylonia under the pretext of arranging the Calendar at Nehardea.[6] He had visited practically every place where risings took place, and he had gone no where else. It is not unlikely that it was during such times of fear that more hostile feelings were expressed against the Gentile, and that there arose such sayings as, 'It is forbidden to give good advice to a Gentile,[7] and 'The Gentile who busies himself in the Law is worthy of death.[8]

[1] Midrash *Echa* on Lam. v 18.

[2] Dion. Cass. lxvi 7; Jos. *Bell. Jud.* vii 6, 6; Orig. *ad. Afric.*; Sueton. *in Domitian* xii.

[3] According to Dion. Cass. lxviii 32 the Jews at this time massacred 240,000 Greeks in Cyprus. That a massacre on a very large scale took place on the island is confirmed by the savage severity of the laws enacted in Cyprus against Jewish visitors; see Schürer *G. J. V.*[4] i 666 f (= E.T. vol. ii 284 f).

[4] T. B. *Rosh ha-shanah* 26 *a*.

[5] T. B. *Yeb.* 121 *a*.

[6] T. B. *Yeb.* 122 *a*.

[7] T. B. *Bab. Bath.* 4 *a*.

[8] T. B. *Sanh.* 59 *a*.

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VI.

It is to association with the Gentile world during this period that we owe the great admixture of foreign words admitted into the Mishnah Speech. Non-biblical things were usually named from the Greek spoken in the neighbourhood. Lists of these words have been collected by Schürer and others, but there is still the need of special study in this department. The words so introduced refer to all departments of life, to government, civil, military, and legal; to public institutions, architecture, baths, inns, and theatres: to commerce with foreign imports and materials; to plants and utensils; and they even include common words like 'thief', 'dwarf', and 'idiot'. Josephus had used the word Sanhedrin of the Jewish Council, but it never occurs except as the name of a Mishnah Tract. The Council is invariably named Beth Din.

In connexion with the Plant-Names, many of which are foreign, it may be well to note here that Agriculture was evidently studied scientifically so far as that was then understood. Only in this district could the experience be acquired of which we have the results carefully set down in the Seder Zeraim of the Mishnah, and further discussed in the Palestinian Gemara.

VII.

With another section of the community there was during this time very frequent association, namely with the Minim. The majority of these were certainly Jewish Christians, though it may have suited the rabbis to class with them others having Agnostic tendencies or tainted with philosophic doubt. From the evidence of the Book of Acts and of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius we are led to believe that the Jewish Christians were numerous. Both Jew and Christian were ever ready for the discussion of religious questions. Justin Martyr's Dialogue is but an example of what was going on every day, and if R'Tarphon be not actually 'Trypho the Jew', the name at least may have been taken from him. Before the Sanhedrin had been long established at Jamnia, Jewish bitterness began to manifest itself. Gamaliel instructed Samuel the Little to add to the *Shemone 'Esre* the section called *Perek Hamminim*.[1] To this Justin refers, 'Cursing in your synagogues with most dreadful execrations those that believe in Christ', 'You curse even to this very day those that prove that He whom you crucified is the very Christ'.[2]

[1] T. B. *Ber.* 28*b*. The *Shemone 'Esre* is 'The Eighteen Blessings' of the Synagogue Liturgy, and the *Perek Hamminim* is the Paragraph against heretics. In the present form there are nineteen Paragraphs. The text can be read in Singer's Prayer Book (Hebrew and English) pp. 44–54.

[2] Justin *Dialogue* 16, 93.

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Their knowledge of Old Testament Scripture is shewn by the advice of R'Eliezer, who tells his associates,[1] 'Be diligent in the study of the Law, that ye may know what reply to give to an Epikorus'. R'Tarphon was so bitter that he quoted Psalm cxxxix 21–22 as referring to the Christians. He permitted a man seeking refuge from an assassin to enter a heathen shrine, but not the house of a Min.[2] The Gospel is well known and named offensively in word-plays. R'Meir calls it *Aven-gillayon,* while R'Jochanan uses the term *Avon-gillayon.* Christian books are not to be saved from the fire, but to be burned at once even with the names of God contained in them. R'Jose says that on a week-day the names of God ought to be cut out and hidden away, but the rest should be burned. R'Tarphon invoked a curse on himself if he did not burn the books, names of God and all.[3]

But notwithstanding this hostility the rabbis of this period seem to have had a fair knowledge of the contents of the Gospel. Of course there was much that was common in the language and thought of the times, and caution is required in asserting that the Gospel is always the source. We have parallels to practically all the Beatitudes. The Peace-maker is blessed.[4] Men are taught to be 'humble of spirit'.[5] The reward of keeping a single command is 'inheriting the earth'.[6] Gamaliel uses the phrase 'the kingdom of heaven'.[7] R'Tarphon uses in the same way as Christ 'the mote and the beam'.[8] R'Jochanan is called by his disciples 'the light of the world'.[9] R'Meir says that a man's words ought to be few before the Holy One.[10] Then we meet statements about 'seeking the living among the dead',[11] and 'condemnation from one's own mouth',[12] while R'Jehoshua speaks of systems of good teaching as 'pearls'.[13] R'Jochanan has a parable about small offerings made to the Temple which closely resembles that of the Widow's Mite,[14] and another certainly based on those in Matthew's Gospel regarding a king who prepared a feast for his servants, in which the fates of the prepared and unprepared are set forth as sitting down to partake of the feast, and being compelled to stand and look on without tasting.[15] R'Akiba transmits another regarding the places of honour at a feast in which the request 'to go up higher' appears.[16] R'Shimeon ben Elazar asks, 'Did you ever see an animal or a bird

[1] T. B. *Sanh.* 38 *b.*
[2] T. B. *Shabb.* 116 *a* and *b.*
[3] T. B. *Shabb.* 116 *a.*
[4] M. *Peah* i 1.
[5] *Aboth* iv 2.
[6] M. *Kidd.* i 10.
[7] M. *Ber.* ii 5.
[8] *Arachin* 16 *b.*
[9] *Ab. d'R'Nathan* 24.
[10] T. B. *Ber.* 61 *a.*
[11] Midrash *Vayyik. Rab.* 6.
[12] Midrash *Bammidh. Rab.* 16.
[13] T. B. *Ber.* 17 *a*; *Shabb.* 119 *a*; *Chag.* 3 *a.*
[14] Midrash *Vayyik. Rab.* 3.
[15] T. B. *Shabb.* 153 *a.*
[16] Midrash *Vayyik. Rab.* 1.

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that had a trade?' and then he goes on to note the greater importance of man in relation to divine providence.[1] Elazar ben Azariah speaks of a tree with 'many leaves and few roots'.[2] Then we have a distinct quotation in the Story of Rabban Gamaliel and his sister Emma Shalom in their attempt to expose one of the Minim, who professed to be an incorruptible judge. Emma presented him with a golden lamp, and requested an order that her brother be obliged to divide the inheritance with her. When the Court met the judge declared that, Israel being in captivity, the Law was of none effect, the Gospel having taken its place, and it made no distinction between male and female. Before the next sitting Gamaliel sent him a Libyan ass, and then the verdict was given that the Gospel stated, 'I am not come to diminish from the Law but to add to it'.[3] Then we have a miracle recorded that very closely resembles that of John iv 52. Gamaliel's son is sick. Messengers are sent to R'Chanina ben Dosa to beg his intercession. He prays and then gives the command, 'Go, for the fever has left him'. They make note of the hour, and the matter concludes as in the Gospel.[4]

It is further worthy of notice that during this period we have from the side of Judaism the first mention of the Suffering Messiah. R'Dosa expounds Zechariah xii 12 and states that it refers to 'The Messiah ben Joseph who was slain'.[5] This teaching was later developed from the Jewish side, but it seems to have been initiated through the intercourse between Jews and Minim during this period.

To the disputes between the rabbis and the Minim we owe furthermore at least one translation of the Old Testament. Jewish authorities were discontented with the LXX version, which seemed to favour the Christian position too much. Thinking that the Hebrew text might in their interests be better represented, they arranged that Aquila, a Jewish proselyte of Pontus[6] should produce a new translation. A type of the corrections made is that mentioned by Justin[7] where he indicates the substitution of νεᾶνις for παρθένος in Isaiah vii 14. Aquila is said to have carried through his work under the direction of R'Eliezer ben Hyrcanus of Lydda, and R'Jehoshua ben Chananyah of Pekiin, but the Version shows on every page the influence of the rules of *Ribbui* and *Mi'ut*, as laid down by R'Nachum of Gimzo and R'Akiba.[8] Thus we find the Hebrew particle *Eth* represented by the Greek preposition σὺν (Gen. i 1). All this makes very bad Greek indeed, and the version could never have been used for reading. At the best it

[1] M. *Kidd.* iv 14.
[2] T. B. *Ber.* 34 *b*.
[3] T. B. *Shabb.* 116 *a* and *b*.
[4] T. B. *Ber.* 34 *b*.
[5] T. B. *Succah.* 52 *a*.
[6] Iren. iii 24.
[7] Dial. 71.
[8] Cf. T. J. *Kidd.* i 1.

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could only be used as an Index, telling what was to be found in the Hebrew Text. Origen[1] and Augustine[2] state that it was greatly approved by the Jews, and this is confirmed by the Jerusalem Talmud, which applies to it Psalm xlv 3. We learn that there were two editions of Aquila's version, and we can well believe that a less literal translation would be found necessary if it were to be read at all.

VIII.

Of the literature of the Jamnia period very little has reached us in its original form, but the work done was of the greatest importance for the next generation. Almost the only fragment that escaped the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 was the *Megillath Taanith*, compiled shortly before that event by Eliezer ben Chananyah. But the two Great Schools of R'Ishmael and R'Akiba have given us, probably orally transmitted for a time, a great mass of material. From the former we have the Midrashim *Mechilta* on Exodus, and *Siphre* on Deuteronomy, apart from chapters xii to xxvi, while from the latter we have Siphra on Leviticus and Siphre on Numbers and Deuteronomy xii to xxvi. But in their present form all these works come from the School of Abba Areca (Rabh) who died in Babylon in A.D. 247. They include both Haggadah and Halachah.

Then we know that R'Akiba himself prepared at least a draft of the Mishnah.[3] But even he was dependent on other Mishnahs[4] on which he made corrections.[5] Then we have it specially noted that R'Eliezer ben Jacob had special information regarding the Temple, and that he was the compiler of the Tract *Middoth*[6] in the Mishnah. Chananya, one of the colleages of Jochanan ben Zakkai, had been Sagan in the Temple. He tells of serving there[7], and reference to ritual observances is made by him. Doubtless we are in his debt for much of that nature that appears in our Mishnah. These items of information that have reached us enable us to see that much that we wish to know has been transmitted to us from a much earlier period than the final compilation of the Mishnah, in fact that much of it is practically contemporary evidence, and consequently that the Mishnah is to a large extent a most reliable document, and merits our careful study in virtue of the light it can throw on New Testament times and on the sub-apostolic Age. And in the immediate future, with the re-construction of the

[1] *Ep. ad. African.* [2] *De Civ. Dei* xv 23.
[3] Epiph. *adv. Haer.* i 2, 9 (xxxiii 9); T. J. *Shek.* v 1.
[4] T. B. *Sanh.* 27 *a.*
[5] T. B. *Rosh ha-shanah* 17 *b*; *Keth.* 57 *a.*
[6] T. B. *Yoma* 16 *a.* [7] T. B. *Yoma* 39 *a.*

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Holy Land, opportunities that will be afforded for the systematic study of all questions will doubtless bring much light on the problems of the Mishnah, while the Mishnah itself will lend guidance to the student and to the excavator.

W. M. CHRISTIE.

SERMONS BY THE AUTHOR OF THE *THEOGNOSIA*, ATTRIBUTED TO GREGORY OF NYSSA.

AMONG the Parham MSS collected by the Hon. Robert Curzon, afterwards fourteenth Baron Zouche, which were bequeathed to the British Museum by the late Baroness Zouche in 1917, are two vellum MSS said to contain sermons by St Gregory of Nazianzus. With the second, which is correctly described but which I have not examined in detail, I am not here concerned; the first, which is numbered 21 among 'Greek MSS on Vellum', p. 25 of Curzon's printed *Catalogue of Materials for Writing*, is thus described :—

'21 St. Gregory Nazianzen, sermons of the eleventh century; folio, 15 inches by 10½, written in long lines; the heads of the sermons and the texts are in uncial letters.'

This description contains two errors. The MS (now Add. MS 39605) is certainly not so late as the eleventh century. The earlier and major portion of it is in a fine and regular, if somewhat stiff, hand of distinctly early type, upright and laterally compressed. It is not likely to be later than the first half of the tenth century, and is probably to be placed quite early in that period; I hesitate to assign it to the ninth century. In the later portion of the MS there are several changes of hand, which sometimes occur in the middle of a sentence or even a word. These later hands are less regular and handsome in appearance than the first, and they might, without it, be placed somewhat later in time, but this is not necessary, and it seems improbable that the MS was written at different periods. There is no colophon such as might indicate the date or the scribe's name.

The second error is more serious. The sermons are none of them by St Gregory of Nazianzus, or at least do not occur among the known works by him or bearing his name. Curzon's mistake was doubtless due to a misreading of a note added to the heading of the first sermon. This heading, written, as Curzon states, in uncials, originally consisted of three lines. Unfortunately l. 1, which undoubtedly contained the author's name, has been carefully and very effectually erased, so that not a trace of the original writing remains. Over the erasure is some

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writing for which it is difficult to account. On the right is a half-line, parallel to ll. 2 and 3, on the left ten (or nine) lines at right angles to them. Several characters look curiously like Syriac, and repeated attempts were made to read the text as some Oriental language; but eventually it was discovered to be 'mirror-writing' in Greek minuscules, apparently of the tenth or eleventh century. With a mirror the horizontal half-line is found to read *ο καὶ μικρὸν . . .*; the others are bits of lines, e.g. *σ οἶδ, επιστα, εισ.* The whole thing is mysterious; one naturally thinks of a set-off, but why was the original text written in this form, and why has it set off only on this one line? At all events the writing throws no light on the authorship of the sermons. There is another erasure above the headpiece; the traces indicate a hand different from that of the sermons but are too slight, even when a re-agent is used, to yield any information. The headings of all the remaining sermons, where preserved at all, are complete, but the author is unnamed, being referred to merely as *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, which shews that the whole collection was referred to a single writer.

Now after the heading of Sermon 1, continuing l. 3, a later hand, perhaps as late as the fifteenth or sixteenth century, has added the words: + *Γρηγορίου Νύσσης ἡ λεγομένη θεογνωσία.* The idea that this volume is itself the lost *θεογνωσία* attributed to Gregory of Nyssa and excerpted by Euthymius Zigabenus is certainly erroneous; but are we justified in regarding the sermons as the work of Gregory?

At first sight there seems a great deal to be said for this. The sermons are mainly concerned with controversies of the fourth century. The first four sermons are directed against the Manichaeans, the third also against Apollinaris of Laodicea, who is vigorously denounced and addressed in the second person as if he were a contemporary. Arius and his followers are attacked in part of Sermon 6, and the last Sermon but one is directed against Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius, and the Agnoëtae. The last heresy is the only one which suggests a later date, and that not necessarily so, for there was a fourth-century sect of the name. Moreover on fol. 17*b* occur the words: *εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερὸν καὶ θεῖον τόπον καὶ θρόνον, ἀφ' οὗπερ ἐκινήθη καὶ κατῆλθεν, ἀδιαστάτως ἐπανελθὼν καὶ θείας οὐσίας καὶ τὸν ἑτερογενῶς αὐτῷ συνυποστάντα ἄνθρωπον μέτοχον ἀποφήνας, μᾶλλον δὲ θεῖον ὅλον ἀπεργασάμενος, καὶ θαρρῶ λέγειν ὁμόθεον, ὡς καί τις ἔφη τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θεολόγων.*[1] In the margin a later commentator has written the note: *ση(μείωσαι) Γρηγόριος ὁ θεόλογος.* The quotation is in fact from Greg. Naz., *Or. in Sanctum Pascha* (Migne, *P. G.* xxxvi 640–641): *τέλειον δὲ οὐ διὰ τὴν θεότητα μόνον, ἧς οὐδὲν τελειότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρόσληψιν τὴν χρισθεῖσαν θεότητι, καὶ*

[1] In this and other quotations I have normalized spelling, accentuation, and punctuation.

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γενομένην ὅπερ τὸ χρῖσαν, καὶ θαρρῶ λέγειν ὁμόθεον. As καθ' ἡμᾶς is naturally taken as 'contemporary' (for this sense of κατά see, e.g., L. and S., *s.v.*, vii 2), this seems clear evidence of a fourth-century origin.

The connexion with Gregory of Nyssa is supported by three references to the θεογνωσία. On fol. 8 (Sermon 1), after an attack on Manes, the author consigns him to perdition (τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμψαντες), ἅτε δὴ καὶ πολλῷ πρώην ἐν ἄλλοις ἡμῶν λόγοις θεοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ χάριτι καὶ συνεργίᾳ διεξοδικωτέρως τὴν ἐμβροντησίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μανίαν καὶ λύτταν διελέγξαντες. The original scribe has here appended, in uncials, the following marginal note: ση(μείωσαι) τὸ βιβλίον αἰνίττεται ὃ καλεῖται θεογνωσία. On fol. 38*b* (Sermon 3) occur the words: ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα καὶ πολλῷ πρώην ἀλλαχοῦ διεξοδικωτέρως τοὺς παράφρονας αὐτῶν [Valentinus, Apollinaris, and similar heretics] ἐξηλέγξαμεν λόγους. The original scribe annotates: ση(μείωσαι) εἰς τὸ βιβλίον τὸ καλούμενον θεογνωσία ὅπερ ἐν Χερσόνι συνέταξεν. Finally, on fol. 96, the author himself refers, and in greater detail, to the *Theognosia*: ἐπειδὴ μάλιστα κἀπὶ τῇ βίβλῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ θεογνωσίᾳ διεξοδικώτερον τὰς τοιαύτας μαρτυρίας ἐν τῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἱρεσιάρχας πάλαι[1] παρενείραμέν[2] τε καὶ συντετάχαμεν. This accords so exactly with the character of the excerpts preserved by Zigabenus as to leave no reasonable doubt that the work referred to is that used by him. Bardenhewer (*Gesch. der altkirchlichen Literatur* iii 203) denies the Gregorian authorship of the *Theognosia*, but if a fourth-century date could be established for the sermons in Add. MS 39605 the case for it would be greatly strengthened. These sermons shew great similarity in thought to the works of Gregory, and, like his, betray an interest in philosophical speculation. In two passages Aristotle is quoted. On fol. 80*b* we read: υἱὸς γὰρ καὶ πατὴρ τῶν πρός τι πάντως εἰσί, καὶ τῇ θατέρου προσηγορίᾳ καὶ διαγνώσει καὶ θάτερος συνεισφέρεται καὶ συνδιέγνωσται κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. τοῦτο γὰρ ἐμπεδοῖ καὶ τῶν θύραθεν φιλοσόφων ὁ πρόκριτος λέγων· "ἐκ δὴ τούτων δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ἐάν τις εἰδῇ τι ὡρισμένως τῶν πρός τι" κτλ. (Arist. *Categ.* 7; Berlin ed. 1831, i 8*a* 35 f). On fol. 92 Aristotle is referred to by name: εἰ δὲ δόξεις,[3] φαίην, ἄκτιστον μὲν εἶναι καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ φύσεως τὸν υἱόν, πλήν γε δὴ δεύτερον αὐτοῦ τῷ αἰτιατὸν πεφυκέναι, πρότερον δὲ τὸν πατέρα τῷ αἰτίῳ δοξάσεις, καθώς τινες ταῖς σαῖς [he is addressing Arius] κατακολουθήσαντες δόξαις, κἂν ἐπ' ἔλαττον, πλὴν ὡς Ἀρειανίζοντες εὕρηνται καταγγέλλοντες ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις συντάγμασι καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας καὶ τεχνικὰς ἐπινοίας, αἳ περὶ τῶν συνθέτων καὶ κάτω φύσεων τοῖς θύραθεν σοφοῖς ἐξηυρέθησαν, φᾶναι[4] τολμήσεις[5] τὸν λεχθέντα τῷ Ἀριστοτέλει πέμπτον τοῦ προ-

[1] MS πάλη. [2] MS παρενήραμέν.

[3] MS δόξης. Perhaps, however, it is aorist subjunctive, and δοξάσεις is to be corrected to δοξάσῃς.

[4] Possibly to be corrected to φάναι.

[5] MS τολμήσης. See last note but one.

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τέρου τρόπον—δηλονότι τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεφυκότος ἀποδίδοσθαι λόγου, εἴτε δι' ὁρισμοῦ εἴτε διὰ τῆς ἁπλῆς ὀνομασίας, καταφορα-θήσει μάταια βομβῶν αὖθις ἐμπίδος δίκην κατὰ τῆς ἀληθείας. The reference here is to Arist. *Categ.* 12 (Berlin ed. 1831, i 14*b*, 9–23).

I have emphasized these points, not because I believe any longer that the sermons are by Gregory of Nyssa, but in order to bring out the connexions with his work which they display. That, despite the *prima facie* probability of a fourth-century origin, the sermons are in fact of considerably later date is proved by three passages in the later part of the MS. The first indeed (fol. 109*b*) is not in itself conclusive. Speaking of the martyrdom of St Paul, the author says: *καὶ τούτου χάριν ἀποτμη-θέντα τὴν σεβασμίαν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν καθώς φησιν Ἰωάννης ὁ Χρυσόστομος καὶ μέγας τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκαλος· εἰς τὸν πρῶτον λόγον τὸν εἰρημένον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς κωλύοντας μονάζειν λέξεσιν αὐταῖς οὕτω φησί* (quotation follows). The work quoted (*Adv. Opp. Vit. Monast.* i) was one of Chrysostom's earliest works, and might well have been quoted by Gregory, but Chrysostom does not seem to have been called by this name in his life-time, and in any case Gregory would hardly refer to a younger contemporary in these terms.[1] Suspicion is raised to certainty by two later passages. On fol. 128*b* the author enumerates the following heresies: *τῶν Ἀρειανῶν καὶ τῶν Νεστοριανῶν καὶ τῶν μονοθελητῶν καὶ τῶν εἰκονομάχων.* On fol. 134*b*, after finishing a tirade against Macedonius, whom he addresses as if he were addressing a contemporary (e.g. fol. 133: *ἀλλὰ μηδαμῶς ἐπικερτομῆσαι, Μακεδόνιε, τοῖς εἰρημένοις τολμήσεις*), he goes on: *ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οἱ τὸν κύριον τῶν γνώσεων, ἐν ᾧ πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι, καθώς φησιν ὁ μέγας ἀπό-στολος, ἀγνοεῖν τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ὥραν τῆς συντελείας καὶ τῆς κρίσεως ἀσεβῶς καὶ παραφρόνως δοξάσαντες, οἳ καὶ προσηκόντως ἀγνοηταὶ*[2] *προση-γορεύθησαν, δηλονότι Θεμίστιος ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὰ ἄθεσμα ἐννοήσας καὶ τὰ ἀθέμιτα καταγγείλας.* Themistius, a deacon of Alexandria, was a dissident from the Monophysites, and started the later sect of Agnoëtae in the sixth century.

It might perhaps be held that since these definite indications of a late date occur only in the later sermons these are to be separated from the earlier ones; that the earlier may be the genuine work of St Gregory of Nyssa even though the later must be denied to him. Against this must be set the general uniformity of style throughout the volume. It is possible (but this is perhaps an illusion) that the later sermons are inferior in both thought and expression to the earlier, but in the main the same characteristics are found throughout. Phrases like *οὐκοῦν ἄρα παντί τῳ σαφές* or *πρόδηλον καὶ παντί τῳ σαφές*, and *ὡς ἔφθην εἰπών* occur

[1] Note too the late use of *εἰς* with acc. for *ἐν*, in *εἰς τὸν πρῶτον λόγον*.

[2] MS *ἀγνοῖται*.

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repeatedly; indeed there is a pronounced tendency to use certain stereotyped formulae. St Paul is regularly, though not quite invariably, referred to as Παῦλος ὁ μέγας ἀπόστολος, and St John as Ἰωάννης ὁ μέγιστος εὐαγγελιστὴς καὶ θεολόγος or Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος. This in itself is a strong argument against the attribution to Gregory of Nyssa, who refers to St Paul as ὁ Παῦλος, or Παῦλος ὁ μέγας, or ὁ μέγας Παῦλος, or ὁ ἅγιος Παῦλος, or simply ὁ ἀπόστολος but not, so far as I have noticed, in the words habitually employed by the author of these sermons.[1]

The chief argument against the Gregorian authorship is, however, the style as a whole, which is markedly inferior to that of Gregory. It is rambling and involved, and shews an unconquerable reluctance to use one word when two, or, better still, six, can be used instead.

There can then be no doubt that the sermons are the work of some late writer. The reference to Gregory of Nazianzus as τις τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θεολόγων must be explained either by giving some other sense to καθ' ἡμᾶς, perhaps 'a theologian of our way of thinking', though this is unexpected in an author so much later, or, more probably, by supposing that the writer has taken over the phrase from some earlier work, perhaps one by Gregory of Nyssa, whose influence is so obvious in these sermons.

The main interest of the volume is therefore the light it throws on the authorship of the *Theognosia*. It must be confessed that the style of the latter shews no very obvious resemblance to that of the sermons, but not only the identity of title but that of subject make it impossible to doubt that the reference in the passage quoted from fol. 96 is to the work excerpted by Zigabenus, and it is not credible that even the most unintelligent of compilers can have taken over such a passage intact from an earlier work. 39605 therefore brings the final proof that the *Theognosia* is not the work of Gregory of Nyssa, and gives us the means of determining roughly the date of its composition. It may also explain why it was that it came to be attributed to Gregory.[2] The sermons shew his influence strongly, as I have said; if the same was true of the *Theognosia* when complete it might naturally come to be included

[1] A proof of a later date than the fourth century can be found in the first sermon. On fol. 5 *b* the author in a parenthesis refers to a difference of opinion as to the punctuation of John i 3–4: ἄλλου μὲν στίξαντος καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀποπεράναντος εἰς τὸ "καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν," εἶθ' οὕτως ἀρχομένου καὶ φάσκοντος "ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν," ἄλλου δὲ συνάψαντος καὶ τὸ ἀμέσως ἐπόμενον καὶ τὴν τελείαν στιγμὴν τεθεικότος εἰς τὸ "ὃ γέγονεν," εἶτα πάλιν ἀρχομένου καὶ φάσκοντος "ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν." The scribe has added in the margin, in a sort of monogram, Κύρ(ι)λ(λος) Χρυ(σόστομος); and Prof. Jaeger points out to me that the reference is in fact to Cyril, *In Joann. Ev.* i 6 (Migne *P. G.* lxxiii 85 ff.; point at ἕν), Chrys. *Hom. in Joann.* v (Migne *P. G.* lix 53; point at γέγονεν).

[2] Cf. however what is said below.

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among Gregory's works. Then the occurrence in 39605 of references to the *Theognosia* as by the same author led some later owner to delete the original name of the author and to substitute the present attribution to Gregory—it is true, in a muddled form, since he evidently took this volume to be itself the *Theognosia*.

The problem remains who was the actual author of the two works. It is possible that these sermons may actually be extant elsewhere, and even have been published, but repeated searches in Migne with the help of the *Indices* of Cavallera (Paris, 1912) have produced no result. It is possible that the publication of the present article may lead to their identification. The date of the author can be fixed within certain limits. The reference to the Monothelite heresy brings the date down to not earlier than the seventh century; that to the εἰκονομάχοι precludes an earlier date than the eighth, for though there were opponents of icons before the outbreak of the iconoclastic troubles, the form of reference seems to indicate some recognized and well-known movement, and the word εἰκονομάχος is not quoted by Sophocles from any author earlier than the eighth century. Moreover the fifth and seventh sermons may well, as pointed out below, refer to the iconoclastic controversy or questions arising out of it. On the other hand the date of the MS makes it impossible that the sermons should be later than the ninth century, for the MS is certainly not the author's autograph. The note on fol. 38*b*, if it can be relied on, shews that the author was at one time connected with Cherson.

A possible clue may be found in a passage on fols. 129–130. In speaking of various classes of sinners the author writes: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λήμμασιν αἰσχροῖς ἀπεμπωλήσαντα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ χάριν ἢ ἀγοράσαντα παραπλησίως Σίμωνι τῷ μάγῳ καταδικάζουσι καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπέμπουσι, καθὼς θεσπίζει τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων ὁ εἰκοστὸς ἕνατος κανὼν φάσκων· "εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος διὰ χρημάτων τῆς ἀξίας ταύτης ἐγκρατὴς γένηται, ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος, καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ χειροτονήσας, καὶ ἐκκοπτέσθω παντάπασι καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας, ὡς Σίμων ὁ μάγος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου". καὶ πάλιν περὶ τῶν ἀπό τινος καταδυναστείας ἀρχοντικῆς ἤτοι βασιλικῆς τυραννικῶς εἰσπηδώντων ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ὁ τριακοστὸς κανὼν τοιαῦτα νομοθετεῖ καὶ διέξεισιν· "εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος κοσμικοῖς ἄρχουσι χρησάμενος δι' αὐτῶν ἐγκρατὴς ἐκκλησίας γένηται, καθαιρείσθω καὶ ἀφοριζέσθω, καὶ οἱ κοινωνοῦντες αὐτῷ πάντες".[1] ἐὰν οὖν ὁμολογουμένως ἐξελεγχθείη τις καὶ καταφωραθείη καὶ γένηται προδηλότατος πᾶσιν ὡς ἐπὶ χρήμασι χειροτονήσας ἢ χειροτονίαν δεξάμενος καὶ τὸ ἔκθεσμον τοῦτο καὶ πονηρὸν[2] πρὸ τῆς

[1] See F. Lauchert *Die Kanones der wichtigsten Altkirchlichen Concilien nebst den Apostolischen Kanones* (*Samml. ausg. kirchen- u. dogmengesch. Quellenschr.* 12) p. 4. The date of the Canons is probably the fifth century (*op. cit.* p. xv).

[2] The words thus printed are a correction added in the margin.

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χειροτονίας ἢ μετὰ τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιήσας, καὶ μηδεμία πρόσεστι περι τούτου τὸ σύνολον ἀμφισβήτησις, καὶ συνόδου συγκροτηθείσης καθαιρεθῇ δικαίως καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπεμφθείη κατὰ τοὺς ἀποστολικοὺς ὅρους καὶ νόμους, οὐ παραδέξεται δὲ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐκεῖνος κατάκρισιν, ἀλλ' ἱερουργεῖ τολμηρῶς μετὰ πολλῆς αὐθαδείας, εἶτα καὶ μιαιφόνος αὖθις ἁλῷ καὶ πλαστογράφος καὶ συκοφάντης καὶ μοιχὸς καὶ πόρνος καὶ βέβηλος, ἅτε δὴ προστιθεὶς ἁμαρτίας ἐφ' ἁμαρτίαις κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, καὶ πάλιν συγκροτηθείσης συνόδου κατακριθείη πολλαπλασίως καὶ σφοδροτέρως καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι παραπεμφθείη διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀλαζονίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπείθειαν, κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν ὑποθήκην τὴν λέγουσαν· "ἐὰν δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παρακούσῃ, ἔστω σοι ὥσπερ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης" (Mt. xviii 17), καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Παύλου ἀποστόλου παραγγελίαν τὴν φάσκουσαν περὶ τοῦ τὴν ἰδίαν μητρυιὰν[1] ἐν Κορίνθῳ πεπορνευκότος· "παράδοτε τὸν τοιοῦτον τῷ Σατανᾷ εἰς ὄλεθρον τῆς σαρκός, ἵνα τῷ πνεύματι σωθῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ" (1 Cor. v 5), τινὲς δὲ τῶν ἱερᾶσθαι λαχόντων ἢ καὶ τῶν πιστῶν λαϊκῶν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίαν ἀποδιδράσκοντες διωγμοὺς ἀνατλῶσιν καὶ παντοδαπὰς θλίψεις καὶ περιστάσεις ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ἐκείνου συνιστᾶν ἐθελόντων καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῶν θείων νόμων παραβαινόντων, ὡς πολλοὶ πολλάκις κατεφωράθησαν, ἆρ' οὐχὶ μάρτυρες ἀπαράγραπτοι τῆς ἀληθείας κληθεῖεν, ἧς ὑπεραθλοῦντες καὶ τελευταῖον τὸ τοῦ θανάτου ποτήριον ἔπιον, ὡς ἕκαστος τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ τροπαιοφόρων μαρτύρων;

The wording strongly suggests that the author is here alluding to some particular individual, and, given the allusion to the iconoclasts already mentioned, one naturally thinks of some incident during the first or second period of the iconoclastic controversy. Now, George, bishop of Mytilene,[2] was banished by Leo V (A. D. 813–820) to Cherson for his opposition to iconoclasm, and I venture to suggest that he may possibly be the author of these sermons. It is true that there are discrepancies in the accounts given of him, discrepancies which Papenbroeck tries to reconcile by the heroic expedient of making him survive from the reign of Leo III to that of Leo V. If this theory be true there are difficulties in the supposition that our author is this George, for he speaks of the *Theognosia*, which the scribe states to have been composed at Cherson, as written πολλῷ πρώην, whereas we cannot suppose a very old man to have survived his banishment long; but the theory is so excessively uncertain that it can hardly weigh as a serious argument. In favour of George there are several arguments. The names George and Gregory were frequently confused, and Le Quien

[1] MS μητρυαν.

[2] For him see *Acta Sanctorum*, April 7, 665–6; W. Smith and Wace *Dict. of Christ. Biography*, s.v. Georgius (42); V. Lundström *Ramenta Byzantina* in *Eranos* iii (1899) 149–61; Fabricius (ed. 2), xi 628–9; Le Quien *Oriens Christianus* i 956–7.

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quotes from the *Menologia* (7 April) the heading ἡ μνήμη τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γρηγορίου ἐπισκόπου Μιτυλήνης.[1] Thus the attribution to Gregory of Nyssa could be accounted for. The bishop of Mytilene was an author; Fabricius refers to an *oratio de passione Iesu Christi* at Vienna (see P. Lambecius *Comm. de Aug. Bib. Caes. Vind.*, ed. 2, iv 410, MS clxxvi): τοῦ μακαριωτάτου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Γεωργίου Μυτιληναίου λόγος εἰς τὰ ἅγια πάθη τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; cf. i 245), and S. P. Lambros *Cat. of Greek MSS on Mount Athos* i, p. 133, notes (cod. 1562, Caracalla): Γεωργίου Μηλιτινῆς[2] Λόγος τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ, no doubt the same sermon. Moreover, during the second period of the iconoclastic controversy the doctrinal issues seem to have been much more prominent than in the earlier period,[3] and in particular Manichaeism and various forms of Arianism were attributed to the iconoclasts.

There is then something to be said for the identification with George of Mytilene. Was the bishop to whom he seems to be referring in the passage quoted the intruded Patriarch Theodotus? or Leo, who replaced George at Mytilene? But I know of no such double condemnation by a synod as is here mentioned in the case of either.

Whatever be thought of the above suggestion, the sermons are at least of some interest as probably written at the time of the iconoclastic troubles and as definitely disproving the Gregorian authorship of the *Theognosia*, which they serve to date at least within certain limits.

I must add that Prof. W. Jaeger of Berlin, the editor of Gregory of Nyssa, to whom, after reading two of the sermons and under the impression that they were Gregory's work, I communicated the supposed discovery, is investigating the question of authorship.

To assist identification it will be well to quote the titles and initia of the single sermons:

Fol. 1. . . . ἐξήγησις εἰς τὸ "ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος" (Jn. i 1), καὶ κατὰ Μανιχαίων. Inc. Μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τῷ ὄντι, καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου μεγαλειότητος.

Fol. 13. At the top, in another hand, λόγος β̄. Title: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τὸ φάσκον· "εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον" (Jn. i 11) καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, καὶ κατὰ Μανιχαίων. Inc. Τὴν γῆν καταλιπὼν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα διαπεράσας.

Fol. 30. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (2nd hand) λόγος γ̄ (1st hand) εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ

[1] In modern editions it is correctly given.

[2] For the form cf. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη ii p. 296: ἀξιοσημείωτόν ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅτι ὁ τῇ ζ' ἀπριλίου ἑορταζόμενος ἐπίσκοπος Μυτιλήνης Γεώργιος ὀνομάζεται Μελιτινῆς ἐπίσκοπος.

[3] Bury *History of the Eastern Roman Empire* pp. 56, 70. It is significant that Photius wrote against the Manichaeans.

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αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ τὸ φάσκον· "καὶ ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν (Jn. i 14) (2nd hand) καὶ κατὰ Μανιχαίων καὶ Ἀπολλιναριστῶν.[1] Inc. Φωτεινὴ νεφέλη σκέπουσα πάλαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ στῦλος πυρὸς ὁδηγῶν.

Fol. 47. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ δηλονότι τὸ φάσκον· "αὐτοὶ ὑμεῖς μαρτυρεῖτε ὅτι εἶπον οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστός (Jn. iii 28)" καὶ τὰ ἐφεξῆς, καὶ κατὰ Μανιχαίων, λόγος δ̄ (the numeration is here original). Inc. Ἁπλοῦς μέν ἐστι τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς συγγραφῆς ὁ σκοπός.

Fol. 58*b*. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ δηλονότι τὸ φάσκον· "ἐὰν ὑμεῖς μείνητε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ἐμῷ, ἀληθῶς μαθηταί μού ἐστε, καὶ γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐλευθερώσει ὑμᾶς" (Jn. viii 31–32), καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀδιαφορούντων ἐπισκόπων καὶ τοὺς θείους νόμους καὶ γνώμονας παραβαινόντων καὶ παραχαράττοντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην, (another hand) λόγος ε̄. (If this sermon refers to some contemporary bishops who had submitted to the iconoclast emperor against their consciences this may serve to date and perhaps to identify it. The references to the bishops certainly suggest something of the kind; cf. fols. 75–75*b* [the words are put into the mouth of Christ]: ὑμεῖς δὲ προεδώκατε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τοῦ κοσμοκράτορος δοῦλοι γεγόνατε, καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν δυσβουλίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κακοπραγίαν ἑτοιμότατοι αὐτουργοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέται καὶ θεράποντες ἀπεφάνθητε, καὶ παρεσιωπήσατε προδηλοτάτην ἀσέβειαν, καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας αὐτῆς ἐτρυγήσατε, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἁγίου καὶ βεβήλου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ καθαροῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀκαθάρτου τὸ σύνολον οὐχ εὑρέθητε διαστέλλοντες, ἀλλὰ παρέβητε τὸν νόμον μου, καὶ ἠλλάξατε τὰ προστάγματά μου, καὶ διεσκεδάσατε τὴν διαθήκην μου, καὶ γεγόνατε μισθωτοὶ τοῦ Ἐφραίμ, καὶ τὸν ἀμπελῶνά μου διεφθείρατε, καὶ τὴν μερίδα μου τὴν ἐπιθυμητὴν ἐμολύνατε, καὶ τεθήκατε σαφῶς εἰς ἔρημον ἄβατον.) Inc. Ἀλήθεια πέφυκεν αἱρετωτέρα καὶ φιλαιτέρα πάντων τῶν ὄντων ὡς ἀσυγκρίτως βελτίων.[2]

Fol. 79. The sixth sermon begins imperfectly. Probably (from the quire numeration) only one leaf is lost. The text was obviously Jn. xiv 7 ff; Sabellius and the Arians are both attacked. First words preserved ὡς ἀπαράλλακτος ἐκείνου πέφυκεν οὗτος εἰκών.

Fol. 99*b*. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, δηλονότι τὸ φάσκον· "εἰ ὁ κόσμος ὑμᾶς μισεῖ, γινώσκετε ὅτι ἐμὲ πρῶτον ὑμῶν μεμίσηκε" (Jn. xv 18), καὶ κατὰ τῶν λεγόντων μὴ δεῖν χωρὶς τοῦ λόγου τῆς πίστεως ὑπεραποθνήσκειν καὶ μέχρι παντὸς ὑπεραθλεῖν τῶν κυριακῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ τῶν ἀποστολικῶν εἰσηγήσεων, λόγος ζ̄. (Is this a reference to a dispute growing out of the iconoclastic controversy?) Inc. Καύχημα μέγα καὶ κλέος τοῖς εἰς Χριστὸν ἠλπικόσιν ἐστὶ τὸ καταξιωθῆναι συμμόρφους γενέσθαι. It is not clear where this sermon ends. The next is numbered the ninth, and several leaves are missing, nor is the end of this sermon preserved, but the subject is the same from fol. 99*b* to fol. 130*b*, after which comes the ninth sermon. It is possible that the numeration is wrong

[1] MS. Ἀπολιναριστῶν. [2] MS φιλεταίρα (αί corr. from έ).

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(cf. however below), or that a whole sermon is lost, or again that two sermons occurred here on the same subject, the end of the seventh and the beginning and the end of the eighth being lost. In favour of this last supposition is the inordinate length of this sermon if it is all one, but as I have said there is no obvious break in the argument which might indicate a new sermon. If there were two sermons the second perhaps began on the leaf lost after fol. 123.

Fol. 131. Λόγος θ̄. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ δηλονότι τὸ φάσκον· "καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι" (Mt. xi 27), καὶ κατὰ Ἀρείου καὶ Σαβελλίου καὶ Μακεδονίου τῶν παραπλήγων καὶ δυσσεβῶν αἱρεσιαρχῶν, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀγνοητῶν[1] προσφόρως ὀνομασθέντων ὡς ἄγνοιαν κατηγορησάντων τοῦ κυρίου τῶν γνώσεων. Inc. Καλῶς τῷ ὄντι καὶ σοφῶς ἄγαν τὸ παροιμιακὸν λόγιον ἔφησε. It is interesting to note that though the text is from St Matthew the Evangelist is called τοῦ αὐτοῦ. This strengthens the case for supposing that either a whole sermon is lost or two separate sermons came between fols. 99*b* and 131.

Fol. 140. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ῥητὸν τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου τὸ φάσκον· "εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἐγεννήθησαν οὕτως, καὶ εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες εὐνουχίσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες εὐνούχισαν ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν" (Mt. xix 12). Inc. Ἀπειροκάλων ἀνθρώπων ὁ νοῦς οὐδὲν τῶν ὀνησιφόρων καὶ συντελούντων πρὸς ἀφθαρσίαν εἴωθε γεωργεῖν. Ends (complete) fol. 151*b*.

In conclusion, I may add that nothing is known as to the history of the MS except that it was bought from the monastery of Caracalla on Mount Athos by Robert Curzon in 1837. The binding is recent; very possibly the volume was unbound when it was acquired, as the first and last pages are dirty and a little rubbed. Several single leaves are lost from various parts of the volume, and a whole quire after fol. 54.

H. I. Bell.

THE CAESAREAN TEXT OF THE GOSPELS.

In my book *The Four Gospels* I submitted evidence for the view that the very numerous non-Byzantine (or, as Hort would have called them, 'pre-Syrian') readings found in the Koridethi MS Θ and certain cursives (especially 1 &c., 13 &c., 28, 565, 700) are survivals of the Gospel text in use at Caesarea before A.D. 231—the date when Origen transferred himself to that city. Prof. Burkitt in the April number of

[1] MS ἀγνωητων.

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this JOURNAL devoted several pages to a criticism of this conclusion. The remarks which Prof. Burkitt makes about my book as a whole are couched in terms of approbation far more generous, I am sure, than I deserve, and it is therefore in no sense to defend myself or my book, that I write this article. I do so because the question whether this group of MSS does or does not preserve the text of the Gospels dominant in Caesarea about A.D. 230 is one of general interest to scholars.

The pith of Prof. Burkitt's criticism lies in his contention that the set of 'various readings' which von Soden groups as the I Text 'is far too disparate and amorphous . . . to be called a recension at all, or to be properly grouped under any single sign. Dr Streeter has tried to reduce von Soden's I into a manageable entity by cutting off from it the Old Syriac texts on one hand and D and the Old Latins (together with W, the "Freer" MS now at Washington) on the other. But the Latin Vulgate is properly called a *recension* because there was once a MS which contained the Gospel-text of the Latin Vulgate as Jerome wrote it, and this MS can practically be reconstructed: I am not certain that one MS ever contained the peculiarities of Θ 565 and their friends'.

Everything in the above quotation has my hearty assent—except the reference to my own procedure. This happens to express exactly the reverse of the line which my investigations actually took. So far from starting from von Soden's conception of an I text, derived from a Jerusalem recension, I started with the conviction that this was pure moonshine; and I had fortified this view by writing to an eminent textual critic in Germany from whom I extracted the answer that no one in that country believed in the existence of von Soden's I text. It was the fresh study of the facts, which I began after reading Lake's article in the *Harvard Theological Journal*, July 1923, that convinced me that von Soden was not quite so mad as I had previously supposed. In Appendix II of my book I give reasons for supposing that certain other MSS—especially NΣ and 1424 &c.—which von Soden assigns to his I text should be classed with the Θ group. But I expressly warn the reader (cf. p. 580) against 'classing as authorities for the text of *fam* Θ all MSS—merely excepting D W ^{Mk}, Old Lat., Old Syr.—cited in von Soden's *Apparatus* as authorities for the I text. They must be scrutinized again in every case. And this caution is the more necessary as von Soden is over-anxious to enlist MSS in support of the I text'.

I conceive, moreover, that von Soden is wrong, not only in grouping D, the Old Latin and the Old Syriac along with Θ and its allies, but also in using the term *recension*, which as Prof. Burkitt points out,

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implies that there was once at some date (in the third or fourth century) a *single* manuscript which contained *all* the peculiar readings in question. But when one speaks of the 'Alexandrian *text*', one does not mean that *all* the readings in ℵ B C L, Δ^{Mk}, the Egyptian versions and the citations of the Alexandrian Fathers, ever co-existed in any single MS. One means that the majority of the readings which are either peculiar to, or only rarely found outside, this group of authorities would have been found in an *average* MS used at Alexandria, while of the rest of these characteristic variants some would have been found in one, some in another MS in that locality. A 'local text' is not the same thing as a 'recension'. For that reason I also demur to von Soden's description of what he calls the H text as a 'recension'. Even if, as is quite possible, B represents pretty accurately the recension of Hesychius, then, I think, ℵ must be regarded as a typical pre-Hesychian text or as such a text partially corrected by a Hesychian MS. But whatever be the actual connexion between B and ℵ, scholars for the last fifty years have habitually spoken of the 'B ℵ text', and when I use the phrase 'Caesarean text', I use the word 'text' in that sense and not in the sense of 'recension'.

To come now to the actual phenomena of the Θ group, or rather of the non-Byzantine readings found in these MSS. So far from being, as Prof. Burkitt says, 'a set of various readings that remain obstinately disparate and amorphous', what to me seems remarkable about them is the extent of their homogenity. In the first chapter of St Mark there are 102 cases in which one or more members of the Θ group give a non-Byzantine reading, but there are only five cases in which members of the family differ from one another in a non-Byzantine reading. Now in this same set of variants B and ℵ differ from one another sixteen times. So far then as this particular chapter is concerned the non-Byzantine variants in the Θ family shew a far smaller range of variation than do B and ℵ, which are notoriously more closely allied than any two other authorities of the first five centuries. If, then, we are justified in using the phrase 'the B ℵ text', *à fortiori* may we apply the term 'text' to the characteristic element in this group of MSS. Now I make no pretence to have tested more than a limited number of passages in the Gospels, but every passage which I have tested has yielded a similar result, viz. the range of variation between the readings of the six main members of the Θ group is *less* than that between B and ℵ. Indeed it is so small that, bearing in mind (*a*) the late date of most of the MSS concerned, and (*b*) the way that MSS accumulate sporadic variants in the margin which may get into the text of MSS copied from them, it would be quite compatible with

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the view that the non-Byzantine element does go back to a single MS of the fourth century—though that is not the view I myself hold.

But this—I venture to think rather remarkable—degree of homogeneity in the non-Byzantine element in this very diverse set of MSS, cannot be considered apart from the surviving evidence as to the text used by Origen. Of the 157 variants in the text of Mark[1] quoted by Griesbach from the latter part of Origen's *Commentary on John*, the *Commentary on Matthew*, and the *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, no less than 116 are readings of *fam* Θ. It follows that Origen must have possessed a MS which contained 75 per cent. of the readings found in this group of MSS. And since of the forty-one readings in which Origen differs from *fam* Θ, fifteen do not occur in any MS and may well be either slips of memory or scribal errors, while twenty are Byzantine and therefore open to the suspicion of being scribal corrections, it is probable that this percentage much understates the actual truth. These works of Origen we know were written after he moved to Caesarea. But the text of Mark used in the earlier books of the Commentary on John, which we know was begun in Alexandria, has a 90 per cent. agreement with the ℵ B C L Δ text. Since then there are many other reasons for connecting the text of these MSS with Egypt, we naturally infer that the change of text was due to a change of residence and, therefore, that a text similar to that of *fam* Θ was prevalent at Caesarea in A.D. 231.

I do not gather that Prof. Burkitt wishes to dispute my facts. So far as I understand, it is merely the description 'Caesarean', as distinct from 'Eastern', to which he objects. 'It is some way', he writes, 'from these things to Streeter's Caesarean text distinct from the Old-Antiochian text.' Now in regard to the Old-Antiochian text I am a humble disciple of Prof. Burkitt. Practically everything that I know about the Old Syriac is derived from his works, and in my book (p. 74) I say, 'Burkitt was, I believe, the first to work out in any detail the suggestion that the Greek text underlying the version of the Old Syriac preserved in Syr. S. was derived from the older text of Antioch'. The arguments which I adduce in support of this theory are avowedly, in the main, a summary of his. Has Prof. Burkitt abandoned this view of his? If so, I wonder why.

At any rate the facts about the text of the Sinaitic Syriac may be

[1] I concentrate on the figures for Mark for three reasons: (*a*) the text of *fam* Θ is far better preserved for this Gospel, (*b*) for reasons noted in my book (p. 63 f), research into the pedigree of a MS should always begin with the text of Mark, (*c*) for the other Gospels it would only be possible to quote a selection of the evidence. But the set of variants noted by Griesbach is probably fairly exhaustive, and at any rate is *his* selection, and not one made by me to illustrate my own argument.

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roughly summarized by the description of it as 'a kind of half-way house between the text preserved in *fam* Θ and the geographically Western group of texts preserved in D and the Old Latin'. The distinction within the 'Eastern texts' which I draw between the types represented by *fam* Θ and the Old Syriac respectively, appears to me to be comparable to the accepted distinction between the African and the European branches of the Old Latin. At any rate the distinction exists; and there is no reason why we should interpret it apart from the facts that (*a*) at least one manuscript with a text very like the ground text of *fam* Θ was used by Origen when at Caesarea, (*b*) there is a fair presumption that the Greek manuscript used by the translator of the Old Syriac was obtained from Antioch. That being so, it seems to me a real gain in clarity of thought to conceive of the one text as 'Caesarean' and the other as 'Old Antiochian'. But, of course, we are not therefore entitled to assume either (*a*) that there was a fixed uniform text current in either of these districts, instead of merely a predominant type; or (*b*) that *every* reading in the scanty authorities we possess was to be found in the majority of the MSS in common use in these cities at the beginning of the third century.

With what Prof. Burkitt says as to the marked superiority of the B ℵ text of the Gospels I agree (though I am not at all certain that the same thing holds true of the Acts), but I am not sure that I regard it as altogether remarkable. Alexandrian scholarship was traditionally interested in textual criticism, and this fact would I think have inevitably reacted on the standard of accuracy exacted from the ordinary scribe. Antecedently, then, one would expect the text to be better preserved in Alexandria. It is true that Clement of Alexandria uses a very mixed text. But many authorities believe that Clement's extant writings were written after he left Alexandria. We have seen evidence that Origen, after leaving Alexandria, was content to use the text current in the Church in which he wrote. Clement, who had far less interest than Origen in textual criticism, would presumably do the same. His works then afford only precarious evidence against the obvious view that the B ℵ type of text was already dominant in Egypt in his time.

Later on, in discussing my theory that the minor agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark are due to corruptions in the B ℵ text, Prof. Burkitt seeks to discredit the theory of the existence of a Caesarean text by impugning its quality. 'But the point I wish here to raise is that in *only one* [the italics are mine] of these thirty-two cases of alleged textual corruption does Dr. Streeter venture to claim that his 'Caesarean' text, unsupported by ℵ B or D latt or syr vt, preserves the true reading.' Incidentally I may remark that I make that claim

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in *two* cases (Mk. xiv 62, Mt. xxvii 60) where the Caesarean text has no other support, besides one case (Mt. xii 4) where it has the support of a single Old Latin MS. But surely in the parenthetic words 'unsupported by' &c. there lurks fallacy. If in any particular passage the Caesarean text preserves a correct reading, then it *does* preserve it; it is no discredit to the Caesarean text that D or the Old Latin or Old Syriac should happen to support it in this meritorious action. Moreover even if the *fam* Θ text were 'essentially bad' it would not follow that it was not in use at Caesarea about 230. If the B ℵ text is as pre-eminently good as Prof. Burkitt holds, then 'essentially bad' texts were current everywhere outside Egypt at that date.

Prof. Burkitt concludes his main argument with these words: 'Any reading, for instance, found in 1 has an off-chance to be a genuine survival, just as any reading in *k* or in Syr. S . . . has an off-chance to be a survival. But it is an off-chance, and no geographical word such as Caesarean adds to the authority with which it speaks'. This seems to me tantamount to saying that *external* evidence as to the date or range of circulation of any non-Byzantine reading is entirely without value. I should agree with Prof. Burkitt that in the last resort, and in clear cases, internal evidence must be given the greater weight. But most cases are not clear; and, where that is so, the number of different localities in the third century in which the reading is found to have been current is a fact which the critic is bound carefully to weigh. The identification, therefore, of local texts is the first condition of any scientific attempt to test the comparative value of different types of external evidence as such. This does not mean that external evidence can ever rule out internal, but at least it may provide us with a means of controlling it.

B. H. STREETER.

NOTE ON THE PRECEDING NOTE.

BY way of explanation let me state what was in my mind when I wrote my strictures on Canon Streeter's Caesarean text.

1. There are a number of variants in our MSS and versions that are neither geographically 'Western' nor 'Alexandrian', i. e. attested neither by D-latt nor ℵB. Let us call these 'Eastern'. The chief MSS of this group, or groups, are

Θ 565 700 13–69–124&c 1&c 28 and syr.*SC*.

2. It happens only rarely that all the members of this group, or groups, agree together against the rest. When they are divided the

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MSS that do not support the 'Eastern' reading do not always agree with the Byzantine text, but often agree with ℵB or D latt.

3. If we must divide the 'Eastern' group into families, the only way is to examine the coincidences of single members within the group. Each of the MSS listed above, but particularly 1 and 28, so often and so markedly agrees with syr.*S* against the rest that it seems unreasonable to divide them by marking off syr.*S* (with *C*) as representing the early text current at Antioch, and to group together all the others as 'Caesarean'.

A few instances will shew what I mean. In the first set I have picked out some triple variants to shew the cross-grouping, then come some notable agreements of 1&c with syr.*S* against the majority of Streeter's 'Caesarean' authorities.

Mk. i 13 εκει 1&c 28 69–124 565 700 syr.*S* (*also* arm georg)
εν τη ερημω ℵBL D latt W, *also* Θ 13–346&c
εκει εν τη ερημω ς

Mk. viii 10 τὰ μέρη Δαλμανουθά
(i) τα μερη] τα ορια D^{gr} *c f*(*k*), τα ορη N, *but* το ορος W 28 syr.*S*
(ii) Δαλμανουθα (incl. 700)] -νθα B, Δαλμουναι W, *Dalmanounea* arm
Mageda(*n*) (D) lat. afr-eur *also* 565 28 syr.*S*
Magdala Θ 69&c 1&c

Mk. xiv 45 *Rabbi* ℵB D latt al pauc, *also* Θ syr.*S*
Hail, Rabbi W 565 69&c 1&c
Rabbi, Rabbi ς al longe pl, *also* 700

Mk. xiv 51[a] επι γυμνω] MSS, *also* 124 700
γυμνος Θ 565 69&c sah (*sic*)
om. W 1&c syr.*S* (= *c k*)

Mk. xiv 51[b] και κρατουσιν αυτον ℵB D latt al pauc sah (*sic*), *pr.* 'and many persons went' syr.*S*
οι δε νεανισκοι κρατουσιν αυτον (W) Θ 565 700 1&c (69–124&c)
(W 69–124&c *read* εκρατησαν)
και κρατουσιν αυτον οι νεανισκοι ς

In this last example the Eastern group is united: I give the evidence here, because in the first half of the verse the group is split into two.

Here follow instances where 1&c, with or without subsidiary support, deserts the main 'Caesarean' body to agree with syr.*S*.

Mk. ii 27 ἐγένετο] εκτισθη W 700 1&c syr.*S*

Mk. iii 17 Βοανηργές] Βοανανηργε W, Βανηρεγεσ 565, Βανηρεγεζ 700, *bnai rgesh* syr.*S*

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Mk. vi 22, 23 'Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt and I will give it thee'. And he sware unto her 'whatsoever thou shalt ask of me I will give thee unto the half of my kingdom.'] 'Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt and I will give it thee unto the half of my kingdom.' And he sware unto her. *So* 1&c *with* W *and* syr.*S*; W *omits* And he sware unto her, *and* syr.*S* whatsoever thou wilt.

Mk. x 11, 12. In W 1 and syr.*S* these verses are transposed, so that the prohibition of the wife leaving her husband comes before that of the husband leaving the wife.

Mk. x 20 ἐφυλαξάμην (or ἐφύλαξα)] εποιησα 565 1&c syr.*S*.

Most of these examples are taken out of my *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* ii, pp. 248 ff, where I collected such readings, especially agreements between 1&c and syr.*S*, because I thought, and still think, that there is a special element in 1&c derived directly from the text represented by syr.*S*, i.e. (as Dr Streeter and I like to believe) from the early text current at Antioch. Several other readings connect syr.*S* and 565 (e.g. Mk. x 50), and syr.*S* and the Ferrar-group (e.g. Mk. vii 33). The objections which I feel to Dr Streeter's classification will therefore not be satisfied by transferring 1&c from 'Caesarean' texts to 'early Antiochian' ones. I cannot see any fundamental separation between any of these interesting Eastern texts.

What difference does it make, after all? I can imagine this question may be asked by the non-specialist, who is more interested in getting at the true original text of the Gospels than in the classification of MSS. I would answer that Dr Streeter's new classification, if accepted, has a real bearing upon our final judgements about readings. His classes—Alexandrian, Western, Caesarean, early-Antiochian—belong to very early times, times when the counting of votes begins to have a real scientific significance. A single vote, e.g. 'Caesarea' against the other three, is no more lightly to be disregarded than 'Alexandria' against the rest. And 'Caesarea' supported by the Sinai Palimpsest would be Palestine *plus* Antioch, a most formidable-seeming conjunction. But in my view 'Caesarea' (i.e. all or some of Θ 565 700 69&c 1&c 28) is only one group with syr.*S*, and of this group syr.*S* is the earliest and best witness, wherever its text is free from the suspicion of harmonization or mere paraphrase. To put the whole matter into the most concrete form, I regard the Sinai Palimpsest (syr.*S*) as an integral element in the Eastern group, and when the attestation of any reading of this group does not include syr.*S* there is, I think, a strong presumption that the reading in question is a later corruption inside the group, not an original feature of it.

F. C. BURKITT.

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TWO NOTES ON ST JOHN'S GOSPEL.

(1) SUGGESTED interpretation of St John xix 35.

καὶ ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκεν, καὶ ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οἶδεν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγει, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς πιστεύητε.

I cannot myself doubt that ἐκεῖνος is not naturally to be interpreted of the writer; for that gives no assurance of his trustworthiness. Still less does the interpretation which refers the word to Christ Himself commend itself to me as satisfactory. It appears to me that the key to the explanation of the passage lies in its similarity to St John xxi 24. The words ὁ ἑωρακὼς μεμαρτύρηκεν are very similar to οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μαθητὴς ὁ μαρτυρῶν, and again the words ἀληθινὴ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία closely resemble οἴδαμεν ὅτι ἀληθὴς αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία ἐστίν. I believe that in xix 35 we have a relic of the *viva voce* comment of some present at an early reading of the passage, expressive of their approbation. I venture to suggest, therefore, that ἐκεῖνος is used δεικτικῶς and refers to the disciple who was presiding over the little body who were reading, and giving their *imprimatur* and approval to, the Fourth Gospel. It is possible that the ἐκεῖνος (that is, he who was presiding) is the same as the 'I' in οἶμαι (xxi 25); for I believe that chapter xxi was written in close connexion with the original Gospel, and that the same revising body were concerned with it and with the main body of the Gospel.

(2) Suggestion of a 'primitive error' in St John viii 56.

Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ἐμήν, καὶ εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη.

It seems clear that the words ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ cannot be taken to mean 'rejoiced in the effort to see'. Moreover, the idea of joy or satisfaction has its right place later in the sequence of ideas (εἶδεν καὶ ἐχάρη). Hence I wish to invite students to consider whether ἠγαλλιάσατο ἵνα ἴδῃ is not a 'primitive error' for ἠγωνίσατο (or possibly the collateral form ἠγωνιάσατο) ἵνα ἴδῃ. I would call attention (*a*) to ἀγωνίζομαι being precisely the word which naturally expresses Abraham's concentrated effort 'to see the day'; (*b*) to the very close similarity in uncials between the words; (*c*) to the idea of joy later on in the proper sequence suggesting to a *very* early copyist the idea at this point of joy; (*d*) to the fact that in its ordinary sense the word ἀγωνίζομαι occurs in the Fourth Gospel, followed by a clause introduced by ἵνα (St John xviii 36: εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἦν ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμή, οἱ ὑπηρέται οἱ ἐμοὶ ἠγωνίζοντο ἄν, ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις).

F. H. CHASE.

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THE RELIGION OF THE MANICHEES.[1]

IT is easy to understand the value of the study of the great historical religions, and the importance of the study of the beliefs and customs of rudimentary peoples is ever more widely recognized; but between these two classes there lies a curious and difficult field which as yet has hardly come into its own. The Oriental cults against which Christianity had to contend, especially those which were felt to be more closely related to it and were naturally regarded as the more dangerous, have, however, a distinct value, in that they enable us to determine some at least of the true *differentiae* between a conquering and progressive religion and its unsuccessful rivals. As a rule it is possible to distinguish (*a*) those more familiar religious ideas and systems which, though they may not be our own, seem to fall within our mental horizon, and (*b*) those which are found among rudimentary peoples and, though quite alien from modern thought, yet seem to possess a certain intelligibility and rationality, granted particular premisses. If the adult normally understands other adults, and if he feels that he can at least adequately understand child-thought, it is because there is a true genetic connexion between normal child and adult mentality. Similarly in the study of religions there appears to be a true genetic connexion between the 'child' stage and the more 'adult' stage of the history of religion. On the other hand, in these Oriental cults, the rivals of Christianity, the wholly intelligible and frequently commendable features only throw into stronger relief other features which wholly elude us: they can with difficulty be interpreted, or the modern interpretation of them is often too bizarre to be useful; the concepts are not those of rudimentary or of modern folk; and they find no place in our ways of thought, although the cults are known to have attracted men and women of their day who were relatively not less intelligent than ourselves. These cults are of extreme interest because, however prominent they once were, they prove to have lain outside what one may call the curve of religious evolution; and they contribute uniquely to the problem of the place in the absolute history of religion of a Christianity which sprang from the Old Testament and a world of Sumerian-Semitic-Egyptian thought. Accordingly Professor Burkitt's book on Manichaeism and the renewed interest in all these Oriental cults open up questions of more than merely academic or antiquarian significance, and this must be the excuse for so lengthy an introductory paragraph.

[1] *The Religion of the Manichees*, by F. C. Burkitt. Donnellan Lectures for 1924 (Cambridge Press, 1925.)

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Manichaeism has special claims to attention—its long career, the fact that it attracted, among others, the young Augustine (in whose writings Prof. Burkitt thinks he has found traces of it), its peculiarly evil reputation, and the readiness to identify it, even where, as in the case of the Albigensians, the identification is misleading. More recently, exploration in Chinese Turkestan has recovered from Turfan many extremely interesting documents which illuminate the religion of the later Manichees. They also illustrate an art which, as Prof. Burkitt points out, well deserves the attention of students of both art and religion; and Sir Thomas Arnold, in his Charlton Lecture, has lately been suggesting that the Manichees bridge the gulf of some six centuries which now sever Sasanian and later Persian art, and that they maintained the continuity of a tradition which Mohammedan antipathy to the representation of the human figure would otherwise have destroyed. Further, whatever be the true extent of the influence of Greece upon Buddhist art, Buddhist influence upon Persian Manichaeism is admitted; and Prof. Burkitt suggests that the Manichees probably helped to transmit Buddhist elements westwards, among them notably the popular story of Barlaam and Joasaph.

A religion that persisted some ten centuries, and reached from Turkestan to North Africa, must have undergone different developements in different localities and ages; and by reason of the imperfect character of our sources and their varying dates and tendencies, there are many difficult problems of the origin of Manichaeism and its indebtedness to other religions. Prof. Burkitt's Donnellan Lectures present a general account of the main features with special reference to the Turkestan material and to the evidence from the Syrian writer Ephraim in the recent edition by the late C. W. Mitchell which he himself initiated and —owing to the sad loss in the war of that promising young scholar— completed. To this Syriac work and especially his introductory essay (vol. ii) reference must be made for fuller details; though it is only right to say that after one has compared the more technical literature, and, above all, Bevan's exhaustive and critical article in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, these lectures, slight and merely popular though they may seem, have left out little or nothing of initial importance. And one may be permitted to add that there could not be a more thought-provoking—and more readable—sketch, and that the chief points are so sharpened that the lectures constitute a highly suggestive contribution to our knowledge of the environment of Early Christianity. They also afford a further illustration of the value of that literature which Prof. Burkitt himself once described as 'practically nothing more than the contents of a very fine monastic library'.

Manichaeism, as everybody now knows, rests on a theory of the

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cosmos. There were once two entirely distinct and self-contained realms, Light and Darkness. The Dark attacked the Light and carried off and swallowed up some part of it; but gradually the Light is being disgorged, and the consummation of all things will be the final severance of Light and Dark. Mani's religion is intended to accomplish this slow and painful process. It had not that cold intellectual detachment which could conceive of an undifferentiated whole subsequently divided into two opposing parts. The appeal is more immediately personal: *we* are a mixture of the Light and the Dark, and *our* salvation comes when we throw off the Dark, and the Light that is already in us is reunited with the primal and eternal Light. This is no 'anthropomorphic religion', nor is it some 'natural philosophy'. The step 'from religion to philosophy' has led to a religious philosophy; and, as might be expected on the analogy of similar systems elsewhere, Manichaeism was no social, tribal, or national religion, but that of select individuals, sects, and orders. The dualism itself is, of course, very familiar; it takes us back to the old-time conflict of light and chaotic darkness in Babylonian mythology. The opposites are not worked out upon ethical lines as in Zoroastrianism, where the aim is not to restore the Light but to destroy the Evil; nor are they systematized as in the strange and highly elaborated dualism of the Chinese Yang and Yin, with its light-dark, heat-cold, male-female, and so forth. It is a particular example of pre-scientific classification, the closer study of which is proving of considerable philosophical interest.[1]

Next, what is much more difficult to grasp, is the fundamental materialism or realism so alien from our ordinary contrasts of 'spiritual' and 'material'. But instead of a fundamental monistic materialism we find a primary dualism with two opposed sorts of 'matter'. What we call 'spiritual' is only a finer kind of matter, just as in China the almost contemporary Wang Ch'ung (*c.* A. D. 100) distinguishes the coarse matter, Yin, of which man's body is made, from the vital and intelligent elements which are of the fiery nature of Yang, and treats both 'Heaven' and 'Earth' as material. In Jainism this sort of materialism is developed more thoroughly, and the nature of Manichaean religion eludes one unless one has grasped the facts of this materialistic dualism. The Dark is something material—a substance; the good element, the Light, is the substance of the Sun and Moon, and Light mingled with Dark can be found in men, in organic life, and in such inorganic things as metals. The Supreme Power is wholly Light, and 'God' or the 'Divine Element' is to be regarded as substance rather than person (pp. 40, 49)—the ambiguity reminding us of that

[1] e. g. E. Cassirer *Die Begriffsform im mythischen Denken*, 1922.

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attending the precise meaning of the Mongolian Tengri and the cognate Tien.

According to the Persian-speaking Manichees the supreme ruler of the realm of light is called Zervan, the Timeless, Eternal (p. 19). In later Zoroastrianism the Zervanite sect regarded him as the origin of all things, and the author of the good and evil beings Ormuzd and Ahriman. But this last statement is anathematized in the Manichaean 'Confession', although Ormuzd himself is accepted as the Primal Man (p. 50 sq.). That Time as an entity has an early origin has been argued by Montgomery (*Journ. of Bibl. Lit.*, xliii 243 n. 1) who finds it, for example, in the Epistle of Mara (Cureton's *Spic. Syr.*); and when we learn that Theodore of Mopsuestia identified Zervan with Fate (*Tyche*), and that the first principle is 'Time *or* Space' (N.T. analogies are noted by Dobschütz, *Journ. of Bibl. Lit.* xli 220 sqq.), we have to recognize, what has long been felt by the present writer, that semantics, and the investigation of the varying connotations of religious terms, are indispensable for any scientific study of religion.

The Manichee God has five 'dwellings': the Jewish *Shekīnah* has been adopted, as also the Jewish *ḳādōsh* 'holy' (based on Isa. vi) and *Amen*. Although these may be among other instances of dependence upon Syrian Christendom (see pp. 92, 115), direct Jewish influence can hardly be ignored. It is *a priori* probable that outside contemporary orthodox Judaism there were heretical Jewish philosophical and other systems, even as Prof. Burkitt himself holds that Mani's religion was fundamentally heretical Christian. The *Shekinah* as a 'dwelling' or attribute can be the abode or material manifestation of an attribute; and it is to be remembered that the Jewish *Shekinah* could be materialized as light or fire, and that in early Judaism ideas of a primal light (*'ōr*) are 'much mixed up with mystical teachings about God'.[1] The five attributes in question are distinctively mental qualities: Sense, Reason, Thought, Imagination, Intention. They recall Ahura Mazda's Amesha Spentas, with the difference, *inter alia*, that the latter include such ideas as Right (conformity to order), Sovereignty, Humility, Immortality, whereas the Manichaean qualities are specifically those of a sane and intelligent mind (pp. 19, 33). In either case speculation is concerned not with gods as functionaries assisting the head of the pantheon to rule the world, but with divine and human qualities; it is an early psychology, a step in the analysis of causation and activity which is fundamental in the history of religion and appears to have

[1] J. Abelson *Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, pp. 82 sqq., 377 sqq. The Arabic use of the same term is worth noticing, especially its retention of 'heathen associations' (i.e. physical or material embodiments): see Goldziher *Abhand.* i p. 198 sq.

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arisen over a large part of the old world about the middle of the first millennium B.C.

The Manichaean identification of Light and Life is an old idea, long before set forth most strikingly in the short-lived solar monism of Amenhotep IV (Ikhnaton). Since Light is creative, a physical vehicle of the idea as a bodily emission is intelligible (p. 29). And since Light is already too much mingled with the Dark the true Manichee will refrain both from generating fresh life and from injuring or destroying what already contains it. There is no place in the cosmogony for the ordinary idea of 'begetting', and at the beginning things were simply 'called' into existence (p. 24). This particular activity one is tempted to associate with the divine attribute 'Imagination' mentioned above; and the Syriac term (مسعدلا) which, Prof. Burkitt observes, 'generally seems to contain the notion of something freshly invented' (p. 33), might perhaps more usefully be rendered 'conception'.[1] The 'calling' finds a parallel in Mandaean, where the 'First Life' calls into existence his three helpers, and, though the idea is also biblical (*Ephraim* vol. ii p. cxxxiii n. 1), it may well go back to the opening of the old Babylonian cosmogony: 'Or ere the heaven above was named and the firmament (?) below called by name . . .' In other respects, too, Mani's religion has points of contact with Mandaean and with old Babylonian lore; and it is appropriate to recall that his father had once been associated with the sect of the Mughtasila ('those who practice ablutions'), a sect closely related to the Mandaeans.

Light might be freed from its imprisonment in the Dark, but it must not be harmed. This applies to animal life, though the 'Confession' denounces the feeding of evil animals. Here Prof. Burkitt with some hesitation sees a reference to dogs (pp. 56, 59); and, to be sure, there may be a polemic against Zoroastrianism, where the dog is an especially sacred animal. But since it is considered iniquitous to mix the Light elements (water, fire, light, and wind) with the foul earth (cf. p. 63), it is perhaps more probable that, as in Zoroastrianism, serpents, frogs, worms, ants, and other creeping things of the earth were specially abhorred. It may, in fact, be suggested that Earth as the antithesis of Life was an essential feature in the genesis of Manichaeism.

The anxiety to refrain from killing or harming aught that contained Life is of course restricted to the animal and vegetable kingdom, though, strictly speaking, there is Light in metals, and among rudimentary peoples there is often a thoroughgoing belief in the life or soul that informs inanimate things (e.g. tin). Nor are the precautions carried to

[1] In the Odes of Solomon xli 10, 'his wealth (حيلاؤ) begat me and his heart's conception (or conceiving thought)', the term is used synonymously with that so familiar in the shape of the Mandaean *'ūthra*.

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such lengths as in Jainism. In neither religion does the desire not to injure living creatures develope into the practice of humanity for its own sake; and in general, as Prof. Burkitt points out, 'the sympathy of the Manichee was directed not towards men, but towards the Light imprisoned in men' (p. 60).

Finally, since even to break bread may pain the Life that is in it (p. 23), the Elect Manichee has his bread prepared by disciples, and thoughtfully utters a prayer on behalf of those who by their sacrilegious treatment of the grain have obviously run serious risks. The Elect himself also apologizes before he eats, and he repudiates all responsibility for the criminal processes of winnowing and grinding, and of baking the cake in the oven (p. 45). This is in entire harmony with the widespread custom of propitiating game or of taking precautions before devouring the Life-giving and the Life-containing food.[1] It illustrates the depth of the belief in a sacred 'corn-spirit', which, however, is far from confined to vegetation, but is one with the sacred Light, and holds a central place in Manichaean theology. Now the Elect contains to a far less degree than others the Dark-element, he is more nearly akin to the all-perfect Light, so that when the Light-elements in the food pass into his own pure body there is a particularly strong concentration of Light-substance. Prof. Burkitt observes that 'though he was forbidden to prepare his food himself, yet a sacramental, indeed an actual physical benefit accrued to the Universe through his eating it' (p. 47). That this interpretation of the Manichaean meal is justifiable may be conceded; it is in harmony with the cosmic character of the Light-element which pervades to a higher degree all the Elect, and, in view of the significance of the idea for early theories of sacrifice and sacrament, further evidence from Manichaean sources would be welcome.

Before Mani there were other 'messengers' who possessed the Light to a supreme degree, e.g. Buddha, Zoroaster, Plato. There was also Hermes Trismegistus, and we have the luminous suggestion that confusion of name possibly accounts for the fragments of the Shepherd of Hermas found at Turfan (p. 96). Among all 'messengers' Jesus was pre-eminent, and Mani called himself the 'Apostle of Jesus Christ'. In harmony with the Manichaean antipathy to generation, Jesus was human only in appearance (p. 40). To the African Faustus Jesus was the fruit 'hanging on every tree, produced by the energy and power of the air that makes the earth conceive', whence, he adds, 'our reverence for everything is like that of you Catholic Christians about the Bread and the Cup' (p. 41 sq.). This, as Augustine saw, was to identify Jesus with the powers of vegetation and with the divine element in the Sun; and, in fact, the Persian Manichees invoked Jesus as 'among the

[1] Cf. Frazer *Taboo* p. 190 sq.; *Spirits of the Corn and Wild* ii pp. 208 sqq.

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Gods first New Moon . . . God and Full Moon' (p. 92 sq.), and the two pure luminaries Sun and Moon were among the first portions of the Light-substance to be severed after the initial commingling of Light and Dark (p. 27). We find ourselves moving in a world more familiar, let us say, to readers of Frazer's *Adonis, Attis and Osiris*, a world of astral powers and processes, a world which seems—though only at first—to be utterly removed from Old Testament Messianism.[1] Difficult though the ideas may be, if not at times a little repellent—so closely do they border on the magical, when they are not that already—such was the environment of Christianity. It was one which the student of biblical theology has to interrogate; and the O.T. and the N.T. fields overlap.

Jesus is called the *zīwānā*; it is the term applied also to the five pure elements (pp. 24, 107 sq.). These are Light, Water, Wind, Fire—the 'earth' of Empedocles was naturally repudiated—and a fifth which the Syriac sources do not name, though other sources specify *aer* (Augustine) and ὕλη (*Acta Arch.*). The Fihrist explicitly distinguishes four 'bodies' *plus* the fifth which is 'their spirit', the Zephyr (cf. Augustine)—in other words, the animating element. And since it is also possible to think, instead, of the common substance of the four, the term ὕλη. though rejected by scholars as a corruption of ἀήρ, may perhaps stand. Matter or essence or the animating spirit is the ultimate principle—precisely which it is depends on the point of view—and it is significant, therefore, that the Turkestan documents name two terms doubtfully rendered (*a*) substance *or* essence, and (*b*) life, living—'conventionally rendered "aether"' (pp. 25, 107 sq.).[2] Next, as regards the term *zīwānā* (ܙܝܘܢܐ) which Prof. Burkitt regards as a Manichaean adaptation of a Middle Persian *zīwandag* 'living one', the Aramaic ܚܝܐ can be traced back to the Assyrian *zīmu* face, appearance, brilliance (of Ishtar, kings, &c.).[3] It denotes the royal splendour of Nebuchadrezzar (Dan. iv 36 [33]), and can be illustrated by Ahikar's praise of the Egyptian pharaoh (Rendel Harris, 2nd ed., p. 118) or Ben Sira's glowing description of Simon the son of Onias (Ecclus. 50). In Jewish literature the term itself from an early date was closely associated with the *Shekinah*,[4] and just as the latter is used—and even more or less

[1] The idea of the divine kingship is the connecting-link; cf. the old semi-divine Pharaoh as the husband of the land and the cause of its fertility.

[2] Besides being a problem of semantics it is also one of analysis and synthesis. An analysis into *x* elements requires an additional unifying or logical term for a synthesis, just as the word 'Art' consists of three separate letters *plus* a particular arrangement. In Buddhist philosophy we find groups of six and of ten categories composed of five and of nine entities *plus* the unity of each group (Anesaki *Nichiren, the Buddhist Philosopher*, p. 154). So, also, for Bardaisan's six entities Ephraim speaks of seven; and Burkitt gives reasons for the view that the seventh is Space (*Ephr.* ii cxxiii).

[3] Muss-Arnolt, *s.v.*; cf. Nöldeke *ZDMG* xl 732, n. 1.

[4] Abelson, pp. 85 sq., 97; cf. F. Weber *Jüdische Theologie, s.v. Glanz.*

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physically—of the divine attributes, so the five *zīwānē* in Turkestan have the curious name Five-God (Sacred Pentad), and are the origin, life, and essence of everything on earth (p. 110). As such they are of the Light-element, and we learn further that the 'Son of God' is invoked in the hymns as λαμπτήρ, and that Augustine's *Splenditenens* suspends the world like a chandelier (p. 28). On these grounds, then, it seems much more probable that *zīwānā* means 'luminary' or the like (cf. Payne-Smith), and that the Persian word and meaning are secondary.[1]

The wide distribution and long career of Manichaeism will preclude any attempt to construct out of our imperfect sources any clear-cut and consistent system. And such are its many points of contact with its extensive environment that it may be precarious to build too much upon even the more striking parallels. To the Greek world it owed, directly or indirectly, the *lamptēr*, and also the *bōlos*, 'the clod' which the Dark will ultimately become when the Light (Life) has been entirely extracted. We have only to recall the prominence of Mother-cults, and especially the Mother-Earth idea—which Nöldeke and others have recognized also in the Semitic area—to ask ourselves what, according to early thought, would the Life-giving earth become when utterly devoid of all that makes for life and growth. It would become cold, dead, lifeless, formless clods. Here, it may be conjectured, is the root of Manichaeism, which, on any view, contains much that is old; while, conversely, we are entitled to ask what became of the crude mythological and other ideas which at an earlier period had prevailed over the whole of the old Oriental world. Some genetic relation between the earlier and the later mythologies and philosophies of Asia Minor and North Syria is only to be expected.

Mani's polemic against 'the God of Marcion' (p. 86) and the attention he pays to the Bardesanians (p. 85) suggest that he was conscious of his agreement with, but more important divergence from, those whose teaching Ephraim considered that he had reproduced and perverted. Born at Seleucia-Ctesiphon, he would have come into touch with men of many

[1] It can at least be safely inferred from Norberg's lists that *ziwā* often occurs in the Mandaean Sidra Rabba although a hasty glance at Brandt and other writers has led to nothing. It may be added that in *Ephr. ii* cxxxvi n. 1 Prof. Burkitt cleverly connects the Syriac title of the *Splenditenens* (ﻣﺴﻜ ﻧﻮﻫﺮ) with the Assyrian *ṣabatu* to hold (it is used, e. g., of holding scales), the Jewish-Aram. צבתא (tongs) being merely compared. Accordingly, 'Holder of the Brilliance' is surely preferable to the suggestion in the *Lectures* (p. 28 n. 1) that the title means 'tongs of brilliance'. *Ziwā* and *Shekinah* belong to one and the same problem of old Oriental psychology, along with the Hebrew *pānīm* (face, presence), *kābōd* (glory), the Egyptian *ba* (manifestation), *ikh* (glorified state), *ka*, &c., &c. Goldziher (*Abhandl.* i 199 n. 1) observes that the Persian for 'royal splendour', which can be equated with *shekinah*, could also have animal symbolism; and the use of animal symbolism for the early Babylonian and Egyptian kings (especially the bull) is well known.

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lands; and it is significant that he uses the literary Edessene Syriac and not a relatively restricted dialect as did the Mandaeans. He himself is said to have travelled as far east as China, and may well have known something of Indian and Chinese speculation.[1] So striking a personality as our records make him out to be, he may be trusted to have impressed himself upon whatever ideas he owed to others, and Manichaeism as such ranks among the positive religions.

But Manichaeism was essentially aristocratic and exclusive: the Elect, if not the 'salt of the earth', were on the way to becoming the 'light of the world'. As is well put: 'the deciding factor in the Last Day will be whether or no men and women have fed and clothed and succoured the Manichee Elect' (p. 90).[2] There is no Divine Redeemer; no external helper in that intolerable struggle which rent Augustine; no Divine Love for the helpless individual. The divine light in man needed a transcendent power to kindle it, and Manichaeism did not reach beyond immanent deity in material form. There was no revolutionary change as when the Hinayana Buddhism, the religion of special individuals, developed into the Mahayana Buddhism, catholic in its embrace, and answered the needs of toiling, sinful humanity. Manichaeism could not thus expand, and so it passed away. It was a perfect fusion of religion and the best speculative thought of the day. It had attractive features. It offered a religious and what was then a rational explanation of the Universe. It appealed to the religious emotion and the intellect. It was an inseparable blend of what was Religion and Science. It supplied a need which the Bible and Christianity failed to supply to those who sought a rational view of the Universe. Had it conquered its rival the fate of Christianity cannot be imagined. On the other hand, the relation between the two types of Buddhism suffices, by itself, to convince one that Manichaeism could never have been adapted, like Buddhism, to the religious needs of whole peoples. Nay more, it had a view of the Universe which not only could not have led to advance of knowledge but would have actually precluded the rise of science. Manichaeism was not socially unifying—its spiritual aristocracy was anti-social, and its 'science' excluded all further enquiry into the nature of things. Religion and Science could not be severed; they flourished and fell together. If the ideas were often daring, they were in some respects not more so than those in Christianity; and the study of Manichaeism has the merit of emphasizing the dangerously close relation between Religion and Magic, and of shewing how Religion suffers most from what uncommonly resembles it but proves to be its worst enemy.

STANLEY A. COOK.

[1] It is more than interesting that Wang Ch'ung's philosophy (*c.* A. D. 100) 'somewhat resembles that of Epicurus and Lucretius' (G. F. Moore *Hist. of Religions* i 42).

[2] Compare and contrast Matt. xxv 40, 45.

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PISTIS SOPHIA AGAIN.

I.

ANOTHER translation of Pistis Sophia! This dreary Egyptian book, first edited in the original Coptic with a Latin translation by Schwartze and Petermann in 1851, was translated into French by Amélineau in 1895 and into German by Carl Schmidt in 1905. G. R. S. Mead published an English translation in 1896 and another better one in 1921. Now we have an Essay on the date and origin of *Pistis Sophia* by Mr Legge, together with the excessively literal translation made by Mr Horner for Mr Legge's use.[1]

Mr Horner's translation is indeed very literal, following the Coptic word for word. 'These therefore saying them the Saviour, knew Andreas clearly not only he, but knew all the disciples in directness that they will inherit the Kingdom of the Light' (p. 126): this extract will give an idea of the style, and of the difficulties that the English reader who knows no Coptic will find in it. It may be taken for granted that it is generally accurate, but I notice on p. 129, line 10 from bottom, Mr Horner has 'mysteries of the Light' in agreement with Schwartze-Petermann (trans. p. 162, l. 20 μυστηριοις *luminis*), where the Coptic (S.-P. 257, l. 24) has 'mysteries of the Kingdom of the Light'.[2]

Neither Mr Legge nor Mr Horner has taken any notice of Mr Mead's second edition (1921): apparently Mr Legge had died before it appeared. Mr Horner would, as I venture to think, have gained something by considering my review of Mead in this JOURNAL (*J. T.S.* xxiii 271 ff). For instance, he would have translated *Ghemmout* (p. 178) instead of leaving it as a Nomen Barbaricum, seeing that it is the native name for the star or constellation mentioned in Job ix 9, xxxviii 31. Further, at the beginning of his Fourth Document (p. 180) we have the explanation of the Name IAO. Mr Horner has 'i ō t a, The Universe came out alpha, They will turn them. ō, Will become the completion of all the completions'. I confess to having a low opinion of the style and thought of *Pistis Sophia* in general, but it really is a little more sensible than this.[3] What the Coptic text says here is: '*I*—Everything has come forth. *A*—They will return within. *O*—There will be the End of all ends.'

[1] *Pistis Sophia*, literally translated from the Coptic by George Horner, with an Introduction by F. Legge, F.S.A. (London, S.P.C.K., 1924.)

[2] Mead (p. 216) has 'Light-kingdom', correctly.

[3] In any case the text (in Schwartze) actually does have a full stop before 'alpha'.

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It is the thought of Eccl i 7 and of Nietzsche's Eternal Recurrence put into the simplest words; but the English reader is not conducted to any sense from Mr Horner's rendering.

Again, I cannot believe that 'Aphrodite' was ever called a *Ram* or, if we use astronomical language, that Venus was ever identified with Aries (p. 185). Here indeed I believe that Schwartze's text has an error, but it is a very small one, viz. that we should supply a point after ⲕⲣⲓⲟⲥ (just before *fol.* 326[a]), for the following ⲛⲧⲉ is not the sign of the genitive but a verbal particle meaning 'if' or 'when'. Bearing this in mind we get at once a reasonable sense, so far as any Astrology is reasonable: when Jupiter is in Aries and Venus is in Libra, then Paraplex is discouraged and the souls that Paraplex is tormenting are liberated. All this was pointed out in *J.T.S.* xxiii 275, note[1], but as I said above Mr Horner does not seem to have read it.

When we turn from the translation to the Introduction I doubt if we are on any firmer ground. Mr Legge was chiefly interested in ancient Egyptian lore, and was also the author of a brilliant paper which went far to prove that the Lion-headed figure often found in Mithraic sanctuaries was not intended for Zrvān the Supreme Deity, but for an unfriendly Demon, perhaps Arimanes himself.[1] His object in this work is to set forth the view that the *Pistis Sophia* is a collection of works of the Valentinian School, the two first documents which treat at length of Pistis Sophia herself being actually works by Valentinus, 'and that in any case the Greek original from which the Coptic translation was made, must be earlier than 170 A.D.' (p. xliv).

The chief objection to this simple solution is the immense difference between the mental atmosphere of our Coptic *Pistis Sophia* and the theology of Valentinus as set forth by our earliest and best authority Irenaeus. May I venture to refer to another contribution of mine to this JOURNAL, the Note on Valentinian Terms in Irenaeus at the end of an article on the Oxford edition of Irenaeus's N.T. quotations (*J.T.S.* xxv 64 ff)? The object of that Note was mainly philological and concerned with the meaning of technical terms, but for this purpose I had to shew some of the connexions of thought, and I think it appeared pretty clearly that Valentinus as set forth by St Irenaeus was no mere mythologizer, but that his Aeons corresponded to mental processes. This is the case also with Schmidt's *Apocryphon Iohannis* (*Philotesia*, pp. 317–36), the Greek work that Irenaeus contends against in *adv. Haer.* i 29. To quote once more from my former article on *Pistis Sophia*, 'in the Greek work God is described psychologically, in the Coptic magically and mythologically' (*J.T.S.* xxiii 276 f). In *Pistis Sophia* we are in regions not of thought but of mythology, and

[1] P.S.B.A. xxxiv 140 f (1912).

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not a mythology that really expresses anything but a blindly accepted lore. Why is the Receiver of the Light called Melchisedec (*foll.* 34ª, 35ª &c.)? What are 'the seven Voices and the five Trees and the three Amens and the Twin-Saviours and the nine Guards and the twelve Saviours' (see *foll.* 3ªᵇ, 182ª)? There is nothing of this sort in the genuine Valentinus. No doubt *Sophia* was a key-word in Valentinus's system. But, whereas in Irenaeus's account the psychological basis is obvious, the story in *Pistis Sophia* (*fol.* 40ᵇ ff.) is wholly mythological, a romance—dull enough, to be sure, but essentially a *tale*—of the Heavenly Powers. I do not think Valentinus would have owned it. In any case it is not the work of a creative mind, of the founder of a school. What we read in the first two 'documents' is not so much the tale of Sophia and her Repentance as a commentary upon that tale, which is illustrated at length from the Psalms. The gnosis of Valentinus was a real philosophy, however 'heretical' or inconsistent with Christian theology it may have been. But the gnosis of the books of *Pistis Sophia* is little more than what Isaiah of old called 'a thing taught'.

II.

Since the above paragraphs were written Prof. Carl Schmidt's new revised translation of *Pistis Sophia* has appeared.[1] This is a revision of his former translation in the well-known series published by the Berlin Academy (1905), but in every respect improved. I cannot help being pleased to note that Dr Schmidt (unlike Mr Horner) no longer makes Aphrodite to be called a Ram (p. 268, l. 4: contrast ed. of 1905, p. 238, l. 7). And further, he has accepted the psychological interpretation of ⲥⲕⲩⲗⲗⲓ ⲙⲙⲟⲓ which was explained at length in my article in this JOURNAL (*J. T. S.* xxiii 272), so that instead of *sich gezerrt* (σκύλλειν) he now has *sich abgemüht* (σκύλλεσθαι).[2]

Dr Schmidt's Introduction contains a great deal of valuable matter, ranging from palaeographical details in the Askew MS to the place of this Egyptian Gnosticism in Christian thought. He divides the contents of the MS somewhat differently from previous editors. There are in any case four principal divisions[3]: Schmidt shews very good reason for treating I–III as a unity, the proper name of which seems to be 'The Rolls of the Saviour', while IV is an entirely separate work, the title of which has not been preserved. In Schmidt's opinion, which appears to

[1] *Pistis Sophia*, ein gnostisches Originalwerk des dritten Jahrhunderts . . . übersetzt . . . von Dr Carl Schmidt (Leipzig, 1925).

[2] See pp. 160, ll. 17, 21; 181, l. 23; 259, l. 4.

[3] Called by Horner 'Documents' and by Mead 'Books', but Mead has a further division of no. 3, so that Horner's 'Fourth Document' is Mead's '*Fifth* Book'.

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me to be very well grounded, 'The Rolls of the Saviour' are later than IV, while IV is later than the 'Books of Jeū' contained in the Bruce Papyrus at Oxford.[1]

I have not been able to persuade Dr Schmidt that the 'Rolls of the Saviour' and Book IV, together with these two Books of Jeū, are Coptic originals, not translations from the Greek. But the question is really part of a larger issue connected with the general history of Coptic Christianity as a whole before the Mohammedan conquest: I venture to think that the final verdict will go according to the views held about this general history, rather than upon arguments based on linguistic details (unless, of course, something is noticed which is more decisive than what has been brought forward hitherto).

From one point of view the decision on this interesting question does not greatly matter. It is recognized by Schmidt that in any case the author of *Pistis Sophia* was 'no Hellene in the proper sense of the word, but only a so-called Levantine' (p. xxi), and he goes on to connect him with those syncretistic circles from which are derived the Greek magical papyri. Further, in giving his reasons for rejecting altogether Mr Legge's theory that in *Pistis Sophia* we have to do with a work of Valentinus, he observes: 'If our Pistis Sophia or parts of it are really to be ascribed to Valentinus or his School, one must be frankly astonished that the champions of the Church felt there could be serious danger to Christendom from such a quarter, for the disordered fancies in the system of Pistis Sophia reveal no spirit informed by philosophical and theological ideas. Of the deeply thoughtful speculations of Valentinus and his followers which come before us in the extracts from them made by the Church Fathers there is no trace' (p. lxxxiv).

This is very well said, and it is very much in place. I cannot help feeling that the investigation of *Pistis Sophia* and allied documents has too often been undertaken by persons who have had a pathetic faith that when properly understood and rendered these writings would be found to contain something of permanent value, the work of a superior mind or the transmission of a splendid tradition. Accompanying this belief are often found disparaging remarks about the narrowness or dogmatism of the Church Fathers, who are supposed to have been unable or unwilling to appreciate the profound ideas of 'the Gnosis'. It is therefore only just to bear in mind that all the evidence for this profundity comes from extracts in the Fathers, notably St Irenaeus and those who directly borrowed from him, and that when we do come across actual documents of 'Gnostic' origin they either demonstrate

[1] The proper title of the Two Books of Jeū appears to be 'The Book of the great λόγοσ κατὰ μυστήριον'.

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the good faith of Irenaeus (as does Schmidt's *Apocryphon Iohannis*) or else, and more often, are on a distinctly lower plane of thought and speculation than the works quoted by the orthodox Church-writers.

Among these inferior works must be classed *Pistis Sophia*. To quote once again from Prof. Schmidt: 'Christianity in Pistis Sophia has been altogether transformed into a Mystery-cult. Questions about penance and forgiveness dominate the whole book, and the Sacraments of the Forgiveness of Sins and of Expiation play a great rôle. . . . The great aim and desire is to attain the highest place in the realm of Light by the help of the Mysteries. The older simple Mysteries were no longer enough, and so new Mysteries had later been contrived. This is indeed a clear sign of the time of decadence' (p. liii). No doubt the writer of *Pistis Sophia* was conscientious, according to his lights. I suppose he deliberately invented very little, but he copied or adapted a great deal that he did not understand, some of which indeed could not be understood for it had no meaning. This, I think, applies to the 'incorruptible' language, judging from the specimens of it which we find. Does Prof. Schmidt think that *Chōsi* (ϫωϲι) and *Chōnbal* (ϫωⲛⲃⲁⲗ) were ever really the names of Venus and Jupiter, whether we think of the Planets or of the Gods? If not, the fact that they were 'known in the whole world' as Aphrodite and Zeus does not prove that our text of *Pistis Sophia* is a translation from the Greek. Is it not likely that the Planets were called by their Greek names among the Copts also?[1] We in England speak of Aries and Taurus: it is only in the useful lines of Isaac Watts that the Ram and the Bull occur, and I should think it likely that the Copts called these Zodiacal Constellations ⲕⲣⲓⲟⲥ and ⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ respectively.[2] In *PS* 366 and 367 Aphrodite (i.e. the planet Venus) is also called 'the Bubasti'. I wish I could get more information about the meaning of this equation: the only confirmation I can find is that the Ship of the Moon in *Pistis Sophia* itself (359) has the face of a cat in its prow. This is said not to be asserted elsewhere, but it may be guessed that the cat's face is the face of Bubastis and that what goes before the Moon is Phosphorus-Hesperus, i.e. Venus. But however this may be, there seems to me nothing to suggest that the Copts continued to use vernacular Coptic names for the Planets or the Signs of the Zodiac, and therefore Prof. Schmidt's argument (p. xxii) that the writer of *Pistis Sophia*, part IV, could not have been a Copt, because he knew the Planets and the Signs of the Zodiac by their Greek names, falls to the ground.

That the colophon to two sections of *Pistis Sophia* is 'Part (μέροσ) of the Rolls (τεῦχοσ) of the Saviour (σωτήρ)' does not seem to me to

[1] The old native Egyptian name for Jupiter was 'Star of Horus', spelt *Ḥr-sht*.

[2] ⲕⲣⲓⲟⲥ at least is sometimes misspelt ⲥⲉⲣⲱⲥ, according to Tattam, p. 826.

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prove so clearly as it does to Prof. Schmidt (p. xxii) that the work could not have been so named by a native Copt. The method of translating Coptic works into modern languages in this manner is indeed convenient, but it gives the language the appearance of being more of a jargon than it seemed to those who used it. My impression is that Coptic *literati* deliberately employed foreign expressions as a sign of culture and an educated style, in preference to vernacular phrases: they did not want to put down their thoughts in the homelier words of their mother-tongue, although it was rich and full enough to set forth what they had to say.[1] If I were to publish an English translation of the Four Books of the Askew MS together with the Two Books of Jeū and call the whole 'A Gnostic Hexateuch' I do not think that my fellow-countrymen would consider I had excogitated an outlandish title! But is not such a title exactly parallel to the Coptic ⲟⲩⲙⲉⲣⲟⲥ ⲡⲓⲧⲉⲧⲩⲭⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲥⲱⲧⲏⲣ? If we may regard the tale of Horsiesius, published by Mr Crum, as a Coptic original (see *J. T. S.* xxiii 314–318), it is difficult to see why *Pistis Sophia* must be a translation.

As regards the name Pistis Sophia, which I had called a barbarous formation and so a sign of a Coptic rather than of a Greek original, Prof. Schmidt brings forward a phrase out of his unedited Apocryphon Iohannis, which says 'what is called *Sophia* παντγενετείρα, which some name the *Pistis*' (p. xxi). The same Æon therefore had both the name Pistis and the name Sophia. No doubt: but that does not prove that a double name like 'the Faith-Wisdom' ever existed in Greek. The case would be different if either of these terms was properly an adjective like ὁ χριστόσ or ἡ προύνικοσ; but they are both abstract nouns. On the other hand this double style of nomenclature is curiously characteristic of parts of the Pistis Sophia literature, e. g. 'Zorokothora-Meljisedek' (*sic*)[2] mentioned in *PS* 369 and elsewhere. Somewhat similar is '(the) Parhedrōn the Typhōn' *PS* 369, 370, a name that recalls Typhōn-Sēth in the invocation from the magical text mentioned below.[3]

In one passage of Document IV we are able to see the author at work, as Schmidt himself points out. The explanation of IAO, referred to in the former part of this article, seems to be directly taken from the

[1] May I be allowed to 'set forth' the first part of the above sentence as it would be printed if it were part of the translation of a Coptic text? 'My impression (*impression*) is that Coptic *literati* deliberately (*délibérer*) employed (*emploi*) foreign (*forain*) expressions (*exprimer*)' &c. The latter part, after the colon, contains no word derived from non-Teutonic sources, but I venture to claim that no one would notice this if I did not expressly point it out.

[2] Note that Melchisedek is always so misspelt in IV, and often in I–III.

[3] Griffith and Thompson *Magical Papyrus* p. 147.

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Second Book of Jeū (2 *Jeu* 75; Schmidt's ed., p. 124 and 213). In this passage Jesus invokes his Father and after various meaningless syllables says '*Īapttha*, *īapttha*, which means the Father of all Fatherhood, for when All has gone out from ⲁ it will be returned into ω.[1] for there will be the End of all ends: we invoke now these incorruptible Names' &c. If this be compared with the sentence quoted above (p. 391) it will be seen that one is taken from the other, and I am sure Prof. Schmidt is right in claiming the priority for the passage in the Book of Jeū. In other words the writer of Document IV had in this case no real authority for his 'gnosis' beyond a blundering decipherment of a high-sounding but rather obscure Coptic sentence.

Before leaving *Pistis Sophia* I should like to make a couple of remarks on two particular points. A peculiarity of Document IV is the name *Aberamenthō* as an epithet or title for Jesus, or rather it would be more accurate to say that Jesus is identified with this personage. 'Again cried out Jesus, i.e. Aberamenthō, pronouncing the Name of the Father of the treasury of Light' (*PS* 358); 'Said Jesus, i.e. Aberamenthō: "Since the Father of my Father, i.e. Jeū, is the Pronoētos of all the Archons"' (*PS* 365); and again 'Said Jesus, i.e. Aberamenthō, to his disciples: "Amen I say to you, I brought nothing into the world when I came but this Fire and this Water and this Wine and this Blood"' (*PS* 373). The peculiar thing about these passages is that they seem to assume that Aberamenthō is a known figure with whom Jesus is equated. No satisfactory derivation of the name, so far as I know, has been suggested, but I wish to point out that it is one of the names by which the old Egyptian God Set (ⲥⲏⲑ) is invoked in the magical Papyrus published by Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson.[2] The Papyrus is thought to be of the 3rd century A.D. and is mostly written in Egyptian Demotic, but this particular Invocation (the object of which is to call up Typhon to strike so-and-so with frost and fire) is in Greek. Among the fourteen words which the invoker believes that Typhon-Sēth cannot refuse to hear are *Aberamenthōu Lerthexanax*.[3]

I fear this parallel from late Egyptian Magic proves very little except the Egyptian affinities of the documents associated with *Pistis Sophia*, but so far as it goes it is another link connecting this literature with native Egyptian religion rather than with the philosophical mythology

[1] I suggest that we should read ⲉ̄ⲱ ϫⲉ for MS ⲉϣϫⲉ (rather than ⲉ̄ⲱ ⲉϣϫⲉ, as Schmidt does).

[2] Col. xxiii 17, p. 147: quoted in P. D. Scott-Moncrieff's *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt* p. 44.

[3] Another is Ereskigal (ⲉⲣⲉⲥⲭⲓⲅⲁⲗ), which appears to be 'the old Sumerian goddess of the underworld': see also Griffith and Thompson, p. 61, last line.

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of Valentinus and Basilides. I will conclude with a suggestion about the meaning of *Barbelo*, which I think better than the desperate derivation which I put forward in *J. T. S.* xxiii 280.

Aberamenthō comes into heretical and 'gnostic' Christian terminology from Egyptian Magic. So obviously does Typhon, and so (according to Origen) does Astaphaeus. Is it not possible that Barbelo came from the same sort of source? Schmidt points out that the Barbelo is found among the Simonians, the Nicolaitans, and the so-called 'Gnostics' in Epiphanius, and among the 'Barbelo-Gnostics', mentioned by Irenaeus (*adv. Haer.* i 29).[1] These last are known as an Egyptian sect: is not their book extant in Coptic in Prof. Schmidt's possession? Of the sects mentioned by Epiphanius, no doubt the most important account is that of the 'Gnostics' (*Haer.* 26), for in it Epiphanius is giving us his personal reminiscences. When he talks of 'Simonians', i.e. the heresies of Simon Magus, it is hearsay and tradition: Simon Magus is supposed to be the founder of all heresy.[2] But the 'Gnostics' described in *Haer.* 26 were a sect in Egypt among whom Epiphanius had lived, and it is here that Epiphanius (92) calls the Mother of the Living ἡ Βαρβηρὼ ἤτοι Βαρβηλώ. The liquids, therefore, were not quite certain, and a confusion between *l* and *r* suggests the ambiguity of Egyptian writing and an Egyptian derivation. Is it not possible that Barbelo, the original Mother of all living things, is the Seed or Grain, in Sahidic Coptic *Belbīle* (ⲃⲉⲗⲃⲓⲗⲉ)? It seems to have been a toss-up whether the 'Gnostics' whom Epiphanius knew pronounced the second syllable with *l* or with *r*, so that a derivation from a word the proper transliteration of which is with an *l* in both syllables does not seem impossible. At least this gives a definite and not inappropriate meaning.

I would also sugggest that a spelling of 'Barbelo' with *l* for *r* underlies the obviously corrupt passage in *PS* 359, where we read ⲧⲃⲁⲣⲃⲏⲗⲱ ⲧⲉⲃⲁⲉⲗⲗⲁ. The second word here has usually been taken for βδέλλα 'a leech', but why should Barbelo be connected with a leech? She is always represented as kindly and beneficent. It seems to me more likely that the ⲁ in ⲃⲁⲉⲗⲗⲁ is a corruption of an ⲗ, and that what lay in the original document was ⲧⲉⲗⲃⲉⲓⲗⲁ, or some form like it: the compiler saw that 'Barbelo' was what was meant, so he inserted the name in the form familiar to him.

[1] Schmidt (p. lxxxv) adds the Ophites, but this is not the case: Epiphanius in *Haer.* xxxvii 3 explains the Ophite lore about *Prunicus*, but does not mention the name *Barbelo* at all.

[2] It is to be noted that when Epiphanius mentions 'Barbēro, or rather Barbēlo', in writing of the Simonians he does not assert that this name was current among them, but only that the Power from above of which Simon talked is the same as was called *Barbelo* in other heresies (*Haer.* xxi 2).

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The *Apocryphon Iohannis*, though now only extant in Coptic, was certainly a Greek work. The 'Gnostics' among whom Epiphanius lived, from whom he heard the name 'Barbēro or Barbēlo', lived in Egypt but must have been a Greek-speaking community. These are exactly the syncretic circles from which come the Greek and semi-Greek magical papyri, to which Prof. Schmidt appeals, and it does not seem to me unreasonable to look for an ultimate Egyptian derivation for this name. It comes into the Coptic text of *Pistis Sophia* as a proper name, just as *Aberamenthō* does, and all sense of its etymology must have been lost.

Should this derivation of 'the Barbelo' be accepted the difference between Alexandrian and native Egyptian thought comes out more strikingly than ever. To Valentinus the first thing produced by the primordial undifferentiated Deep was an ἔννοια, a Notion; to the Egyptians it was a Seed.

F. C. BURKITT.

NATALE PETRI DE CATHEDRA.

LA plus ancienne mention que l'on ait de la fête de la chaire de saint Pierre est celle qui se lit dans la *Depositio martyrum* du chronographe romain de 354, établi par Furius Dionysius Filocalus:

VIII Kal. Mart. natale Petri de catedra.

Cette *Depositio martyrum* est elle-même antérieure à 354, elle a dû être dressée en 336.[1] Nous aurions ainsi une attestation de la fête de la chaire de saint Pierre, l'année qui suit la mort du pape Silvestre. Cette fête, celle de Noël exceptée, est la seule qui, dans ce calendrier de l'Église romaine, ne soit point un anniversaire de martyre.

L'origine de cette fête de la chaire de saint Pierre du 22 février est inconnue. De ce que cette date était celle de l'anniversaire des défunts de chaque famille,[2] *Caristia*, *Cara cognatio*, on a conjecturé que l'Église romaine avait voulu substituer une fête chrétienne à la fête païenne. Mais à ce compte l'Église romaine aurait eu bien d'autres fêtes païennes à démarquer. La conjecture ne s'impose donc pas. Le 22 février était-il l'anniversaire d'une déposition ayant quelque rapport avec l'apôtre

[1] L. Duchesne *Liber pontif.* t. I pp. vi–vii. Le texte de la *Depositio*, *ibid.* pp. 11–12, et dans H. Lietzmann *Die drei ältesten Martyrologien* (1903) pp. 3–9.

[2] Le chronographe de 354 le mentionne au 22 février sous le nom de *Caristia*. Le calendrier de Polemius Silvius, en 448–449, porte au 22 février: 'Depositio sancti Pauli et Petri. Cara cognatio ideo dicta, quia tunc etsi fuerint vivorum parentum odia, tempore obitus deponantur.' *C. I. L.* t. I p. 336 et 337. La *Cara cognatio* est signalée pas Tertullien, *De idololat.* 10 (éd. Reifferscheid-Wissowa, p. 40).

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Pierre? Nous ne savons, en dépit d'une indication de Polemius Silvius, évêque de Sedunum (Sion) au ve siècle.

La fête de la chaire de saint Pierre du 22 février était une fête née à Rome et propre à Rome. Elle ne fut point adoptée en Afrique: elle ne figure pas au Martyrologe (vi^e^ siècle) de l'Église de Carthage.[1] On n'en trouve pas trace dans la liturgie ambrosienne. Elle est inconnue en Orient. Mais, au vi^e^ siècle, elle était célébrée en Gaule, témoin le canon 22 du concile de Tours de 567, qui la désigne sous le nom de *festivitas cathedrae domni Petri apostoli*, avec défense aux fidèles d'offrir à pareil jour '*cibos mortuis*', survivance de la *Cara cognatio* païenne.[2]

En Gaule, vers le même temps, se plaça un dédoublement de la fête de la chaire de saint Pierre. Comme, en effet, le 22 février était exposé à tomber en carême, les pays gallicans, soucieux de ne pas célébrer de fêtes en carême, reportèrent celle du 22 février au 18 janvier.[3] Puis, le 18 janvier étant la fête de la chaire de saint Pierre à Rome, on imagina de faire du 22 février la fête de la chaire de saint Pierre à Antioche. On a pour témoin de cette évolution le Martyrologe hiéronymien, qui, comme on sait, remploie un calendrier romain arrêté à l'année 422 environ, mais notablement antérieur; la tradition manuscrite du Martyrologe hiéronymien, par ailleurs, dérive de deux recensions successives constituées à Auxerre, la plus ancienne des deux remontant à l'extrême fin du vi^e^ siècle.[4] Or le Martyrologe hiéronymien, tel qu'il fut établi vers 422 en Italie, dans ce qu'on appelait alors l'Italie, c'est à dire la région de Milan et d'Aquilée, n'a dû connaître encore que la fête du 22 février, comme l'a bien vu Mgr Kirsch.[5] Le Martyrologe hiéronymien, au contraire, tel qu'il fut compilé à Auxerre, à la fin du siècle suivant, place au 18 janvier un anniversaire qu'il dénomme '*Romae, cathedra sancti Petri apostoli*', et aussi '*Cathedra Petri in Roma*', et enfin '*Dedicatio cathedrae sancti Petri apostoli qua primo Romae sedit*'.[6] Et il place au 22 février un anniversaire '*Cathedrae sancti Petri apostoli quam sedit apud Antiochiam*', et '*Cathedra Petri in Antiocia*'.[7] Nous avons bien affaire à une innovation liturgique des pays gallicans, et nous pouvons négliger cette distinction de la chaire de Rome et de la chaire d'Antioche, parce que tardive.

Tous ces faits sont trop connus pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'y insister. Autre est la question de savoir à quoi se rapporte le *Natale Petri de*

[1] Lietzmann, pp. 6-8.
[2] Mansi *Concil.* t. ix p. 803.
[3] L. Duchesne *Origines du culte chrétien* [2] (1898) p. 268.
[4] L. Duchesne, 'Sur le Martyrologe dit de saint Jérôme', *Miscellanea Geronimiana* (1920) pp. 219-226.
[5] P. Kirsch *Der Städtrömische christliche Festkalender im Altertum* (1924) p. 139.
[6] Kirsch, p. 128.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 139.

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cathedra. Mgr Duchesne à écarté avec une parfaite raison la théorie qui voulait voir un lien entre ce *natale* et le culte de la relique vénérée aujourd'hui encore à Rome sous le nom de chaire de saint Pierre: ce culte n'est attesté pour la première fois qu'au temps du pape saint Grégoire et de la reine Théodelinde.[1] Mgr Duchesne, après avoir rejeté la théorie susdite, ne s'est pas étendu sur le sens à donner à ce *Natale Petri de cathedra*. Cette fête, dit-il simplement, 'avait pour objet de solenniser le souvenir de l'inauguration de l'épiscopat ou de l'apostolat de saint Pierre'. On peut, je crois, apporter à cette vue des précisions, et je vais essayer de le faire.

Parmi les sermons pseudo-augustiniens, il en est deux composés pour la fête de la chaire de saint Pierre, qui tous deux s'appliquent à détourner les fidèles de la pratique de l'offrande de vivres aux morts, pratique caractéristique de la *Cara cognatio*. Nous avons ainsi l'indice que ces deux sermons sont prêchés un 22 février, et qu'ils sont d'un pays où la fête du 18 janvier n'était pas connue encore. On pourra les dater du ve siècle.

Voici comment le premier de ces deux sermons s'explique sur la chaire de saint Pierre:

> Institutio solemnitatis hodiernae a senioribus nostris cathedrae nomen accepit, ideo quod primus apostolorum Petrus hodie episcopatus cathedram suscepisse referatur. Recte ergo Ecclesiae natalem sedis illius colunt, quam apostolus pro Ecclesiarum salute suscepit, dicente Domino: *Tu es Petrus* . . . Quod natalis ergo cathedrae hodie colitur, sacerdotale honoratur officium. Sibi hoc Ecclesiae praestant quibus necesse est ut tanto plus habeant dignitatis, quanto sacerdotale officium plus honoris.[1]

Nous avons là le nom de la fête, *natalis cathedrae*, le *natale* de la chaire de Pierre. En ce jour, Pierre, le premier des apôtres, a reçu du Seigneur l'investiture de l'épiscopat, *episcopatus cathedram*, quand le Seigneur lui a dit: Tu es Pierre. Nous ne pourrions souhaiter davantage de précision: le 22 février est l'anniversaire du *Tu es Petrus*, l'inauguration de l'épiscopat du premier des apôtres.

Le second sermon énonce que la fête du 22 février tombe quelquefois en carême. Pas n'est question de la transférer, et notre sermon ne voit aucune difficulté à la célébrer '*inter ipsa ieiuniorum initia*'. Voici son début:

> Quamvis solemnitas festivitatis hodiernae a nobis merito honoretur, quia dum natalem cathedrae colimus episcopatum Petri apostoli veneramur, tamen quandocumque intra quadragesimae dies haec solemnitas venerit, facere eam nobis debet sanctorum dierum reverentia gratiorem. Bene enim natalem cathedrae inter ipsa

[1] Duchesne *Origines* p. 269.
[2] *Serm.* CXC, 1, de l'*Appendix Augustin.*

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ieiuniorum initia nobis Deus praestitit, ut dies quae prius erat intemperantiae nunc sit sobrietatis . . .[1]

Ici encore la fête est dénommée *natalis cathedrae*, et vouée à honorer l'épiscopat de l'apôtre Pierre.

Dom Morin a publié en 1896 un sermon inédit pour la fête de la chaire de saint Pierre, qu'il estime ne pas pouvoir être postérieur de beaucoup au ve siècle. Ou pourrait même penser à la première moitié du ve siècle, ce sermon étant contemporain de la visite à Rome d'un empereur dans lequel il est permis de reconnaître Valentinien III ou Honorius.

> Ille (Petrus) enim, cui a Christo claves datae sunt regni caelorum, cui ligandi solvendique potestas a Deo commissa fuit, tam magnum privilegium specialiter in sua persona suscepit, ut tamen hoc generaliter in Dei Ecclesia sua virtute transmitteret. Unde diem quo apostolatum vel episcopatum ore Christi indeptus est, hunc esse quo ei cathedra commissa est, non inconvenienter accipimus . . . Ex hac cathedra nostrae Ecclesiae id est catholicae prolatam institutionem cognoscimus, congaudemus, credimus et confitemur.[2]

Pierre a reçu le pouvoir des clés pour le transmettre à l'Église. Le jour où le Christ le revêt de l'apostolat ou de l'épiscopat est le jour où la *cathedra* lui est donnée. De cette *cathedra* procède tout l'ordre de notre Église catholique.

Ainsi s'éclaire bien le sens du *Natale Petri de cathedra*: c'est l'anniversaire de la collation à Pierre de sa *cathedra* d'évêque au jour où le Sauveur prononce le *Tu es Petrus*.

Aux trois sermons que nous venous de citer, on voudra bien joindre les textes liturgiques que le sacramentaire de Bobbio donne à la fête de la chaire de saint Pierre. S'il est vrai que ce sacramentaire procède de la liturgie romaine du ve siècle, nous aurions dans l'inspiration de ces textes un rappel de la signification donnée à Rome à la fête du 22 février.

> Beatissimi Petri apostoli sollemnissimum diem, in quo omne ius gentium iudaeorumque sortitus est, quem diem ipsa divinitas consecravit delegando caelorum claves, vel pontificalis cathedrae contulit dignitatem . . .
>
> Deus, qui hodierna die beatum Petrum post te dedisti caput Ecclesiae, cum te ille vere confessus sit, et ipse a te digne praelatus sit . . .
>
> Vere dignum et iustum est omnipotens Deus, qui dives infinitae clementiae copioso munere plasmam tuae creaturae in tantum dignaris erigere, ut vernaculo limi compatiens homini de terrena compage

[1] *Serm.* CXCI, 1.

[2] *Revue bénédictine*, 1896, pp. 343-345. Dom Morin *Études, textes, découvertes* t. 1 (1913) pp. 34-35.

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claves caeli committeres, et ad iudicandas tribus solium excelsae sedis in sublimi conponeres. Testis est dies hodierna beati Petri cathedra episcopatus exposita, in qua fidei merito, revelationis mysterium fidei Filium Dei confitendo, praelatus apostolus ordinatur, in cuius confessione est fundamentum Ecclesiae . . .[1]

La fête de la chaire de saint Pierre est l'anniversaire du jour où l'apôtre a reçu tous pouvoirs sur les gentils comme sur les juifs, où il a reçu du Sauveur les clés des cieux et l'investiture de l'épiscopat, *pontificalis cathedrae dignitatem*; le jour où il a été fait *caput Ecclesiae*; le jour où a été établi pour lui le *solium excelsae sedis*, la *cathedra episcopatus*. Ainsi parlait-on avant que ne se fut produite l'innovation des deux fêtes, 18 janvier et 22 février, en pays gallicans.

En pays wisigothiques on avait accueilli la fête du 22 février, et l'on s'y tint persévéramment, comme en témoigne la liturgie mozarabe, qui n'a connu pour la fête de la chaire de saint Pierre que celle du 22 février.[2] Les textes liturgiques qui appartiennent à cette fête sont sensiblement moins anciens que ceux du sacramentaire de Bobbio : il est fait allusion dans l'*inlatio* à l'établissement de la chaire de Pierre à Rome, et seulement dans la première oraison on trouve une réminiscence de la collation à Pierre de l'épiscopat :

Diem hanc qua beatissimo Petro, apostolorum omnium principi, Ecclesiae in se primum Christi electione fundatae et cathedra commissa est et caterva . . .[3]

Les pays gallicans plaçaient au 25 janvier la fête de la conversion de saint Paul.[4] Cette fête n'est pas une fête romaine, elle est proprement une fête des pays gallicans, comme en témoignent les recensions gallicanes du Martyrologe hiéronymien : '*Romae translatio et conversio Pauli apostoli in Damaso*', porte le ms. de Berne.[5] (Entendez : *in Damasco.*) Le mot *translatio* ne répond à aucun souvenir romain.[6] Mgr Kirsch propose de voir dans le mot *translatio* un synonyme, un doublet, de *conversio*. Quoi qu'il en soit, on ne peut douter que la fête ne soit la fête de la conversion de l'apôtre.

[1] *P. L.* t. lxxii p. 473. On retrouve pour une part les mêmes formules dans la messe de la même fête, du *Missale gothicum* (*ibid.* pp. 256–257). Ce sacramentaire (fin du VIIe siècle) est gallican, mais il contient beaucoup d'éléments romains, et la fête du 22 février en serait un. — Le sermon *In cathedra S. Petri* attribué à saint Léon (*P. L.* t. liv, p. 505–508), ne parait pas antérieur au XIe siècle, mais il peut être romain. Il voit dans la fête de la chaire l'anniversaire de l'inauguration de l'episcopat romain de St Pierre.

[2] M. Férotin *Liber Mozarabicus sacramentorum* (1912) p. xlvi.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 140.

[4] La liturgie mozarabe, qui n'a pas adopté la fête du 18 janvier, a cependant adopté la fête du 25. Férotin, p. xlv.

[5] Kirsch, p. 131. [6] *Ibid.* p. 133.

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Mais on comprend alors que, si les pays gallicans ont établi cette fête du 25 janvier, c'est qu'ils avaient celle du 18 janvier. Ils fêtaient le 18 l'anniversaire de l'épiscopat ou de l'apostolat de saint Pierre, et à l'octave du 18, qui est le 25, ils célébraient l'anniversaire de l'appel de saint Paul à l'apostolat. Les deux fêtes vont de pair : la signification de l'une éclaire la signification de l'autre.

PIERRE BATIFFOL.

OPTATUS: AN ADDENDUM.

WHEN writing my paper on Optatus (xxvi 37–44) I was unaware that Heinrich Schrörs had recently studied the same documents in his article *Drei Aktenstücke in betreff des Konzils von Arles. Textverbesserungen und Erläuterungen* (*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* xlii. *Kanonistische Abteilung* xi. Weimar, 1921, 429–439). I desire very briefly to comment on that article so far as it concerns the argument of my own paper.

(i) Schrörs accepts, as I would do, the MS reading 'episcop*i* urbis Romae': he notices that the imperial summons to the Council in Rome[1] is addressed Μιλτιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μάρκῳ and contains the words ὑμῶν παρόντων ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ῥετεκίου καὶ Ματέρνου καὶ Μαρίνου τῶν κολλήγων ὑμῶν and also speaks of the bishops at the Council as κολλήγας ὑμῶν. He concludes from this that Marcus must have been, like Miltiades, a bishop, and, since his name is joined with that of Miltiades in the address of the letter, that Marcus must have been a bishop in Rome. He thus infers that Marcus was consecrated as 'Hilfsbischof' for Miltiades, who may have been old and in poor health (he died shortly after on Jan. 11, 314), that Marcus, in fact, occupied the position of the present 'Kardinalvikar'. I find it difficult to accept this explanation: Schrörs contends that Marcus is not given the title of bishop in the address of the letter because 'Markus hatte keinen selbstständigen Bischofsitz, und Miltiades war der eigentliche Bischof von Rom, weshalb sein Name mit diesem in allerengster sozusagen *eine* Amtsperson bildender Verbindung auftritt'. But, if this is so, why should Constantine a few months later speak of Miltiades and Marcus as 'episcop*i* urbis Romae' in his letter to Aelafius? If Marcus was the leading presbyter at Rome, as Langen suggested,[2] Constantine in 313 could surely speak of bishops as being his *colleagues* in the Christian hierarchy: it would appear

[1] Eusebius *H. E.* x 5, 18–20; Hans von Soden *Urkunden zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Donatismus*, Bonn, 1913, No. 12.

[2] *Geschichte der röm. Kirche* i (1881) 391.

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to me unnecessary to assume that Marcus must have held the same rank as his colleagues in that hierarchy. For a letter addressed by Constantine at once to a bishop and a leading presbyter there is a precise parallel in that sent by the emperor Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ἀρείῳ (Eusebius, *V. C.* 64), in which Constantine writes ὑμᾶς ὥσπερ τινὰς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς τῶν ἐθνῶν σωτηρίας ὑπάρξειν πιστεύων.[1] I cannot therefore regard the view of Schrörs as an adequate explanation of the term *episcopi urbis Romae.*

(ii) For the phrase in Constantine's letter to Aelafius *et septem eiusdem communionis*, which I endeavoured to explain in my paper, Schrörs proposes the emendation '*septione* eiusdem communionis'; this he would translate: 'in der Umhegung derselben kirchlichen Gemeinschaft'. I must confess that this emendation appears to me to be highly improbable, and I would still adhere to the MS reading.

(iii) In the passage from the letter of Constantine to Aelafius, where the Emperor writes of the bishops of the Roman Council, '*verbo insuper adfirmantes quod iudicium suum pro rerum fuisset aequitate depromptum eosque potius causae obnoxios esse dicentes qui contra Caecilianum quaedam putaverunt commovere adeo ut istum post iudicium habitum Africam ipsos remeasse prohiberent*', Schrörs considers that 'nach dem grammatischen Zusammenhang können nur die donatistischen Ankläger, nicht die Bischöfe des Konzils, Subjekt zu *prohiberent* sein'. If we read with Ziwsa 'istu*d* iudicium' then, 'abgesehen davon dass *istud post iudicium habitum* in Rücksicht auf ein *künftiges* Gericht gesagt etwas ungewöhnlich und pleonastisch klingen würde', the sense would be that the Donatists sought to prevent *their own* return (ipsos) to Africa, which is, of course, incredible. Schrörs writes (p. 435) 'Daher ist obiger Satz dahin zu verstehen, dass ihr Anklagematerial (quaedam) darauf angelegt war, die Rückkehr des Cäcilian auf jeden Fall, mochte das Urteil ausfallen wie immer, zu vereiteln. Nach dieser Auffassung müsste *ipsos* in *ipsi* oder *ipsa* (beides als Subjekt zu *prohiberent*) geändert werden, je nachdem man *prohiberent* auf *qui . . . putaverunt* oder auf *quaedam* bezieht. Der Sinn bleibt derselbe, und jedesmal gehört *istum*, d. h. Cäcilian, als Subjekt zu *remeasse*'. I do not agree: the subject of *prohiberent* is, I still think, the Catholic bishops; *istum* (or, if necessary, *istud*, as Ziwsa) is to be taken with *iudicium*; *iudicium* itself = not a *future* trial, but the decision of the Roman Council itself, while for *ipsos* we should read *ips⟨i e⟩os* and translate: 'The bishops asserted that those who were the instigators of the whole dispute were the Donatists who had brought charges against Caecilian; having delivered their judgement they went so far as on their own authority

[1] This letter despite the denial of Batiffol, *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* iv (1914) 83–86, I am still inclined to regard as genuine.

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(*ipsi*: although they were legally incompetent to pronounce any such judgement) to prohibit the Donatists from returning to Africa'.

In my paper I suggested that Aelafius need not necessarily have been *vicarius*, but might have held the position of a *vices agens praefectorum praetorio*. This suggestion was based upon Cuq's view that these were distinct offices: in support of that view *cf.* A. Stein, *Stellvertreter der Praefecti Praetorio* in *Hermes* lx (1925) 94–103.

NORMAN H. BAYNES.

URBIS ROMAE EPISCOPI.

IN his article 'Optatus', published in *J. T. S.* xxvi pp. 37 ff, Mr Norman Baynes defends the authenticity of the letter of Constantine to 'Aelafius'[1] found together with other documents relating to the Donatist schism in Cod. Par. 1711 (Ziwsa *C. S. E. L.* pp. 204 ff), and maintains the correctness of the MS reading *urbis Romae episcopi* (p. 204. 28 Z.), which the earlier editors, followed by Mr Vassall-Phillips (*The work of St Optatus of Milevis against the Donatists*, 1917, p. 384), emended to *u. R. episcopus*. He interprets the phrase as meaning 'those bishops who received their consecration from Rome'; but it seems possible that it is chosen as a compendious form of reference to the *dioecesis* of *Urbs Roma* established by Diocletian, which included Central and Southern Italy, and was distinguished from *Italia* (= Northern Italy). Mr Baynes has identified the *seven* bishops referred to in the words immediately preceding the mention of *urbis Romae episcopi* with the bishops from North Italy recorded by Optatus (i 23) as having been summoned to the Council held at Rome in A. D. 313; and this view is certainly to be preferred to the unfortunate conjecture of Schrörs (*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung* xlii (1921), *Kanonistische Abteilung* p. 434) that *septione* should be read for *septem*.[2] Schrörs himself would explain the plural in *urbis Romae episcopi* by reference to the summons issued by Constantine to the Roman Council preserved in the Greek text, which is addressed Μιλτιάδῃ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μάρκῳ, supposing Marcus to have been a coadjutor-bishop[3]; but this may be otherwise interpreted,[4] and he has himself suggested[5] that the difficult and corrupt passage in the letter from the

[1] 'Ablabius' seems the most probable emendation of this name.

[2] Mr Norman Baynes kindly drew my attention to this article.

[3] Marcus is probably to be identified with the successor of Silvester in the Papacy.

[4] Mr Norman Baynes reminds me that the Letter of Constantine in *Vit. Const.* ii 64 is addressed Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Ἀρείῳ, i. e. to a bishop and a presbyter.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 438.

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Council of Arles to Pope Silvester (Ziwsa *op. cit.* pp. 206 ff) which runs *placuit etiam antea scribi ad te qui maiores dioeceseos* (sic!) *tenes, per te potissimum omnibus insinuari* should be emended (in accordance with the indications furnished by a Cologne MS of the letter[1]) by writing *maiores dioeceseos partes*. He seems to be wrong, however, in explaining the *dioecesis* in question as that of *Italia*. Duchesne,[2] as long ago as 1892, wrote that after the formation of the ecclesiastical provinces of Milan, Aquileia, and Ravenna, which took place in the fourth century, the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope was restricted to '*la diocesi suburbicaria civile*', i. e. the *dioecesis* of *Urbs Roma*; and Konrad Lübeck *Reichseinteilung und Kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients* (1901) pp. 131 ff, in discussing the use of the phrase *ecclesiae suburbicariae* by Rufinus in his translation of the sixth canon of Nicaea, inclines to the view that the districts subordinate to the *Vicarius Urbis Romae* are meant.

Professor Bury, in his article on the *Laterculus Veronensis* in the current number of the *Journal of Roman Studies* (xiii pp. 134, 142), points out that the earliest mention of the Diocese of *Urbs Roma* which we have is contained in the inscription on the base of the statue of C. Caelius Saturninus in the Lateran Museum (Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* 1214), which, as Mommsen shewed,[3] belongs to the sole reign of Constantine, and so does not prove the truth of Seeck's assertion (*Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* ii p. 498) that it was already formed under Diocletian. If the interpretation of the letter of Constantine which I have suggested is correct, we get a *terminus ante quem* in the year A. D. 313—a fact which may be of interest to students of Roman history.

H. STUART JONES.

ΑΠΑΤΟΝ.

In a tractate concerning decans published by Prof. W. Kroll from Cod. Vindob. phil. gr. 108 (in *Catalogus Codicum astrologicorum Graecorum* vi p. 61 ff) we read (p. 76): δεύτερος δεκανὸς καλεῖται Δεροπούτ· γλύφεται δὲ ἐν λίθῳ σεληνίτῃ ἐν δεδοκιμασμένῳ ἀπάτῳ καὶ ὅταν χρεία πιέσματος γένηταί σοι, ἐρωτήσ(ας) κάτεχε τοῦτο καὶ ὀφθήσῃ ἀβλαβῶς. Kroll remarks '*ἄπατος* quid sibi uelit nescio'. Does it not mean 'in a spot where no man treads and which has been tested and found such'? *ἀπάτῳ* would then be either a corruption of *ἀβάτῳ*, or a late

[1] Published by F. Maassen *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des Kanonischen Rechts* i (1870) p. 950 f.

[2] *Archivio della Società romana di storia patria* xv (1892) p. 477.

[3] *Nuove memorie dell' Istituto* pp. 298 ff.

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form for ἀπατήτῳ. Such spots were sometimes required for magical acts[1]: they may have been required also for engraving gems with astrological signs for superstitious purposes.

A. D. NOCK.

THE TEXT OF THE *TE DEUM*: CORRECTIONS OF *J. T. S.* ix (APRIL 1908) p. 426.

IN his account of the text of the *Te Deum* in MS Paris B.N. 9488 the late H. M. Bannister made two slips.

(i) Warren is right in giving *maiestatis tuae* as the reading in verse 11 of Dublin E. 4. 2. Mr A. de Burgh examined the MS for me and assures me the reading is clear and unmistakable.

(ii) In verse 20 Bannister gave *Te ergo, sanguine* as the reading of the Paris fragment—an obvious error. M. Omont most kindly looked it up for me and gives the reading as [*Te er*]*go quesumus, nobis tuis famulis subveni, quos praetioso san*[*gui*]*ne redemisti.*

MAURICE FROST.

[1] Apul. *Apol.* 42 *secreto loco*, P. Mimaut 305 ἐν ἐρήμῳ τόπῳ are instances of the requirement of seclusion. More might however be demanded: so in *P. Par.* l. 26 (as restored by Eitrem *Les papyrus magiques de Paris* p. 6) we read ἐλθὼν τῇ γ̄ τῆς σελήνης εἰς τόπον ἀπογυμνωθέντα ἄρτι (?) νε]ωστὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου πρὶν ἐπιβῇ τις αὐτοῦ ἢ περίρρυτον ἢ ἄλλως κατακλυσθέντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου: that is, you go to a place left bare by the all-purifying waters of the Nile and not yet touched by human foot, or (as a second best) to a spot surrounded by the Nile, or again to a spot regularly inundated by the Nile. [Magic allows of easy options: cf. J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore* p. 18, *Cl. Rev.* 1924, p. 169 f, and add to the examples there given of the principle of *simulata pro ueris* a reference to the description by S. Nilus *Narrat.* iii 28 (*P. G.* lxxix p. 612 D Migne) of the way in which the Arabians around Mount Sinai, when unable to find a beautiful young boy to sacrifice, took a white camel without blemish, made it bend on its knees, and circled round it three times, and to such other substitution-ritual as that mentioned by Aelian *Nat. anim.* xii 34 (Tenedos: new-born calf sacrificed to Dionysus, the cow tended like a woman after childbed).]

δοκιμασία is used (*C. C. A. G.* vi p. 77. 22) of a means of testing the efficacy of a stone; ἡ πρᾶξις δεδοκίμασται in *P. Lond.* 125, l. 40 means 'the spell is of proved merit'.

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REVIEWS

Lehrbuch der Symbolik vom Standpunkt Luthers aus dargestellt, von Prof. D. Dr WILH. WALTHER. (Deichert, Leipzig und Erlangen, 1924.)

The Place of Reason in Christian Apologetic, by the Rev. LEONARD HODGSON, M.A., Fellow and Dean of St Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1925.)

L'Humanité et son Chef: essais d'apologétique et de morale chrétiennes, par PHILIPPE BRIDEL, professeur à la Faculté de Théologie de l'Église libre du Canton de Vaud. (Librairie Payet et Cie, Lausanne, 1925.)

Grundlegung christlicher Dogmatik, von D. Dr HERMANN LÜDEMANN, ordentlicher Professor der Theologie an der Universität Bern. (Paul Haupt, Bern und Leipzig, 1924.)

Erlebnis, Erkenntnis und Glaube, von EMIL BRUNNER, Privatdocent an der Universität Zürich, 2nd and 3rd edition. (J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1923.)

Organische Grundlagen der Religion: eine formale Untersuchung, von HEINRICH ADOLPH, Privatdocent an der Universität Giessen. (Alfred Töpelmann, Giessen, 1924.)

ONLY three of these six books contribute what is new, but they all add somewhat to an understanding of the aspirations of our age. They follow different methods, from entire harking back on the old to very bold venture on new paths. Yet there is a uniform trait in them all. This is the desire to find an objective religious basis, solid and apart from all fluctuating experiences, and to seek it in the main by way of reason. This is least true of Adolph, but, rightly understood, this also is an important part of his aim. Of the six, three are Swiss—two German- and one French-speaking—which may be partially a mere matter of money to pay printing, but also tells of an unusual mental activity among those who witnessed a calamity without sharing it.

The simplest and commonest way of seeking a working objective religion is by reaffirming one's orthodoxy as self-evident: and we may take these books in the order which starts from this revival of orthodoxy and proceed to those which wander farther afield.

High Lutheranism as the one perfect form of Christianity has never lacked exponents any more than High Anglicanism. But there is naturally a new assurance in these days of trouble that it is the one hope of an erring world.

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Of this Prof. Walther's book is a thoroughgoing defence. It belongs to a series of text-books published by Deichert, a firm long associated with the production of the more conservative type of Lutheran works, and, if they are all as sound as this, the whole world is not yet on what many regard as the downward grade.

In this country the study of the Creeds has largely been what Zeller describes as 'eruditely unravelling or critically sifting traditions, piecing together and pragmatically elucidating particular facts', and has not dealt very exhaustively or profoundly with them in respect of what Zeller takes to be the true purpose of historical study, 'to discover time's developement and the principles which control it'. Kattenbusch set the example of studying the Creeds, if not in Zeller's way, at least as documents of religious interest; and his *Anatolische Kirche* is an admirable example of the human interest that may be found in the driest documents. Hope is, therefore, raised in us when we learn from the title that Dr Walther takes his business to be to set forth the characteristics of the four chief Christian Churches. Nor do we need to be discouraged by finding that they are to be treated from the standpoint of Luther, for all discussion of more than the bare facts of history must be from our own standpoint, and if we are using it to discover how our standpoint should be moved to command a better view, no more can be asked of any of us.

But Zeller himself is a warning, because, with him, the discovery of the principles of developement became mainly a business of imposing the Hegelian machinery of thought upon facts: and we have never far to look for similar imposition of religious schemes upon history. The standpoint of Luther might be admirable, if it mean that the matter is to be treated with the same religious interest, exercised with the same insight, freedom, and courage, as marked Luther in his day. But we do not travel far before we see that the real standpoint is Dr Martin of hallowed High Lutheran memory, and that Dr Walther is what Luther himself would not have been had he lived in our day, a quite unqualified Lutheran.

In the Preface we are informed that the book has been shorn of its full proportions by the cost of production. But the liberality of American Lutherans has saved 476 large, closely-printed pages, which are calculated to cheer the reader in his sense of loss. Moreover, Dr Walther could still have saved a good deal of valuable space by being content to shew the superiority of Lutheranism only once, instead of shewing under each creed how inferior it is to Lutheranism, and under Lutheranism how superior it is to other creeds. Moreover, his general method, though useful for reference, involves a good deal of pure repetition.

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In each case there is some discussion of the documents, and of the size and quality of the various churches. Then the main exposition sets forth the creed under eight heads of doctrine. (1) God, (2) Man, (3) Christ, (4) The Church, (5) The Means of Grace, (6) The Way of Salvation, (7) Ethics, (8) The Last Things. This is followed by a summary of what is peculiar and characteristic, which consists of excerpts from what has been already said more in detail. Finally, there is a weighing up of excellences and deficiencies, of which there has been no lack all the way through.

Much the most valuable part of the book is the exposition of Lutheranism, because one desires to know all that can be said for a creed. Nor is there much in the positive presentation with which there ought to be disagreement. The Augsburg Confession, in particular, by the happy requirements of its circumstances, is a more religious and conciliatory document than any other creed; and Luther, in spite of all that can be said against him, was a man of unique religious insight and courage. But, if the best things Luther said and the highest Lutheran piety are to be used to set forth Lutheranism, the same method should have been applied to the other creeds, and then we might have had a really great text-book of Symbolics. But in the Orthodox Church little appears save senseless reverence for tradition, magical rites, vague, unregulated, ineffective feeling, with a tendency to asceticism, but of no practical moral value. Romanism, it is admitted, learnt from Augustine, the Middle Ages, and even the Reformation, yet its leading characteristics are Judaic legalism, pagan magical ceremonies, practical trust in others than God, which endangers monotheism, asceticism and mysticism, which distort the natural religious life and provoke reactions, and, above all, imperialism, which denies progress in freedom and makes absolute obedience the first duty.

From the Lutheran standpoint, however, that is a fair account, except that it should not be presented as the whole; but, when we come to the comparison with Calvinism, we have some fresh thinking of the author's own, which is the rather ominous fruit of the mind of Germany, let us hope before the war or only as a relic in the minds of a few antiquated persons.

The pure reformation came to the Germans because non-Germans were hindered by defects of national character, such as superficiality, insincerity, unjustified self-consciousness, or petty conceit, egoism, ruthlessness or such-like. Calvinism appeared elsewhere, it is true, but as an echo of Luther and a calamitous echo at that. Its low esteem for the bodily and earthly makes its ethic hard and repulsive, causes it to fail to accept the true Lutheran view of the sacraments—though curiously, for the same reason, Rome fell into the opposite error of

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transubstantiation. Then it falls back into the old legalism with anxious striving to fulfil a law of commandments, with the church and a legal scripture to back them. Thereby, everything goes wrong, and in particular the idea of God, because of the dominance of the idea of predestination, which apparently is quite different from Luther's doctrine, though where the difference comes in is far from being made plain. But the main business the Reformed Church took over from Rome was imperialism. Hence the mixture of religion and politics, the use of the social, commercial, political for Christianity, and of religion for worldly ends. Hence the Anglo-Saxon imperialism under which the world has suffered so appallingly. And the materialism of America and the wicked things both countries have done in the late war are fruits of the same root of evil.

This is the more remarkable that Anglicans and Methodists and some other sects are not to be included, and there are only 8,000,000 all told in the British Isles; and in America, including Canada, about the same number. On the other hand, there are 32 million Lutherans in Germany, 10 millions in Scandinavia, and 12–14 millions in America. Of the 8 million Calvinists in these islands, half must be Scotch, and when the imperialism of Britain was being created, they were cultivating the muse on a little oatmeal. The rest must have been all little Cromwells. Apparently also history is mistaken about the New Englanders being a quiet idealistic anti-imperialistic sort of people, and that America began to lose this character about the time the 12 million Lutherans began to arrive.

It would all be very amusing, were it not, at this moment, so very sad and ominous. But I suspect the author's view of not being the folly of youth, and in that is hope.

Mr Hodgson's book consists of four lectures delivered before the General Theological Seminary, New York, on the subject in the title, together with a paper on experience, religious experience, and Christian experience, which bears, though somewhat more indirectly, on the same subject.

On the outside cover it says that 'in this book will be found the first definite criticism of Dr Rudolph Otto's much-debated work, *The Idea of the Holy*'. How this could be, if it were already a 'much-debated work', we are not told. There have been criticisms enough of a kind, and among them a somewhat lengthy one by the present reviewer in this JOURNAL. But perhaps they are not regarded as definite. Yet as Mr Hodgson has not made up his mind whether Otto's main contention has anything in it or not, he too lays himself open to question on that very point. All he is sure of is that everything in the universe is

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rational, and that, therefore, if there is anything in it, it cannot be described as the non-rational element in religion. He takes Otto to mean by the non-rational, either what cannot be defined or what creates in the mind an emotion and not a concept. But he doubts whether Otto would agree. And in this he is right. Otto's word is the 'irrational'. Personally I think it an unfortunate word, but I believe the French began to use it in the sense of something for which we cannot give reasons, and which cannot be reduced to be part of a scheme of merely rational thinking. And, as both the French and Germans have come to use it in this sense, we must try to rid our minds of the English associations of 'irrational', and even of 'non-rational', in reading their books. Otto's mistake is rather in limiting the use of the word, so that ethics to him seems to be a purely reasoned scheme. The question is whether even logic does not proceed on an ideal or norm for which logic cannot give reasons, and which must simply be accepted as the order of the universe. Otto, as a matter of fact, makes all theology a rational proceeding in the sense of our author, so that our author's prolemic is not against Otto but against Ritschl. And Ritschl is not to be disposed of quite so easily. Faith in this book is a venture upon opinion, pending such time as we arrive at knowledge. A view of the world is apparently an intellectual inference, a theology is a process of logic. Suffice it here to say that Ritschl denied all these propositions and gave reasons, historical, philosophical, and religious, for doing so. He is very far from being always right, but his work has made Mr Hodgson's kind of apologetic a very thin and evasive business. This consists wholly of affirming that the whole doctrinal developement of the first four Christian centuries is the simple logical working out of the Christianity of the Gospels. Apparently the parable of the Prodigal Son is only a little more poetical and less scientific expression of the mind of Jesus than the Athanasian Creed, so that, if we start with the Gospels, we end apparently as infallibly with all the orthodox creeds as say in geometry the demonstration follows once you grant the postulates.

This apparently is what is meant by theology being rational. It is one for which you can produce reasons. Though more neatly done, and more as a man of the world, it is after all the same method as Dr Walther's. The differences in matter and manner are national and not in the nature of things. Compare the work of either with Lüdemann's and you see that they both have made up their mind about their own institutions and are out to buttress their view with reasons, while Lüdemann's notion of a rational view is one that seeks to look as far, as deep, as objectively, as in it lies, a rational view for which mere giving reasons is pure will o' the wisp.

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A theological mind like Mr Hodgson's, in particular, may have a long way to go before making that discovery. And then, alas! it will be the same mind no longer. But it is to be hoped that it will not lose its charming qualities, its dislike to emotionalism, its shrewd practical talent; and that, even if it forgo somewhat in reasoning its most ingenious habit of cutting just a little before the point of its argument, it will not wholly lose the impressiveness of speaking as the incarnation of the reasonable mind.

Prof. Bridel's book consists of a collection of papers which have been produced during the course of a long life, but they make up a whole which is reasonably consecutive and presents one point of view. M. Bridel speaks several times of the work of the Christian orator, and that phrase exactly describes the style of the book. It may not be an important contribution to thought, but it is the product of a thoughtful, scholarly mind. Things familiar to the scholar are stated with a fullness of exposition and illustration which he may at times regard as superfluous. But M. Bridel had his eye on his audience, on their misconceptions which are difficult to remove, their slowness in grasping principles, their practical hindrances which only patience can remove, their dullness of heart and slackness of will, which need warmth and lucidity of appeal. For this end the flowing eloquent style, the felicity of illustration, the simple, clear principles, with what is said about them full but not too extended for the purpose, are admirably suited. The whole leaves the impression of a wise and good man, who has never sought to shelter his faith in obscurantism, but who has faced the difficulties of his time and brought an effective, practical, living Christianity through the conflict by having lived it. Its rationality has broadened out beyond merely finding reasons for accepted opinions.

The apologetic papers deal with the relations of the Christian faith to human aspiration after progress and peace and the brotherhood of man; the true liberty of thought which is forwarded and not hindered by accepting the Gospel; the historical character of Christianity—which discusses the view of religion as in no way concerned with contingent events, and opposes to it a history which gives actuality to the spiritual, and which, by its abiding efficacy in the spiritual life is no mere matter of the past; whether faith in Jesus is the final religion. This last paper occupies almost as much space as the first three. The argument depends on the divine quality of the spiritual life. 'If the moral life is not an illusion, it must be a divine life; if history has a goal, it is the production of the God-Man.' This does not mean one enclosing all the Deity, but one in whom resides the divine holiness. The paper is

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mainly a discussion of the question whether the conception of evolution denies the possibility of the leaven of such a person in the history of the race and not merely at the end, and in what sense such a person would embody the final religion.

The Ethical section consists of two parts; the first a discussion of the problem of Evil and how one who believes in God is to conceive it; and the second a short practical Christian Ethic.

The least convincing part of the book is the section on Evil. The essential point is the idea that the disturbance of nature is the effect of sin or sins anterior to those of the human race. It is admitted that this only pushes the problem farther back, but then, our author says, no human science ever does more. But, if so, it is by knowing something more which does push the difficulty farther back, and not simply by adding difficulties to what already exist. It may very well be the case that evil existed before man, but does that help to explain either God's responsibility for it or man's?

Under ethics is first discussed the application of the Christian ideal by the individual to his material needs, his neighbour, and the State; and then the importance of religion for the life of humanity. And all this, if it is not done with any great originality, is done in a fine Christian spirit and with steady attention to the actual practical situation. If the book belongs to an age that is passing, it shews, what the new age should not forget, that it was an age not devoid wholly of the right spirit or lacking entirely wise insight.

This work, however, is done by the next treatise far more profoundly. Like the others so far, it belongs largely to the past era. Probably it represents many laborious years spent within it. It also is rational in the definite sense of believing that religious truth, like any other truth, must meet all conditions of enquiry, and that we may not offer sentiment when the requirement is proof. Yet it belongs to the past era in no antiquarian way, but in a way through which all should pass, if only as a phase, if the past is to be left profitably behind. That is to say, it is a critical enquiry into the value of what we have inherited from the past, with the definite view of finding a sound foundation on which to build a theology.

Dr Lüdemann's book is the first volume of a treatise on Christian Dogmatics. The whole system is reserved for the second volume, and this merely lays the foundations. Yet it has the generous proportions of well over 600 large, closely-printed pages. It is a good old-fashioned German type of treatise, with a life's labour of diligent critical reading with a resolve not to omit any essential point. It has also the full form

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of other days. First there is the elaborate table of contents, which itself has a large amount of information in it—after you have read the book. Then the book proper begins with a General Introduction. Here we find the method made orthodox by generations of German professors. First a large statement is made in equally large type. The reader ought perhaps to have a taste, so here is a translation of the first: 'Christian dogmatics is a part of the science of Christianity; more definitely a part of Systematic Theology, which, embracing Dogmatics and Ethics, discerns the nature of Christianity, shews it to be a normative manifestation of the general history of religion, and aims to shew it as universal truth.' This is then expanded into an account of how theology has been conceived throughout the ages. But it can also be taken as the text of the whole treatise. Theology is science which differs from physical science because it deals with a different range of subject, and from philosophy because it has towards its subject a closer relation. It is not less free or less under obligation to find truth, but it investigates religion as one would study his own language. The chief common ground between philosophy and theology concerns the theory of knowledge. This occupies the first part, somewhat over half the volume.

Just as a theory of logic is largely settling conclusions with Aristotle so a theory of knowledge is largely coming to terms with Kant. This is done with great fullness, with the object of establishing the universal and objective validity of the logical, aesthetic and ethical norms, and thus, by shewing their essentially religious character, passing to the philosophy of religion.

The second part of the volume discusses the science of religion. As the philosophical section dealt largely with Kant, this deals largely with Schleiermacher. It has an introduction which shews that we cannot determine the nature of religion by any study of origins, but that most studies of origins are worthless because of erroneous conceptions of religion. It then proceeds to discuss the basal mental form of religion, regarding it in general agreement with Schleiermacher as a primary form of feeling. Then we have the basal content, with similar agreement that it is the feeling of dependence. The last discusses developement. This leads on to the second section, the Nature of Christianity compared with the other forms of religion, and this is followed by a third on the Nature of Protestantism compared with the other forms of Christianity. Finally, there is a conclusion shewing how all this affords a basis for a Christian dogmatic.

To discuss every section would occupy too much space, but a word may be given to Part II. All forms of Christianity are distinguished by looking to God as 'preventing them with the blessings of goodness',

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as taking salvation to be of God. But from the beginning legal elements remained, so that the Tübingen view of a Petrine and Pauline opposition has at least some reality. Paul was first neglected, then opposed, then accepted without understanding. But if salvation is a fulfilling of laws, grace must be alongside of it somehow, if the ordinary half-and-half person is not to be worse off than with less light. Hence a grace that was a physical salvation, a gift of immortality. Then there wrought with this a pagan metaphysic, till everything from the Gospels was confused, except this idea of a God who seeks our good, which was trying to get expressed in this blind way through it.

Stated in this bald way it all sounds well-beaten highway. And it is a text-book and, therefore, not only keeps to the road, but maps it all out. But it is all first-hand, fresh, and independent work, the sort of work which every student of theology should work through and exercise his judgement on as well as his memory, before setting out to instruct others. There is nothing of unusual brilliance perhaps in the writing any more than in the thought, but our author commands a good, lucid explanatory style.

The two books which remain are by younger university teachers, and they have been left to the end because they seem to be of the new age in a still fuller sense.

We begin with the third Swiss.

Herr Brunner belongs to a very considerable school of younger theologians. As forerunners they had Kierkegaard and Kutter. Besides Brunner, Karl Barth, Thurneisen, and Gogarten are known as exponents. They deny that they are a mere return to orthodoxy, and our author seems to think that he is farther from it than the others. But the whole purpose is to recover the authority of revelation as above reason, the sovereignty of God as something before which man is nought, and an absoluteness in belief which shall depend neither on human experience nor on human reasoning. Therefore, whether it be orthodox or not, the purpose of the school is to recover the definiteness and authority of orthodoxy. Nor is it easy to see where the difference comes in. The basis is, in the main, Paul as interpreted by Luther, with some addition from Calvin's doctrine of the sovereignty of God, with its *actus forensis* which is in defiance of our judgement of ourselves, and a word of God which silences all word of man. There is scarce a line in the book on the Jesus of the Gospels. He is disposed of with Paul's phrase: 'Yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.' How we do know Him, however,

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is by no means made plain. Nor is the still wider question of how we know any revelation. A revelation no doubt is its own evidence, but it can be so only as it reveals: and how can it reveal if it sets aside everything human? Too often when we ask for quiet, balanced statement, taking in all aspects of the question, we have rhetoric and a string of antithetic sentences: and, in spite of very drastic rejection of mysticism, a great deal too near an approach to the artificial language of mysticism. This style makes the book hard reading; and the method of going over the field critically and again constructively, instead of subordinating the criticism to the advancement of the exposition, increases the difficulty of understanding. Yet, considerable as the labour has been to read so small a book, it has been repaid. Though the author has not arrived at a clear and defensible position, he has a right and an important purpose; and, though a great measure of his failure is due to confusing things that differ in his criticism of the theologies of experience and of reason, there is knowledge and a great deal of discrimination and useful criticism.

His purpose is to get beyond Rationalism and Romanticism, but the chief polemic is against Romanticism in its two main aspects of what is called 'Psychologismus' and 'Historicismus'. The purpose is to set forth a salvation by objective knowledge, which shall concern itself not with our subjective instincts and our changing experience, but with the objective and the eternal. The aim is to restore to the modern mind the sense of objective spiritual reality and so to enable it to escape from the icy historical relativity of a Troeltsch and the sultry, rankly luxuriant psychologizings of a Heiler, and, with them, all the mystics, romantics, and practitioners of the Kingdom of God.

The psychologizing, we are told, is comparatively recent, but the spring of it goes back to the principle of individual variety of Romanticism, and, behind that, to Pietism and all the movements of religious emotionalism. This was carried into history and was wrought out as a succession of human experiences in a series that was in essence naturalistic.

This criticism is in the main just and penetrating, and the aim of seeking deliverance is so vital that all sympathy should be given to any one who is following it. Yet, with all sympathy, it is impossible to be greatly impressed by the result or even by the method. There is too much play with the miraculous, when it merely means the original, which, after all, is creative for us only because it has meaning in the rest of our experience; and with the irrational, when it only seems to mean that we cannot reach anything new by mere reasoning. It may be quite true that our best knowledge and experience may be mere symbols and hints of the final reality, but it is not true that we are helped by leaving

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experience and knowledge and the ideas of the Romantic, the Rationalist, the Mystic, and the Orthodox unreconciled together. Moreover, this by no means goes with the contention of the author throughout the book, and, if he had followed consistently his own thought, he would have arrived much nearer a convincing result.

Like the previous author, Herr Adolph believes that the world has fallen into disorder through lack of religion. He also regards mysticism as no way of deliverance. 'Longing for rest and failure of power to think things together are both signs of spiritual old age, and mysticism and scepticism are both forerunners of death, and the question between them is merely a question of the way of dying.' And he starts also from the same principle that the whole is before the parts. It is not a mere combination of them, but from it is derived the order and meaning of every part. The entelechie is first for the organism, the ego for consciousness, and God for the universe. Therefore religion, which is concerned with this inner organizing reality, is the only power which can make life a whole. So far both authors are agreed, but nothing could be more different than their way of carrying out their purpose. Brunner's style is turbid, epigrammatic, and is always leaping chasms, not without returning to leap them again; Adolph's is calm, clear, consequent, almost laboriously so. Brunner regards the luxuriant individuality of Romanticism as a sort of strangling ivy upon the stem of religion; Adolph takes the business of religion to be to organize the abundance and variety of life into one. All organizing springs from the central life impulse, and religion is the supreme expression of it, organizing our inner life down to our physical impulses and up to our highest intuitions and aspirations, and our life without also in all we can know, feel, and act upon. By a formal enquiry he means one which deals only with this organic scheme, shewing how it is self-maintaining and self-expanding, enclosing an ever vaster variety in an ever closer unity, using all the specialisms of life, such as science, art, and morals, completing them and going beyond them to a more adequate expression of the self and of the universe, giving us at once a complete ego with which to understand the universe and an objectivity which includes both existence and value, and which has thus meaning in objectivity and objectivity in meaning and purpose. Christianity would be the absolute religion, if it set us on the right way of achieving this end; and Christ the absolute ideal, if He embodied it.

With consciousness the organic form is no longer bound to matter, and becomes autonomous in form and free in activity. This it is by the complexity of its inner relations and by its creative energy, con-

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sciousness being the highest of all organisms. The self is neither a metaphysical point nor a mechanical aggregate. It is an independent reality, living and unfolding its life in the functions of understanding, feeling, and will, yet is not to be identified with them, but stands with its creative fullness behind them. In being conscious of itself, maintaining itself, and building an objective world of knowledge, art, ethics, religion, and such-like, it works throughout organically. It is the same creative 'entelechie' which organizes the mind within and the world without. The ego is an organism, a whole, alive, concrete.

Religion, considered in its form or function, is the form-giving activity of the organic self-will, the original synthetic life-impulse itself. In respect of its content, it is a concrete mental structure, which grows in consciousness as a potent whole, with definite presentations, feelings, and ends of the will. And, like all objective creation, it is super-personal. Religion has unified principles of structure and is born with them out of life.

All this is valuable and important: and yet there is something in Brunner's work, with all its defects, which is not in Adolph's, with all its reasonableness and rounded conclusions. There is good religion and bad, and the distinction is not determined by mere width of interest or the balance of our powers. And religion is not merely more complete than departmental human interests, but it deals with a different quality of reality. And, though it works in the end for completeness, it does so by starting with a higher world, and not merely by working up to it. In a sense Adolph would admit this, but, while Brunner is at least trying to reach it, Adolph gives no hint of how it is to be done. Still it is a fresh and interesting and useful piece of work, and reminds us, as Brunner's work does not, that the vast labours of the nineteenth century must be reckoned with and not merely be overcome and set aside. Nevertheless, it will only be rightly used when we return anew to the eighteenth-century interest in man as rational and concerned with objective reality, and God as the essential meaning and end of it. If it be true that life without religion is divided and departmental, the completion comes from the object of religion and not from religion being specially harmonious and balanced in its interests. This Adolph says, but it needs more than saying.

J. OMAN.

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Immixtio et Consecratio: la consécration par contact dans les documents liturgiques du Moyen Âge, by MICHEL ANDRIEU. (Picard, Paris, 1924.)

M. ANDRIEU, Professor in the Catholic Faculty of Theology of the University of Strasbourg, writes the history of mediaeval opinion in the West touching the 'Mass of the Presanctified' on Good Friday. In this service a chalice containing wine with a small admixture of water is placed on the altar, and into it is dropped a particle from the consecrated Host which has been reserved from the Mass of Maundy Thursday; then the *Pater noster* only and the prayer which follows it are recited. During the Middle Ages there were conflicting views as to whether the wine in the chalice was consecrated by contact with the already consecrated Host. The doubt was as old as the time of Amalar of Metz. In his work *De ecclesiasticis officiis* i 15 (written in 820) he speaks without hesitation of the wine in the chalice as 'sanctified' (by which he certainly means consecrated) 'per sanctificatum panem'. But not long afterwards he came across the letter of Gregory the Great to John of Syracuse, which seems to state that the Apostles consecrated the Eucharist with the Lord's Prayer alone. He seized upon the idea that the Lord's Prayer by itself was adequate as a form of consecration, and this view rendered unnecessary the other as to consecration by contact. He appears, however, to have abandoned this explanation after his visit to Rome in about 832, and the passage concerning the Lord's Prayer, which he had added to the first issue of his book, was dropped in the final edition (see Andrieu, pp. 34–37). Amalar's view as to a consecration by contact had a considerable influence on later writers and service books, and it seems to have been prevalent down to the twelfth century. After that, though the phrase 'sanctificatur vinum per sanctificatum panem' (or the like) still lingered on in many of the service books, and even continued to be interpreted in Amalar's sense by not a few ecclesiastical writers, the view was condemned by the theologians and (very slowly) died out.

M. Andrieu marshals the evidence for and against the opinion, quoting from a large number of *Ordines*, Missals, and Pontificals. He has written an instructive and quite interesting book on a rather unpromising subject.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

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Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft: in Verbindung mit Prof. Dr A. BAUMSTARK und Dr A. L. MAYER, herausgegeben von Dr. P. ODO CASEL, O.S.B. Band iii (for 1923), Band iv (for 1924). (Münster in Westf., Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung.)

SINCE the war the Benedictines of Maria Laach (Rheinland) have displayed a remarkable activity in the promotion of liturgical studies. With this aim they have instituted the 'Verein zur Pflege der Liturgiewissenschaft', a society under the direction of the community. It issues three important series of publications: (1) *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen*, (2) *Liturgiegesch. Forschungen*, and (3) the *Jahrbuch* as above. Under (1) have appeared such works as the edition of the St Gall codex 348 of the Gelasian Sacramentary by Dom K. Mohlberg; the edition of the Cambrai codex 164 of the *Gregorianum* (Mr H. A. Wilson's C) by Prof. H. Lietzmann (who describes the MS as the 'Aachener Urexemplar'); and the edition of the Syriac Liturgy of St James by Prof. A. Rücker (already noticed in the JOURNAL, October 1924).

But altogether the publications under (1) and (2) have been few, and it seems doubtful whether these two series will succeed in maintaining themselves. Of more permanent character, probably, is the *Jahrbuch*, which has appeared regularly since its inception in 1921. This is a really first-rate production, and will undoubtedly prove of great value to many outside the ranks of mere students of liturgy. It falls into three main divisions: Historical Essays, *Miszellen* (comprising reviews or comments on a few books or articles selected for special notice), and *Literaturbericht*. It is the second and third (particularly the third) of these sections that give the Year-Book its outstanding value. The record of current literature bearing in any way on liturgy is amazingly complete; practically nothing seems to escape the editors. The *Literaturbericht* for 1923 contains 630 items, and that for 1924 no less than 854; and not only is almost every conceivable book or article—German, French, English, &c.—registered, but in a large majority of cases there is added a useful notice of the contents, and this often reaches the dimensions of a substantial review.

Dom Casel and his fellow editors are to be congratulated on the energy and success with which they have carried out this arduous undertaking. The *Jahrbuch* is simply indispensable for any one who wishes to keep up to date with the literature bearing on Christian worship.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

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A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints, by the Right Rev. F. G. HOLWECK, Domestic Prelate to His Holiness Pope Pius XI. (B. Herder, London, 1924.)

THIS is the second attempt made of late to fill a gap in our historical literature by presenting us with a succinct account of the Christian saints of all ages and all nationalities. In 1921 the Benedictine monks of St Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate, produced a 'Book of the Saints', a handy volume of 275 pages, recording in addition to the five thousand Saints of the Roman Martyrology a large number of others who seemed to call for notice, more especially such as were connected with the British Isles. And now we have from America a volume of more than a thousand pages, far wider in its range and somewhat different in its method of treatment. The author says :—

'It is the scope of my book to record *all* the saints who have been venerated in the Church of Christ, and whose names can be found in the available sources. I have admitted all the saints of whom a cult exists or existed somewhere in the Church, even though in many instances, especially in Western countries, the veneration is popular only and not approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites.'

More than this, a bold but wise decision has led to the inclusion of 'spurious' as well as genuine saints, whether they are to be classed as heretical or schismatical, or merely fictitious.

'If I do not omit the names of saints who are mere products of fancy, like the Ursuline saints of Cologne, or the milestones and towns turned into martyrs, neither must I omit the names of men who are highly venerated in the liturgy of Christian nations which, "by an unfortunate mistake" (Pius XI), are separated from the center of Christianity.'

Another feature of the work will commend it to students as a valuable instrument of reference. The author claims to have added 'ample notices, collected from an infinite number of sources, of the liturgical cult of the saints'. For the accuracy of these liturgical items we have to trust him, for he gives no references—indeed we could not expect them in a book of this kind : but we are encouraged by the statement that for some forty years he has been making the collections from which he now draws.

In a substantial Introduction he gives an account of various Martyrologies and of published Lives of the Saints. Under the latter head we have an interesting sketch of the labours of the Bollandists and the varying fortunes of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Lastly, he describes with some fulness the present procedure in causes of Beatification and Canonization.

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It is, of course, impossible to enter here upon a criticism in detail of a dictionary such as this. Scholars who have a special knowledge of particular saints or of various groups will easily find mistakes due to insufficient acquaintance with recent investigations. The author, far removed from the great libraries, which he could only occasionally visit, was bound to content himself with well-known collections of material. It is to the credit of German scholarship that he depends very largely on works written in that language: but he would have gained greatly if he had made use of the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* which embodies so much of the work of our own scholars of the last generation: he would have found Stubbs, for example, a better guide for the early English hagiography than Alban Butler or Baring-Gould. Probably the weakest part of his work is that which deals with Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Christianity. But that after all is but a tiny portion of his subject, and it is just here that English scholars with their own books of reference will least need to look for his help. And in general it is the remoter and less conspicuous names that we shall wish to turn to in a book on this scale: the great saints of history we can readily find elsewhere. What we need, and what we are offered here, is a reasonably trustworthy account of what is generally accepted regarding any name to which we may have occasion to refer. The loving care which has been expended on this work is obvious as we turn its pages: the print is clear, and the bulk is remarkably small in proportion to the contents. The publisher as well as the author deserves our gratitude.

J. A. ROBINSON.

Richard Hooker: a Study of his Theology, by L. S. THORNTON. (S.P.C.K., London, 1924.)

MR THORNTON has a well-trained and well-informed mind, and is very confident of his own position. The impression of Hooker which he leaves upon our mind is that that divine really reached a highly creditable approximation to a truth of which Mr Thornton and his friends are in secure possession. There is no hint that the phase of which he is the exponent may have as little finality as its predecessors, and no hesitation in devoting a large proportion of a very limited space to demonstrating the error of many views that were unknown in the days of Hooker. Hooker, in fact, is for many pages in this book no more than a peg on which refutations of various types of thought, down to Ritschl and Bergson, are hung. These are duly shewn to be relevant; something urged by Hooker disproves an error that has not yet been propounded, or it may be that his own limitations betray him into

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mistake. But the interest of Mr Thornton is in the controversy between Protestantism and Catholicism, as he understands rather than defines them. For him Hooker is a debateable land where the two forces are in conflict rather than a thinker important for his own sake. And so, in spite of the clearness of Mr Thornton's exposition and his gift for interesting his readers, in a sense he has lost his opportunity. We do not learn as much about Hooker as he might have taught us, and his place in the sequence of English religious thinkers is not made clear. Mr Thornton is too much of a philosopher for the special task which he undertook.

Richard Baxter, Puritan and Mystic, by A. R. LADELL. (S.P.C.K., London, 1925.)

MR LADELL has one or two presuppositions about Puritanism which suggest a doubt. He admires a generalized Puritan whom it would have been difficult to find in real life. He admits his Calvinism, but ignores his conviction that a Christian nation must have a church containing all its members, and that there is a parity among the ministers of this church. Yet those two points explain the career of Baxter, Mr Ladell's model Puritan. Baxter would have no dealings with sectaries, and considered himself in the fullest sense a minister of the national church. He did not believe that if he accepted priest's orders he would be more perfectly a minister than he was as a deacon. For him the distinction between the three orders was unreal, or at the best a matter of unessential discipline. He had been admitted, in accordance with the rules of the church to which he belonged, into the ministry, and no higher grade could be reached. After the Restoration he and his friends did not, as Mr Ladell puts it, 'intimate a desire for union with the Established Church'. They asked for recognition of the fact that they were in the fullest sense already ministers of that church. When Baxter, describing his conduct as licensed curate of Bridgnorth, says that he never administered the Lord's Supper, he denies that his orders as deacon were a bar to such action; it was a voluntary refraining from an office which as a minister he was entitled to execute. Thus it was impossible for him to fit himself into the revived discipline of the Church, without such a waiving of its rules as was impossible in the temper of the Restoration. When new vergers' staves had to be provided for Christ Church in 1660 they were engraved with 'In convertendo captivitatem Sion'. In the infliction of that captivity men like Baxter had been active, and it was inevitable that resentment should be felt. One form which that resentment took was the refusal of the

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patron to present Baxter to the vicarage of Kidderminster, the only benefice he was willing to accept. Mr Ladell is unjust in denouncing Bishop Morley; he was powerless in the matter. All that the bishop could have done was to grant him a licence to preach in the diocese of Worcester, and there is no reason to think that this would have satisfied Baxter, while the licence would not have protected him from prosecution for uncanonical modes of conducting service. Would Baxter, in any case, have abstained, as he had done as a young curate at Bridgnorth, from celebrating the Eucharist? To do so would have been to deny that he was fully a minister. The tragedy of such a case is that both sides were convinced that they were right; and though we can see that the true policy was one of a judicious temporary acquiescence in irregularity, we cannot blame those who had passed through the trials of the Commonwealth because their judgement, as well as their temper, was perturbed. Of the substance of Baxter's teaching Mr Ladell writes admirably. Lord Acton somewhere says that his insistence on the importance of conduct made Baxter one of the most powerful assailants of the doctrine of Luther, and that point might have been worth developing. But though in all religion of the heart there must be an element of mysticism, our author is not convincing when he strives in the last chapter of his valuable book to display Baxter as an exponent of that type of thought.

E. W. WATSON.

Du Bose as a Prophet of Unity, by J. O. F. MURRAY, D.D., Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge. (S. P. C. K., 1924.)

WE are indebted to the Master of Selwyn for a zealously appreciative summary of the teaching of Du Bose. The latter, during his thirty years' teaching in the University of the South at Sewanee, stirred theological interest in England as well as America. For he shewed an originality in dealing with some of the great problems of the faith which enables Dr Murray to speak of him as 'one of the few voices in the world, not one of the many echoes'. Most of us remember him best for his studies in the Gospels and in St Paul, and it is his fresh and independent handling of the abiding problems connected with the Incarnation which makes us grateful to him as a theologian. But since his work began, what then sounded like novelty concerning the implications of the human nature and will of the Incarnate Christ, has become a recognized part of to-day's Christology. And yet, as a pioneer, he is worthy of abiding honour, and these lectures on the man and his message, given at Sewanee, form a fit beginning for the Du Bose

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Memorial Foundation. As a pioneer he may well be called a 'prophet', though the lectures do not shew him chiefly as a 'prophet of unity'. His idea of Unity itself, as based on truth and fearless witness to the truth, is a refreshing one, and so is his agreement with Charles Simeon that 'the truth is not in the middle, and not in one extreme, but in both extremes'. The whole truth will only come when the Church shall have gathered in all the race But one would have expected this to lead to more about the Church in relation to truth and unity. It is therefore disappointing that the Church scarcely appears again in Dr Murray's book until the last five pages are reached. This omission does not seem to be the fault of Du Bose himself, for he taught that 'the Church, His Body, is the Sacrament of His continual presence among men, and the instrument for the completing of His incarnation, the fulness of Him who is step by step attaining His perfected fulfilment as men respond to His call through the Church'.

T. W. CRAFER.

The Separation of the Monophysites, by the Rev. W. A. WIGRAM, D.D. (The Faith Press, London, 1923.)

THAT Constantine became a Christian, and that very soon after Christianity became the accepted religion of the Roman Empire, is known to everybody. It is known also that Julian the Apostate, who died in 363, failed to re-establish Paganism, and some students of Early Church History learn further that the Arian heresies were finally condemned and Christian Doctrine properly defined in 451 at the Council of Chalcedon. 'Early Church History', however, as usually defined in schedules for theological students, comes to an end ten years later with the death of Pope Leo. What happened between 461 and the conquests of Islam nearly 200 years after that is an unfamiliar story. This is neither for lack of materials nor for lack of specialists to work at it: it is rather because the period is somehow felt to be dull. The conversion of the Empire to Christianity is an impressive conclusion; what follows is the sad tale of how the great opportunity was frittered away in seemingly idle controversy, and the story, though most instructive, is not so attractive as that of the early days.

Readers of this JOURNAL are very favourably situated for the study of the Monophysite supremacy in Egypt, for they will have read Mr Crum's review of Jean Maspero's *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, a fine book that investigates in detail the ecclesiastical history of Egypt from 518 to 616. Quite recently Prof. Jülicher, in the *Zeitschrift für N. T. Wissenschaft*, has written an important study of this period, in which, after a generous tribute to Maspero's work, he excuses himself from

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a regular 'review' of it, on the ground that all those interested in the subject will have read Mr Crum and entered his corrections in their copy of Maspero.[1] Prof. Jülicher goes on to express his dissent from Maspero in certain details, notably in that he regards Anastasius Sinaita as writing just before the year 700, while Maspero puts him eighty years earlier, before the coming of Islam. Jülicher also differs from Maspero in his reconstruction of the events that followed the death of the Jacobite Patriarch Theodosius, about 570. The final judgement on this rather complicated question may be left to specialists, but certainly no one should make up his mind on it without consulting Jülicher's elaborate discussion, which concludes with a hope that Maspero's *feingeistiges Werk* may awake anew that interest in the Monophysite Church, without which detailed investigations cannot be undertaken.

I venture to think that English readers will find their interest stimulated even more by Dr Wigram's book on the Separation of the Monophysites.[2] It is a book in which, as in Jeremy Collier's *Short View* (according to Macaulay), we 'can find mirth harmoniously and becomingly blended with solemnity'. Dr Wigram succeeds in making the fifth and sixth centuries not only perspicuous and instructive, but also amusing. This he does, because amongst other things he looks at the events from the point of view of the Oriental, of the Christian non-Greek subject races. Most ecclesiastical historians think themselves Greeks or Latins at heart, and neither know nor love the *rayat*, the Oriental member of a subject Church, membership in which is his real nationality.

Dr Wigram had already written a history of the beginnings of the 'Nestorian' or 'Assyrian' Church from this standpoint, but in treating of the separation of the Monophysites he is on more œcumenical ground. It is a larger stage and on the whole a drama more interesting to us Westerns, yet I cannot help thinking the work must have been planned, though not written, with the view of explaining the course of Church History to the Holder of the Throne of Mar Adai, then still ruling over his little nation in their ancestral highlands in the days before the War. From that citadel of ecclesiastical independence, as from an eagle's eyrie, Dr Wigram seems to have surveyed the strife of parties and patriarchs, and perhaps was all the better able to estimate the forces at work from his being so far off the combatants, and to eastwards of them all.

Of course he lets us see that it was less a doctrinal than a racial struggle. It is no accident that when the fight died down the Dyophy-

[1] But why does Jülicher always call him 'Maspéro'?

[2] The *Separation of the Monophysites* by Rev. W. A. Wigram, D.D., London, 1923.

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sites were victorious in Greek-speaking lands, but the Monophysites in non-Greek-speaking lands. The influence of Alexander the Great was wearing away by the 5th and 6th centuries A. D., and Orientals no longer felt an inner compulsion to take their thought from a Greek model. Yet too much must not be made of this, for the same period saw the decay of genuine Syriac literature and its general occidentalization—Hellenization is too noble a word—mainly through the labours of Monophysite scholars. It was rather the bureaucracy of the Byzantine system, developed in the one department where the Oriental is most sensitive, viz. his religion, that provoked the resistance of the East. And the opposition was led at first by men who were Alexandrians and Antiochenes, men like Timothy and Severus.

There were other influences at work from the beginning, only partially ethnic, which Dr Wigram brings into the prominence that is their due. What was settled at Chalcedon? In answer, we may say that they settled the Faith, they defined the Nature (or Natures) of our Lord, they drew up a noble and enduring Creed. But they did something more than that: they settled the precedence of the first five personages in the Church. First, of course, came the Bishop of Old Rome: there was no dispute about his position. But the second place was given to the Bishop of New Rome, to the Patriarch of the upstart city of Constantinople. Alexandria was only third, Antioch was fourth, while Jerusalem was recognized as a fifth Patriarch with appropriate territories assigned to it in Palestine and the Western Desert at the expense of Antioch.

By this decision Constantinople was pleased, Jerusalem was satisfied, Antioch and Alexandria were aggrieved, especially the latter. Jerusalem could hope for nothing higher, for in Origen's day it had only been the seat of a simple bishop, subject ecclesiastically to Caesarea. But both Antioch and Alexandria grudged the power and influence now accorded to the parvenu capital of the East, a see, moreover, unillustrated by martyrs, while Antioch was the oldest seat of Gentile Christianity and Alexandria had been the chair of Athanasius. Dr Wigram (p. 8 f) very well points out that the rise of Constantinople, like the rise of Old Rome itself, was due less to the ambition of designing prelates than to geographical and political circumstance. 'The Emperor supported his domestic patriarch . . . Bishop after Bishop of Constantinople may be dispossessed, or even killed, by the intrigues of his rival; Rome may protest her fill against canons that legalize what has come to be the fact. Gregory, Chrysostom, Nestorius, Flavian, may come to exile or death in turn, but the position of Constantinople as first among the patriarchs of the Eastern Empire has to be admitted. . . . Of course, the Emperor favoured the developement. It was well that the Bishop who was most

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directly under his hand should be the premier Bishop.... The patriarch who was always at court . . . became the recognized head of the ecclesiastical branch of the civil service' (p. 9).

All this is very well said, and with it should be quoted yet another wise saying of our author: 'The impression given by the facts of the history is that the Council [of Chalcedon] was reverenced [at Constantinople], not so much because of Canon i and the doctrinal decree, as because of Canon xxviii and the rank thereby given to the see. Constantinople clung to the Council for the sake of the canon, aware how difficult would be the re-enactment of the latter if the former were abandoned. Rome, genuinely Chalcedonian, acquiesced at last in the canon for the sake of the Council' (p. 20). So, however much an Emperor like Zeno or Anastasius may coquet with Monophysitism and desire to placate the Monophysite population of Egypt and Syria, the Patriarch of Constantinople never dares openly to disavow the 'Chalcedonian Definition', for it was also the Definition of his own rank and dignity in Christendom.

Dr Wigram's story of the ups and downs of Church affairs during the two centuries that followed Chalcedon is written with a clear perception of these untheological considerations. At the same time he speaks of Christian doctrine with real comprehension and sympathy. This enables him to see and to express better than most writers of ecclesiastical history the reasons that led to the triumph of Monophysite ideas among the Orientals. 'The Orient was a land of monks and . . . the mystic theology of the Egyptian school made a stronger appeal to the ascetic than did the "rationalist" faith of Antioch. What the ascetic and mystic desires is to be rid of the burden of the flesh, and to be absorbed in the Godhead. Hence his thought tends to dwell on the "Word", rather than on the Son of Man. Christ, our example, the "Friend of publicans and sinners", who "came eating and drinking", and "went about doing good", can hardly appeal to the hermit who has withdrawn himself from all contact with his fellow-creatures. The thought of Christ as our first-fruits, raising our human nature to the right hand of God, is even farther from him, for the ascetic is seldom far from the Manichee, and the idea of raising this material thing, our humanity, to spiritual levels, was both impossible and unwelcome' (p. 21). 'The drift of theological thought for many a year was Monophysitic and (by a natural connexion of ideas) Mariolatrous.[1] . . . Christ the Friend, Helper, and Master, was realized less and less; He was thought of only as the distant divine ruler, the terrible future judge. Other figures, and one figure in particular, were put into the place that was His' (p. 22).

[1] This was *not* the case in this period in Chalcedonian Rome, as Edmund Bishop pointed out more than once.

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The final chapter is an admirable précis of Monophysite Christology. He points out that the difference between Severus, the great Monophysite theologian, and his opponents, was mainly one of terms. They used 'nature' (φύσις) in two different senses: 'to Monophysites the terms "Nature" and "Person" (ὑπόστασις) were synonymous, and to Dyophysites, the terms "Nature" and "Essence" (οὐσία)'. And Dr Wigram adds: 'minds of one cast laid stress on the unity and majesty of Christ, and minds of another type were drawn by the thought of his twofoldness, and of the possibility of human sympathy that was implied therein' (p. 194).

The greater part of the book deals rather with history than with doctrine directly. Space will not permit more extracts, but to those in search of a picturesque Eastern tale, which is also true, we may commend the story of Anastasius of Samosata, who passed at one bound from camel-driver to Patriarch of the reunited Monophysites of Syria (pp. 185–187).

The philosopher and bishop Synesius says somewhere that he preferred buying cheap MSS, notwithstanding their many mistakes and bad spellings, as the effort of correcting them tended to keep you awake while you were reading. There are a certain number of minor errors of this kind in Dr Wigram's book, the worst of which is that Dioscorus (Διόσκορος) is always spelt Dioscuros, as if he were Castor or Pollux. But it is only fair to add that Dr Wigram's readers will keep awake in any case.

F. C. BURKITT.

Reminiscences of Jesus by an Eye-witness, by H. D. A. MAJOR, D.D. (John Murray, London, 1925.)

THIS little book of 122 pages is a study of the Gospel according to Mark. It aims at shewing readers of ordinary education that 'the primitive and uncontradicted Church tradition which ascribed this Gospel to St Mark and declared it to contain the actual memoirs of St Peter is based on fact'. In particular Dr Major has in view the 'growing tendency among those who are not scholars, but who for various reasons are led to abandon the traditional belief in the verbal inspiration and historical infallibility of the Gospels, to jump to the extreme view that the Gospels are mainly mythical productions' (p. vi).

Those who occupy themselves closely with the Gospel of Mark cannot go very far wrong, for it is indeed a most precious historical document, a document which does not lend itself in the least to theories that Jesus never really lived and died. Dr Major is sometimes very

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happy: an instance is his explanation of ἀμφιβάλλοντεσ (Mk. i 16), where he gives reasons for thinking that Peter and Andrew were wading, while James and John were 'called' from their boat (p. 76). It is much to be wished that his book may have a large circulation and fall into the hands of those for whom it is intended, though if the believers in Gospel myths were not persuaded by F. C. Conybeare's *The Historic Christ* (1914) it is not likely that they will listen to Dr Major.

If I may be allowed to criticize, I am not quite sure that Dr Major quite realizes how much more difficult his task is in his chapter viii than in chapter vii. In chapter vii he triumphantly shews how much less historical are the parallel accounts in Matthew and Luke than in Mark it follows that Matthew and Luke are later than and dependent on Mark. In chapter viii, on the other hand, he has to consider Mark's account in itself, in comparison with what we may imagine the actual fact to have been. This is a much more difficult thing, for the power of recognizing historical fact when he sees it is the last and greatest gift of the historian. Vividness in narration is not always a guarantee of fact. On p. 80 the story of the Gerasene demoniac is discussed. Certainly 'Mark's account (v 1–20) is much superior in vividness to Matthew's', but is it really credible as it stands? Dr Major says 'no serious modern student is at all likely to doubt that we have in *Mark* a description of an actual occurrence related by an eye-witness'. Well, I confess that I can only subscribe to this statement if we identify the eye-witness with the cured 'demoniac' and suppose that the detail in the story belongs to his confused nightmare memories. And the geographical implication involved in Dr Major's 'Gerasene (Khersene)' is highly disputable. The photograph I have seen of Khersa does not explain to me the suicide of the 2,000 swine. I prefer to believe that 'Gerasene' is right and that the story came to Mark from Gerasa, i. e. Jerash, whither the recovered lunatic may have gone to live.

This is a detail, but it illustrates the difficulties of the historian. There is only one true historical account of any incident, viz. what really happened. A tale involving miracle, or something incredible, does not become historical if we get rid of the miracle and substitute a wrong rationalistic interpretation. I do not think Dr Major often goes wrong in this way, but I get the impression that he does not sufficiently feel the difficulty, so that he does not always compel conviction that the picturesque tales told by St Mark are really, really true. But the people whom he hopes to influence, the people who have thrown over the authority of Scripture and have adopted the opinion that there is not much history ... the Gospel stories, need to know why Mark is more historical than a vivid fairy tale. 'This revelation of a suffering Messiah is repeated by Jesus again and again henceforth, but the pre-

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diction of suffering, rejection, and death is combined by Him with the prediction of the Resurrection'—so Dr Major, pp. 24, 25: will people who have thrown over the authority of Scripture accept a document which contains such a presentation as historical because it also contains some vividly told tales?

It is easy to be over-critical, especially of one's own friends and party. Dr Major can easily retort that for his purpose brevity was essential; I can only wish him a second edition in which he can treat of the general historical presentation of the career of Jesus Christ found in St Mark's Gospel, and also that his little book may cause more readers to study that Gospel for themselves.[1]

F. C. BURKITT.

Jésus de Nazareth: mythe ou histoire?, by MAURICE GOGUEL. (Payot, Paris, 1925.)

DR F. C. CONYBEARE'S 'investigation of the views of Mr J. M. Robertson, Dr A. Drews, and Prof. W. B. Smith' under the title *The Historical Christ* (Watts & Co., 1914) was welcomed in this JOURNAL on its appearance (*J. T. S.* xvi 570) as a very effective treatment of the subject from Dr Conybeare's point of view midway 'between traditionalism and absurdity' as he described it. The same theme, that Jesus had no historical existence, and that the origin of Christianity was a myth of a Saviour God for whom a history in the world was invented has recently attracted public attention in France through articles published in the *Mercure de France* by M. P.-L. Couchoud and reproduced in *Le mystère de Jésus*. M. Maurice Goguel, therefore, has undertaken a fresh survey of the question in the book now before us. He pays tribute to the intellectual loyalty and high qualities of M. Couchoud's book but is constrained to judge it 'the dream of a poet rather than the work of a historian', and he devotes 300 pages to a careful review of the evidence that leads him to that judgement. When the question was raised anew some twenty years ago[2] many

[1] P. 86—'bought' should be 'brought'. P. 98—Why insert 'not' in Mk. xvi 2? In *ver.* 4 it is light enough for the women to 'notice'. P. 101—No confirmatory evidence has turned up for *Ariston*: see now Streeter *The Four Gospels* p. 344 ff. P. 105—For *Dalmanutha* see *J. T. S.* xvii 15 f. P. 119—It is surely difficult to believe that Mark *meant* the Dove in his tale of the Baptism to be taken metaphorically.

[2] M. Goguel begins his book by a sketch of the history of doubts on the subject from the time of our English Deists, referring especially to Ch. Guignebert's *Le problème de Jésus*, Paris, 1914, for fuller treatment of their work.

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students of Christian origins were conscious that the 'historicity' of the traditional portrait was in many of its details so uncertain that it was only from the position of the newer historical criticism that the attack could be met successfully. No one who had been accustomed to detect different strata in the documents, to watch a story grow, to trace the stages of the developement of doctrine, could doubt that actual history underlay the records as we have them. It is on these lines that M. Goguel conducts his investigation. Of special interest and freshness is his careful analysis of the various factors of the theology of St Paul to shew the existence side by side of conceptions that are not on the same plane of thought, that do not cohere and are indeed contradictory (p. 171). The conclusion is inevitable that there was no ready-made system, myth, or doctrine, of which St Paul's conceptions could be the developement, or to match which the historical background was invented. On the contrary, the system presupposes historical facts which are not readily reconciled with the writer's previous ideas, and it grows up as his interpretation of those facts. M. Goguel also works through the other Epistles of the New Testament, shewing that the historical allusions are always introduced for the purpose of using some detail of the historical tradition that every one knew to enforce a practical moral end.

A similar examination of the Gospels is made to shew that a tradition of facts which would not easily fit into the dogmatic framework lies at their back, whereas if the tradition were only the projection on the plane of history of an ideal myth or drama of redemption, the gospel history would be homogeneous. The fact that stages in the developement of the tradition can be so easily detected proves its actual basis in history. Transformation is not creation; it is not at the origin of the tradition, but in the course of its literary developement, that the mythical element seems to come in (p. 260). There are points at which M. Goguel in his refutation of M. Couchoud seems to me to stray from the lines of historical truth almost as much as M. Couchoud himself—notably in that he does not seem to allow for any religious experiences on the part of Jesus Himself in the form of visions such as he readily assumes on the part of His disciples after His death. So the historical data underlying the narratives of the Baptism, the Temptation, and the Transfiguration, are not given their proper value. The historical foundation is strengthened by recognition of the evidence that Jesus was Himself a 'recipient' of visions.

But the whole book is full of careful work and abundantly fulfils its purpose.

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The Heart of the Gospel, by the Rev. J. K. MOZLEY, B.D., with a preface by THOMAS B. STRONG, D.D., Bishop of Ripon. (S.P.C.K., 1925.)

THIS is a collection of addresses, articles, and reviews composed during the last five years. The main subject is the Atonement. It is the Cross as God's redeeming act that is 'the heart of the Gospel', and Mr Mozley presents this view of the Gospel with a fine rolling eloquence. The Bishop of Ripon in a prefatory note says, 'he presents it in connexion with the whole view of the Nature of God and His relation to man and the course of the world's history'. Any one who is satisfied to regard 'the course of the world's history' in the pessimistic or world-denying manner that has been common in the Church in the past, or the Gospel as 'a Gospel *for a perishing world*' (p. 163), may be more than content with Mr Mozley's championship of this position. Others, of whom I am one, would not admit the main premiss and would have to present a different view at greater length than is possible in a notice of his book. But one comment must be made here. I am sure Mr Mozley is not really one of those who think that any stick is good enough to beat 'modernists' with. Yet in the Christological part of his treatment of his subject he insists (p. 161) on the importance of 'the conception of distinct personal pre-existence' of 'the Divine Word or Son', and he defines this distinct personal pre-existence as one 'carrying with it a consciousness distinct from the consciousness of God the Father'. The terms used are as modern as any modernist's. But a doctrine of the Trinity which gives us three distinct consciousnesses in God would surely have been intolerable to the Fathers who stated our orthodox doctrine. They were at the utmost pains to insist that the differentiation was such as to safeguard what we mean by unity of consciousness. I need only refer to Gregory of Nyssa's *Quod non sint tres Dei*, or the *Quicunque vult*, or Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto* in which he wrote of those who 'were introducing the polytheism of Hellenic error into the undefiled theology of the Christians'. And if Mr Mozley is right in thinking that his doctrine of Atonement requires a consciousness of 'the Divine Word or Son' distinct from that of the Father, that fact alone should make his doctrine suspect to him, as a champion of traditional orthodoxy. It seems to me that he is misled by reading the mythology of Religion into the Science of Theology, whereas it is Theology's business to control the picture-thinking of Religion. That is all I can say about it in a short notice of his, in many ways attractive, book, and I say it in the interests of scientific theology which should not, I think, be ignored even in papers 'which were addresses to Congress meetings'.

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Gnostic Fragments, edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by ERNESTO BUONAIUTI, Professor of Sacred History at the Royal University of Rome, and done into English by EDITH COWELL. (Williams & Norgate, 1924.)

THE purpose of this book is to 'discover first-hand information concerning the Gnostics by means of the fragments of their work which remain', in the belief that Gnostic speculation represents one of the most arresting philosophical and religious systems of its time. In the Introduction Prof. Buonaiuti gives a short history of modern investigation into the origin and characteristics of Gnosticism, and then proceeds to the evidence of the remaining fragments of 'the great Gnostic masters' Basilides (and Isidore), Carpocrates (and Epiphanes), Valentinus and his pupils Heracleon and Ptolemaeus, concluding with Theodotus. He has utilized all the most recent studies and selected the fragments on which he relies as genuine with discrimination. Prof. Buonaiuti knows that he is not on safe ground in claiming the *Odes of Solomon* as the work of Valentinus and drawing evidence from them. He is, no doubt, encouraged to do so by the conviction which marks his interpretation, that Gnosis in the hands of the Gnostic masters was above all else, 'a form of mysticism which claims to point out the path of interior salvation'. It is a very much expurgated 'Gnosticism' with which he presents his readers as the genuine article.

The translation from the Italian runs well; but in the hymn from the Leucian *Acts of John* (for which Dr James's text is used) there are mistakes, some of which may be misprints (as 'adore' for 'adorn', 'betrayed' for 'betrayer') and others wrong renderings whether of the Greek by the author or of the Italian version by the translator.

Celsi Ἀληθὴς Λόγος excussit et restituere conatus est Dr OTTO GLOCKNER: 'Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen', No. 151. (A. Marcus und E. Weber's Verlag, Bonn, 1924.)

DR GLOCKNER has already written on the work of Celsus and now he gives us the complete Greek text so far as it can be recovered, shewing by the use of different brackets the parts which are not actually quoted by Origen *verbatim*, though they can be inferred with certainty from what he says, and the words which have to be supplied or are less certain. Dr Glockner has taken Koetschau's text of Origen as his basis and agrees with him as against Wendland that for the recovery of the words of Celsus codex A is of greater value than the codices of the *Philocalia*, giving examples of the 'levity' with which alterations have been made in the latter. He also deals in his introduction with

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the passages in which Keim thought that Origen had abbreviated or omitted some of the arguments of Celsus and argues, I think convincingly, that we must accept Origen's own emphatic assertions, that apart from the first twenty-seven chapters (which are avowedly a summary) and some repetitions of charges already dealt with, he omitted nothing of the charges and arguments of Celsus. So with those exceptions Dr Glockner claims that he is able to present the full text or all of it that was of importance in Celsus's attack on Christianity. Keim's version, with its divisions and headings of the different sections, retains its value; but it is a boon to have a continuous Greek text with full *apparatus criticus* and notes on the more important variants for the reading of this most weighty of all early criticisms of the new religion.

Die betende Kirche: ein liturgisches Volksbuch (Sankt Augustinus Verlag, Berlin, 1924) is a large, handsomely got up, and illustrated book that comes from the Abbey of Maria Laach, intended to popularize knowledge about church buildings and the whole *rationale* and apparatus of public worship. It is a work of edification, very suitable for intelligent lay people whose language is German, but to be useful in this country it would need to be translated into English.

In *Early Christians at Prayer* A. D. 1–400 ('Library of Devotion', Methuen & Co.) Dr Emery Barnes has a subject not dealt with before and he gives us a charming little volume, learned, simple, and fresh, with a good deal about Prayer as well as examples of prayers of individual Christians from the earliest days to Augustine. To put Christian Prayer in its proper perspective he also has chapters at the beginning on 'Prayer in the Old Testament' and 'Between the Testaments', and in the latter chapter gives us an English version of the *Eighteen Benedictions* which makes a distinctive addition to the value of the book.

The Reformers and the Bible by the Rev. L. ELLIOTT BINNS, B.D. (W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1923) is a little book made up of four papers which were originally contributed to *The Record*. Mr Binns has utilized the labours of many historians and put together in small compass with explicit quotations and terse comments, the views as to the authority of the Bible held, respectively, by some of the Schoolmen, the Catholic Reformers, Luther and Calvin, and the later Reformers including the Anglican. The papers were well worth republishing in a more permanent form.

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Gambling and Betting: a short study dealing with their origin and their relation to morality and religion, by R. H. Charles, D.D., D.Litt., LL.D., Archdeacon of Westminster, Fellow of the British Academy (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1924), is a learned essay on the subject by one who is not satisfied that previous writers have dealt with it adequately. Dr Charles thinks that gambling and betting are essentially the same and sprang from 'the desire to stimulate the innate love of the game and the element of adventure inherent in man' when the game itself began to pall. The chapter in which arguments palliating or actually justifying gambling are reviewed is perhaps the most effective, though it is a hard saying that condemns all games which belong to the sphere of chance as a passing 'out of the sphere of order and reason into that of unreason and chaos' (p. 51). The only sure means of eliminating the gambling spirit is to be found, Dr Charles concludes, in Religion which presents a plan of life which is one of high adventure along the ways of Providence with ever larger issues at stake.

J. F. B-B.

Code Hittite provenant de l'Asie Mineure (*vers. 1350 av. J.-C.*), *1re partie*, par FRÉDÉRIC HROZNÝ. (Geuthner, Paris, 1922.)

Professor Hrozný's decipherment and publication of a Hittite law-code from Boghaz Keui is naturally of the highest interest and importance. The cuneiform text of the laws has been transcribed by the Professor in *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* vi, Nos. 3, 4, 12, 26 (1921); and the present edition, which contains a transliteration and translation, together with photographic reproductions of the tablets, is to be completed in a second volume by a detailed discussion and glossary. The language of the code is Hittite or (to give it its native term) Kanesian—a language which, prior to the great find of cuneiform tablets at Boghaz Keui, was unknown to us except for the two Arzawa letters contained among the Tell el-Amarna correspondence, which the late Professor Knudtzon so shrewdly conjectured to be in the Hittite language, and (as has now been proved by Professor Hrozný) to have Indo-European affinities. The decipherment of this language is a triumph of linguistic skill which belongs wholly to Professor Hrozný; and though the translator is obliged, at the present stage of his research, to resort to some extent to conjecture, those who have followed his discussions on the language (*Die Sprache der Hittiter*, 1916–17), and examined his attempted translations of historical texts (*Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, 1919), will have no doubt that he is working on sound lines, and has reached a stage at which scientific

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interpretation is feasible, and results of permanent value may be attained. The inclusion in the great collection of tablets of a number of vocabularies, in which Hittite words are equated with their Sumerian and Akkadian equivalents (*Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* i, Nos. 30–59),[1] affords some amount of aid to the interpretation of the language; as do also the frequent use of Sumerian ideograms, the meaning of which is known, to express the corresponding Hittite terms, and the occasional occurrence of phrases spelt out syllabically in Akkadian (Semitic Babylonian).

The laws deal with homicide, assault, and bodily injuries, kidnapping, runaway slaves, marriage, brigandage, feudal service, injury to property, &c., covering, in these respects, much the same ground as is covered by the Code of Ḫammurabi; and an attractive subject of research will be the possible relation of the Hittite code to the Babylonian, or, to go further back, to the Sumerian legislation to which, as is now evident, the Babylonian was largely indebted.[2]

Cursory examination of the Hittite code reveals connexion with Babylonian or Sumerian legislation which seems to be more than accidental in the following points among others.

All three codes impose a compensation of ten shekels for injury to a free woman resulting in miscarriage. The Hittite, however, draws a distinction between the case of a ten months' pregnancy,[3] for which the full compensation is exacted, and one of five months, for which five shekels only is imposed; while the Sumerian law distinguishes between injury caused by 'jostling' (unintentional?) for which the compensation is ten shekels, and 'striking' (intentional) which is punished by double the sum (Sumerian, Clay no. 28; Ḫammurabi § 209; Hittite § 19).

If the injured woman is a slave, the Hittite law imposes a compensation of five shekels in the case of the full period of ten months, ignoring lesser periods. In Ḫammurabi's code five shekels is the compensation for injury to the daughter of a poor man (*muškênu*), while two shekels only is imposed in the case of a slave-woman (Hit. § 18; Ḫam. §§ 211, 213).

The Hittite and Babylonian codes nearly agree in their legislation as

[1] These were edited by the late Prof. Delitzsch under the title *Sumerisch-Akkadisch-Hettitische Vocabularfragmente* (*Abhandl. der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1914, *Phil.-hist. Klasse*, nr. 3).

[2] The fragment of a Sumerian code of laws has been published by Prof. Clay, *Miscellaneous Inscriptions in the Yale Bab. Coll.*, 1915. The contents of this and other fragments have been conveniently summarized by Dr Langdon, 'The Sumerian Law Code compared with the Code of Ḫammurabi', *J. R. A. S.*, 1920, pp. 489 ff.

[3] The reckoning of ten months as the full period seems to have been usual in antiquity: cf. Wisd. of Sol. vii 2; Virgil *Ecl.* iv 61.

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to a broken betrothal. The intending husband having paid the purchase-price to the girl's parents, if these latter break the agreement they must refund the money—and, in the Hittite law, to double the amount; if, however, the bridegroom changes his mind and repudiates the betrothal, the girl's parents retain the money (Hit. §§ 29, 30; Ḫam. §§ 160, 159).

In the Babylonian code the penalty for stealing a bull is thirty-fold restitution (Ḫam. § 8). This is given in the Hittite code as 'formerly' the penalty for the theft of a 'great bull' (i. e. one of at least two years old), which has 'now' been reduced to fifteen-fold (Hit. § 57).

According to the Babylonian code the hirer of an ox who breaks its hoof has to render ox for ox; or, if he breaks its horn, to pay a quarter of its price (Ḫam. §§ 246, 248). In the Hittite code the hirer who breaks a horn or a hoof must give a sound ox to the owner in place of the damaged animal; but, if the owner say, 'I will take my own ox', he is to receive two shekels of silver in addition (Hit. § 74).

If the hirer of an ox caused it to lose an eye, he must, according to the Babylonian code, pay half the value of the animal to its owner (Ḫam. § 247). In the Hittite code the sum to be paid is six shekels of silver (Hit. § 77 B), and, comparing another section of the legislation which fixes the prices of livestock, we find that the value of a plough-ox (presumably the class of animal which would be hired) is twelve[1] shekels (Hit. § 178).

Many other resemblances, more or less close, between Hittite and Babylonian legislation might be noticed; but it is doubtful whether most of these can be pressed to prove connexion, since resemblance in subject-matter might be expected in approximately similar conditions of civilization, and resemblance in penalty is natural in certain cases—for example, the infliction of the death-penalty for various very serious offences. In some cases the penalties differ fairly widely; and, speaking generally, it may be noticed that they are less savage in the Hittite code than in the Babylonian, and more ready to compound by money-compensation for bodily injuries which Ḫammurabi's code punishes by infliction of the like injury. For example, the Babylonian penalty of 'eye for eye, tooth for tooth', and the like, when the injury has been inflicted by an equal (Ḫam. 196, 197, 200), also found in the Hebrew legislation of the Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxi 24, 25), is replaced by a money-compensation (Hit, §§ 7 ff.), and this, in the case of a tooth lost through a blow, has been cut down from one mina (sixty shekels) to twenty shekels. A similar remission of half the penalty once assessed has been made, we are informed, in the case of assault which

[1] The tablet is here somewhat defaced, and it is not certain whether the figure is 12 or 15.

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takes the form of a blow on the head. 'Formerly' the assailant paid six shekels, half of which went to the injured man and half to the palace; 'but now the king has remitted the sum due to the palace, so only the man struck takes three shekels' (§ 9). This humaner tendency in legislation does not, however, imply a more elaborate civilization. On the contrary, such laws as in Ḫammurabi's code imply an elaborately organized town-life—those for example which deal with surgeons' fees and the regulation of public houses—are non-existent in the Hittite code (though Hit. § 10 has a passing reference to a doctor's fee).

In one or two cases it is interesting to notice a resemblance between Hittite and Hebrew legislation where no close Babylonian parallel can be adduced. Thus, in the Hittite code § 197 a distinction is drawn between the violation of a (betrothed or married) woman 'in the mountains' and 'in the house', in the former case the man only being punished by death, while in the latter this penalty is to be inflicted upon the woman also. This law is exactly like that of Deut. xxii 23–27, which draws a similar distinction of place—'in the field'[1] as distinct from 'in the city', and makes the non-infliction or infliction of the death-penalty upon 'the betrothed maiden' depend upon this, supplying the reason which is not mentioned in the Hittite code: in the open country the woman may be presumed to have cried out but found no one to save her, whereas in the city she would have been heard had she cried out, and the fact that she did not do so implies that she was a consenting party. Ḫammurabi's code (§ 130) deals only with the case of such an outrage in the house of the woman's father, when the man is to be killed and the woman allowed to go free.

Again, the Hittite law § 75 closely resembles the Hebrew law of the Book of the Covenant, Ex. xx 10–12. According to the former, if an ox, horse, or mule entrusted to a man dies suddenly, or is devoured by a wolf (or leopard ?), or disappears, he must 'restore it intact' (make equivalent restitution). But 'if he says, "it died at the hand of a god", then he must take an oath to it.' The Hebrew law runs, 'If a man deliver unto his neighbour an ass, or ox, or sheep, or any beast, to keep, and it die, or be hurt, or driven away, none seeing it; the oath of Yahweh shall be between them both, whether he hath not put his hand unto his neighbour's goods; and the owner thereof shall accept it (i. e. the oath), and he shall not make restitution. But if it shall be stolen from him, he shall make restitution to the owner thereof.' The only parallel to this law which can be cited from Ḫammurabi's code is

[1] The Sumerian ideogram ḪAR-SAG which is used in the Hittite law = Babylonian *šadû* 'mountain'. Hebrew *sādé* 'field' probably = Babylonian *šadû*, the Palestinian pasture-land being the hill-country. Cf. the reviewer's *Judges* pp. 111 f.

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§ 266 which relates to an oath of compurgation taken by a shepherd when 'a stroke of God' has taken place in a sheepfold, or a lion has killed.

Less striking, but still worthy of notice, is the connexion between the Hittite law § 100 and Ex. xxii 6, both exacting restitution for destruction of corn by fire. Ḫammurabi's code does not deal with incendiarism.

All things considered, the conclusion which probably will be finally reached is that there is an ultimate connexion between the ancient systems of legislation in Western Asia as known to us, Sumerian, Babylonian, Hittite, and Hebrew, though each has naturally developed to a large extent upon its own lines, and in accordance with the needs of the type of civilization which it represents. It is regrettable that we do not know more about Sumerian legislation, so that we might judge whether this has influenced Hittite legislation directly, or only indirectly through the medium of the Babylonian law-code. One small point may be noted, as favouring direct Sumerian influence. In Ḫammurabi's code, when the subject of a law is the indefinite 'a man' (*awîlum*), this *precedes* the object and the verb, thus :—

šumma awîlum alpam igurma karanšu išbir
'If a man an ox has hired and its horn has broken . . .'

In Hittite, in contrast, we find the curious order, object, indefinite subject 'anyone' (*kuiski*), verb :—

takku SI. GU(D) *našma* GIR. GU(D) *kuiski duvarnizi*
'If the horn of an ox or the hoof of an ox anyone has broken . . .'

This order looks much as if it were copied from Sumerian, in which we have first the object, then the verb (implying the indefinite subject) :—

tukundibi dam egir-ra ba-an-tu-ka
'If a wife second (one) has married . . .'

On questions such as these we may look forward with keen anticipation to Professor Hrozný's discussions in his second volume.

Éléments de Bibliographie Hittite, par G. CONTENAU. (Geuthner, Paris, 1922.)

Since the discovery of the Hittite archives at Boghaz Keui, the first results of which were published by the late Professor Winckler in *Mitteil. der deutsch. Orient-Gesellschaft*, 1907, a flood of new light has been thrown upon Hittite history and language, and literature upon the subject has grown apace. Prior to this, however, the Hittite problem for the last half-century or so attracted and exercised the ingenuity of

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orientalists, and a considerable literature accumulated bearing directly or indirectly upon this previously obscure department of Western Asian history. It is convenient, therefore, to possess Dr. Contenau's bibliography, which starts with Texier's *Description de l'Asie Mineure* (published in 1839 and containing the earliest representation of the monuments of Boghaz Keui), and is carried down to 1922. So far as the reviewer has been able to test it, the work is reasonably comprehensive and complete. Considering, however, the great value of Egyptian information bearing upon Hittite history, it is strange to find no reference to Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt* (5 vols., 1906–7), which contains in vol. iii translations of documents of the first import ance bearing upon the relations of Egypt with the Hittites, or to Petrie's *History of Egypt*, vol. iii, which deals in some detail with the same subject.

The Fall of Nineveh. The newly discovered Babylonian Chronicle, No. 21,901, in the British Museum, edited with Transliteration, Translation, Notes, &c., by C. J. GADD, M.A. (London, 1923.)[1]

THE highly important tablet here published by Mr Gadd is written in New Babylonian cuneiform, and probably belongs, like other Chronicles, to the Achaemenid period. Evidence suggests that it was written in Babylon. The style and language prove its close affinity with the famous Babylonian Chronicle; and Mr Gadd has no doubt that it formed a continuation of that work. It deals in seventy-five lines with the events of the tenth to the seventeenth years of the reign of Nabopolassar, 616–609 B.C., who is mentioned by name in the first line, but elsewhere appears as 'the king of Akkad'.

In 616 B.C. Nabopolassar was already in revolt against his Assyrian over-lord, the weakling Sin-shar-ishkun, and the Chronicle for this and the following year gives an outline of his campaigns in Assyrian territory. A highly interesting and unexpected piece of information is that Egypt appears fighting in alliance with Assyria. In the month Marcheswan (Oct.–Nov.) of 615 B.C. the Medes appear upon the scene; and in the following summer we find them, under the leadership of Kyaxeres, making an attack upon Nineveh. The tablet is somewhat broken at this point; but it is clear that the attack was not pressed home. They captured Tarbis, however, a city in the district of Nineveh, and then the important city of Ashur, making 'cruel havoc'

[1] Dr Burney was engaged on this Review at the time when he was seized by illness, and he had written out for press what follows. Though not completed, it is published as among the last of the valuable pieces of work he did for the JOURNAL.

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among the chief men. On the fall of Ashur, the king of Akkad went to meet Kyaxeres and concluded an alliance with him, after which both kings returned to their own lands for the winter. The year 613 B.C. forms an interlude in the history of the last days of Nineveh, and the Chronicle for this year only informs us as to minor operations of the king of Akkad. No mention is made of the Medes, who were clearly drawn off from Assyria; and the inference is that they must have been occupied in negotiations with the Scythians, with whom they appear next year in alliance. This conclusion agrees with the tradition of Diodorus, which tells us of alarm created among the Medes by the approach of a 'Bactrian' army, which, however, was eventually persuaded to make common cause with them against Assyria.

The interest of the Chronicle culminates in the following year, 612 B.C., for here we have a description of the capture and fall of Nineveh, an event which must thus be placed six years earlier than the date which has hitherto been accepted. Most unfortunately the tablet has suffered serious damage just at this point; but though some interesting details are thus missing, the main facts can be ascertained. The king of Akkad joined forces with the Medes and Scythians, and the three armies marched against Nineveh. There were three battles (?) followed by 'a mighty assault' upon the city, resulting in its downfall in the month of Ab (July–Aug.). The end of Sin-shar-ishkun then seems to have been narrated, but the mutilation of the tablet has obliterated the description. After turning the city 'into a mound and a ruin' (the very phrase constantly used by Assyria to describe havoc wrought on captured cities is here applied to herself), Kyaxeres retired with his army, while the king of Akkad received in Nineveh the captives of conquered provinces.

Then follows a highly interesting piece of information. Some part of the Assyrian army escaped on the downfall of Nineveh, and, marching westward, occupied the city of Ḫarran, where their leader, whose name is here obliterated but who appears later on as Ashur-uballiṭ, 'sat upon the throne as king of Assyria'. 613 B.C. was occupied by the king of Akkad in minor operations. In the following year, however, he marched against the new capital of Assyria, and with the help of the Scythians compelled the abandonment of the city, and seized a huge spoil.

* * * * * * * * *

C. F. BURNEY.

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Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami, by P. S. ALLEN and H. M. ALLEN. Tom. v. (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.)

THE appearance of a further volume of this great undertaking is very welcome, and it need scarcely be said that the high standard set by its predecessors (of which vol. iv was noticed in this JOURNAL for October, 1922) is completely maintained.

The letters included in the present collection cover the three years 1522 to 1524. They come from an interesting and productive period in the life of Erasmus—the beginning of his stay at Basle. Thither he had gone to escape from the struggles and controversies which had beset him at Louvain, and in the comparative quiet and security which he now commanded, he continued that remarkably varied series of writings upon which his reputation as a scholar is firmly established. New editions of the Fathers marked these years, together with an enlarged collection of *Colloquia*, and the Paraphrases of the Four Gospels (1524), copies of which are still to be found in some of our older parish churches in England.

A few of the letters are now printed for the first time, and amongst them three (nos. 1291, 1317, 1435) come from the collection in the hands of Professor de Vocht of Louvain. The story of the preservation of this collection through the sack of Louvain—a story which is not exceeded for interest and heroism by any in the annals of scholarship, is recorded in the Preface, together with an acknowledgement of the equally striking courtesy which has allowed the English editors to anticipate the publication of these letters, together with the rest of the collection, in Belgium.

The wide reading and careful scholarship of the editors place their work beyond the approach of criticism; it may, however, be permissible to make the small suggestion that in future volumes, if quotations are made from the Vulgate edition of the Psalms, the numeration of the English Version should be enclosed in brackets alongside that of the Latin.

I observe that in the note on Mary of Austria on p. 81, the article in the *Biographie nationale* has been followed in giving the date of her death as October 18, 1558 (xiii, p. 683), whereas Mr Armstrong gives it as October 28 of the same year (*The Emperor Charles V*[2] ii, p. 368) On p. 123 Tomas Hurskey is described as head of the Gilbertines *in England*; as the order never spread beyond the borders of this realm is there any point in the words which I have italicized?

L. ELLIOTT BINNS.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, April 1925 (Vol. c, No. 199: S.P.C.K.). A. C. HEADLAM The Four Gospels—W. LOCKTON The Age for Confirmation—L. S. HUNTER Morality and Mysticism—IBN SABIL Genesis: The Book of the Bedouins—W. C. DE PAULEY Man, the Image of God: a study in Clement of Alexandria—W. R. MATTHEWS Three philosophers on Religion—Prayer in Christian Theology—Richard Baxter—Père Delehaye on the Pillar Saints—A Swedish view of the Anglican revival—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, April 1925 (Vol. xxiii, No. 3: Williams & Norgate). BISHOP OF DURHAM Spiritual teaching—W. BROWN Religion and Psychology—THE EDITOR Perspective in the Narratives of the Passion—B. W. BACON The New Testament method of differences—D. MIALL EDWARDS The doctrine of the Person of Christ—G. GALLOWAY Evolution and the finality of the Christian Religion—J. M. LLOYD THOMAS Eternal Life, Immortality, and Resurrection—J. GAMBLE The supernatural—R. E. G. GEORGE The holy year of 1925—E. LYTTELTON The economic and social effects of modern advertising—R. M. FOX Mass Production: a worker's experience—L. MAGNUS The mind of Europe not the mind of its rulers—J. H. MUIRHEAD The social idealism of Copec—Survey and Signed Reviews.

The Expositor, April, May, June 1925 (Ninth Series, Nos. 4-6: Hodder & Stoughton). THE EDITOR Current issues—A. KELLER A theology of crisis II—H. J. FLOWERS The third commandment—W. CANNON Notes on Nahum—R. DUNKERLEY Anglo-Saxon agrapha—W. ROBINSON Gnosticism and Life II—W. E. BEET The reconstruction of the Apocalypse—T. H. ROBINSON The ten best books on the Book of Job—E. W. P. EVANS The ten best books on Preaching—H. GRESSMANN The Mysteries of Adonis and the Feast of Tabernacles—W. S. WOOD 'Prostrate, prone, overthrown'—Notes and Notices of recent criticism—Reviews.

(2) AMERICAN.

The Princeton Theological Review, April 1925 (Vol. xxiii, No. 2: Princeton University Press). C. G. MACARTNEY The state of the Church—D. S. CLARK Theology and Evolution—H. GELLS Sacra-

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The Harvard Theological Review, January 1925 (Vol. xviii, No. 1: Harvard University Press). G. F. MOORE The rise of normative Judaism: II to the close of the Mishnah—R. P. CASEY Clement of Alexandria and the beginnings of Christian Platonism—J. R. HARRIS Was the Diatessaron anti-Judaic?—J. DE ZWAAN A gap in the recently discovered Greek of the Apology of Aristides 16. 1—No Coptic in the Koridethi Codex—R. P. BLAKE Rejoinder.

April 1925 (Vol. xviii, No. 2). C. BONNER A papyrus codex of the Shepherd of Hermas—G. KRÜGER Literature on Church History, 1914–1920: IV The Church in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth—E. R. GOODENOUGH The Pseudo-Justinian 'oratio ad Graecos'.

(3) BELGIAN.

Analecta Bollandiana, March 1925 (Vol. xliii, Nos. 1 and 2: Société des Bollandistes, 24 Boulevard Saint-Michel, Brussels). H. DELEHAYE Les recueils antiques de Miracles des saints: i Les recueils grecs, ii Les recueils latins (*à suivre*)—M. JUGIE Les homélies Mariales attribuées à S. Grégoire le Thaumaturge—P. GROSJEAN Henrici Abrincensis Carmina hagiographica: i Vitae S. Francisci exemplum Cantabrigiense—P. GROSJEAN Un poème latin du xviie siècle sur les saints Irlandais honorés en Belgique—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, April 1925 (Vol. xxi, No. 2: 40 Rue de Namur, Louvain). P. G. THÉRY Le texte intégral de la traduction de Pseudo-Denys par Hilduin (*suite et fin*)—P. O'SHERIDAN Ce que reste de la plus ancienne Vie de Ruysbroeck (*suite et fin*)—E. TOBAC Le Christ nouvel Adam dans la théologie de S. Paul—P. DEMEULDRE Une contribution à l'histoire des martyrs—M. DUBRUEL Les papiers de M. de Harley à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

(4) GERMAN.

Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, May 1925 (Vol. xxiv, Nos. 1 and 2: A. Töpelmann, Giessen). A. v. HARNACK Ueber den Verfasser und den literarischen Charakter des Muratorischen Fragments—A. JÜLICHER Zur Geschichte der Monophysitenkirche—E. v. DOBSCHÜTZ Zum Corpus hellenisticum—V. SCHULTZE Die Christusstatue in Paneas—W. MUNDLE Die Herkunft der 'marcionitischen' Prologe zu den paulinischen Briefen—B. VIOLET Ein Versuch zu Joh.

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20. 17—C. SCHMIDT Das koptische Didache-Fragment des British Museum—R. BULTMANN Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums—F. SMEND Die Behandlung alttestamentlicher Zitate als Ausgangspunkt d. Quellenscheidung im 4. Evangelium—TH. SCHNEIDER Das prophetische 'Agraphon' der Epistola apostolorum—H. JAHNOW Das Abdecken des Daches Mc. 2. 4, Lc. 5. 19.

Theologische Quartalschrift (Vol. cv, Nos. 3 and 4: H. Laupp, Tübingen). SCHILLING Die Frage der Volkssouveränität—LANG Verstand und Glaubensakt nach Thomas von Aquin—STOLZ Die Entstehung des Kirchenjahrs—BAUR Der Kanon des hl. Joh. Chrysostomus—GEISSELMANN Ps. Alkuins Confessio Fidei pars iv de corpore et sanguine Domini eine antiberengarianische Ueberarbeitung der *expositio missae* des Florus von Lyon—Rezensionen.

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